

The following Treatise is compos'd upon the Variance which happen'd between him and the Clergy of *Verona* after his Re-establishment. He says that it was no new thing, and that it began at the time of his Ordination: That it proceeded, 1. Because his Morals and those of his Clerks were a Contradiction to each other. 2. Because he prefer'd the Observation of the Canons to those Customs which were introduc'd by the Devil. 3. Because he had restrain'd them from keeping Company with Women, according to the Injunction of the Council of *Nice*. 4. Because he would not permit the unequal Distribution of the Church Goods among the Clergy. That 'tis upon this last Account the Quarrel between him and them is founded, as he had already demonstrated in a Letter written to *Hubert*, which is his first Treatise. He declaims very strongly against the general Irregularity of all the Clergy, which he describes with very little Caution. He tells us the Reason why he undertook to discourse of the Distribution of the Goods of his Church, was, because the Clerks, who had receiv'd an Order from the Emperor to leave off that Familiarity which they held with Women, excused themselves from so doing under a Pretence of their Poverty. That it was upon this Account he entred upon this Particular, that they might all have wherewithal to live.

The *Apologick Treatise* of *Ratherius*, is not an Apology of his whole Life, but he therein only gives an Account how he had employ'd a Sum of Money, which the Emperor put into his Hands for the rebuilding the Church of *St. Zeno*. One of his Enemies, nam'd *Marcian*, found fault with what he did, and would have had him distribute it amongst the Poor. *Ratherius* makes it appear that he ought not to do it. 1. Because it was design'd for the rebuilding of the Church. 2. Because there were not very many Poor in his Diocess, and that several Persons contributed to their Subsistence: Whereas on the contrary, there were very many Churches demolished, or at least very much out of Repair, for the rebuilding of which nothing was bellowed; that thereupon he supposed he might even employ a Part of that Portion of the Church Goods intended for the Poor on such a good Work. He tells us, that his Antagonist had ventur'd to go to *Rome* without his Licence, and that he had by Bribes procur'd Letters from the Pope, which excommunicated him and the Bishops his Successors, in case they should concern themselves with the Distribution of the Church Goods. He says, that it was impossible but that this Excommunication would be the Cause of a great deal of Trouble: For if he should slight the *Anathema* of the Holy See, he should give a very bad Precedent; but on the other hand, if he should submit to it, he should be no longer a Bishop, since he who is made a Bishop, at the same time is made an Overseer, not only in spiritual Things, but also in the Temporalities of his Church, as it is ordain'd by a vast Number of Canons. This Treatise was compos'd by *Ratherius* after his last re-establishment.

The following was wrote much about the same Time. 'Tis a Discourse directed to his Clergy, wherein he upbraids them of their Rebellion. He there tells them that he had resolv'd to excommunicate them, as they had deserved; but he had delay'd doing it, in hopes they would have reform'd of themselves: That he tarry'd for a Commission from the Emperor, who should report to his Imperial Majesty the Reasons of both Sides, upon which the Emperor should determine what he pleased, and he would obey his Orders.

This Treatise is followed by a Charter, whereby *Ratherius* institutes several Clerks into a Monastery, in the Place of the Abbot and Monks, whom he was oblig'd to turn out, because of their Irregularities. He therein appoints that they should sing the Office, and that every one of them should have his Share of Corn, Wine, Pulse and Money, without dividing the Lands and Vineyards.

The following Treatise is an Injunction of *Ratherius* against the Marriage of a Clergyman's Son of *Verona*, which was perform'd on a Sunday in *Lent*. He declares that it is irregular, and that no Marriage ought to be celebrated during *Lent*, nor on Fast-days, nor on Sundays, nor on Holy-days; and orders that all those who should commit such a Fault, should fast for forty Days; that is to say, that when others of the Faithful eat at nine of the Clock, they should stay till Noon ere they eat: When others fast till Noon, they should fast till three a-clock: And when others fast till three a clock, they shall abstain from eating till Night. He exhorts them likewise to be charitable to the Poor during this Time. He declares that he would undergo the same Penance himself for being backward in opposing such an Irregularity. He excommunicates such Offenders as would not submit to this Penance, and declares that God would consign them over to eternal Damnation.

After this Treatise there are five Letters of his Writing. The first is directed to *Martin* Bishop of *Ferrara*, wherein he acquaints him that his Clergy laid several Crimes to his Charge, particularly that of ordaining several Infants for Money. He exhorts him to repent, and to behave himself better for the Future.

The second Letter is writ in the Name of all the Clergy of *Verona*, and directed to him, who was then in the Holy Apostolical See, to the Senate, and to all the Faithful of the Church of *Rome*. It was compos'd by *Ratherius* some time after his Re-establishment, that is about the Year 963, during the Contest between *John XII.* and the Emperor. Upon which Account, in the Direction of his Letter, he names only in general, 'The Bishop who is in the Holy Apostolical See, whoever he be. *Domino Sanctæ Sedis Romanæ, quicumque est, Apostolico.*' In this Letter he desires to know what he ought to do with those Clergymen of *Verona*, who enter'd into Orders whilst that Church was govern'd by Intruders. He drew up a Collection of those Canons, which declare such Ordinations to be invalid: however, he declares in the Name of his Clergy, that their Bishop having refer'd the Decision of the Cause wholly to the Judgment of the Holy See, they earnestly entreated that See to assist them, and deal favourably with them in that Particular.

The Letter which follows precedes in Date that which we have been just now speaking of; *Ratherius* wrote it to Pope *John XII.* in his own Name, to desire his Re-establishment. He styles the Pope, the Bishop of the Chief See, i. e. of *Rome*, Archbishop of Archbishops, and Universal Pope, if it were lawful to give that Title to any Mortal. He therein describes his own Misfortunes, and the History of his own Life, and entreats the Pope to judge whether he ought to be a Bishop of *Verona*, or no.

The fourth Letter is writ upon the same Subject, and directed to the Bishops of *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*; he therein implores their Assistance, and cites his Adversary to a Council, that his Cause might be determin'd there.

The fifth Letter is imperfect: 'Tis a dedicatory Epistle of some Work, directed to a Bishop.

These particular Letters are follow'd by a Synodical Letter, which *Ratherius* publish'd in a Synod which he held after his last Re-establishment, in order to instruct his Clergy, who were very ignorant. He recommends to them at first the getting by Heart the Apostles Creed, that which was sung at Mass, and the Creed of *St. Athanasius*. He explains to them the Mysteries of the principal Festivals of the Year, exhorts them to say Mass, and to communicate on the Festivals and Sundays; and advertises those who would enter into Priests Orders of what they ought to know and practise, in order to their Ordination; which he reduces to these Heads: They must bring Certificates out of the Church Registers, whether they be free-born, and of the same Diocess. If they are born Slaves, they must produce their Letter of Freedom: And if they be of another Diocess, Letters of Recommendation from their Bishop, call'd now *Letters Demissory*. They must learn by Heart, and be able to explain the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and to read distinctly, and to explain the Epistle and Gospel. They must know how to administer the Sacraments of Baptism, of Penance, and of Extream Unction, and how to perform the Ceremonies for the Burial of the Dead, and for the Blessing of Holy Water. They must be well vers'd in Singing, and in the Calender, and they must have a *Martyrology* and a *Penitential*. He adds, that he would not admit any into Priests Orders, unless they had spent some Time in his City, either in a Monastery, or under the Discipline of some learn'd Man, and were Men of some Learning themselves. He informs his Clergy, that the Ecclesiastical Revenues being divided into four parts, whereof only one belong'd to them, they ought not to encroach on those which belong'd to the Bishop, to the Poor, and to Building. He orders that a Regular observation should be made of *Lent* every day alike, except Sundays; that during *Advent* they should abstain from eating of Flesh, and from the celebration of Marriage. He requires that abstinence in the last case should likewise be observ'd in the *Octaves* of *Easter* and *Whitsontide*, in the time of publick Prayers, in the Vigils of all the Festivals, on all *Fridays* and *Sundays*; that they should fast till \* *None* all the Passion-Week; that on *Easter* Eve no Priest should say Mass before ten a Clock, nor solemnly Christen any before that Hour. He declares that the Priests can enjoyn Penance, and give Absolution for secret Sins, but for publick Offences they ought to apply themselves to the Bishop. Lastly, he would have them omit the Festivals, which fell out in *Lent*, except those of the Virgin *Mary*, the Apostles, and the Saints, whose bodies lay interr'd in their Church. There is inserted in this Synodical Letter, a discourse containing likewise several Advices and Instructions for Ecclesiastics, the which is attributed to Pope *Leo IV.* and *St. Ulric*. 'Tis very plain, that 'tis foreign to this Subject, but 'tis difficult to determine whose piece it is.

The Treatise of *Ratherius*, entituled a Journal of his Travel to *Rome*, is a piece wherein he threatens his Clergy to go to *Rome*, and impeach them there, that so he might reduce them to their Duty. He tells them, that tho' they might be very sensible that he design'd to go to *Rome*, yet they were ignorant of his design in going: That he did not

One of his  
Popish Ca-  
nonical  
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go thither to put up his Prayers there; having read in the Gospel, that the time is come, when Men shall no longer worship God on this Mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem; and that God being a Spirit, he ought to be worshipped in Spirit, and in Truth, which every one might do at home in his own Closet. That he did not go thither by the Emperor's Order, having receiv'd no such orders from him, but only to send his Soldiers thither: That he did not go thither to learn any thing, since the Scripture gave him sufficient instructions what to do: But that he went thither to the Synod of Bishops which were to meet at Rome by the Emperor's Order, to know of them how he should behave himself in the Discipline of his Church, and particularly whether he might tolerate his Clergy's having Women amongst them. He observes that he could apply himself to no place so properly as to Rome, for instruction how he ought to demean himself in that case. For, (says he) where can one be better inform'd of the discipline of the Church than at Rome? There are the most eminent Doctors in the World: 'Tis there the Heads of the Universal Church do flourish: 'Tis there they examine the constitutions of Episcopacy, and the institutions of other Ecclesiasticks: There they approve of those that ought to be received, and reject those that ought to be rejected. Nothing that is disannull'd there, can be of force elsewhere; and nothing which is ordered there can be abolished. Whither then can I better apply myself for the Cure of my Ignorance, than to the source and fountain-head of all Wisdom? To this Consideration he adds the Equity and Justice of the Emperor, and the personal Deserts of Pope John (viz. the Twelfth of that Name, who scarce deserved such an Encomium) and the hopes that they would call a general Council, which he wishes might prove beneficial to the Church.

He explains the question he would propose to them; namely, whether those who infring'd and openly contemn'd the Canons, ought to be endur'd in the Church: He adds, that he would not so much as mention the Injuries he had formerly suffer'd from them, nor those which they still continued to heap upon him; but that he knew not how to refrain speaking of that which passed in the last Synod which he held, wherein he had not the Liberty of Reforming his Clergy, and in which there was not the least notice taken of his Synodical Letter. He enlarges himself very much on the necessity there was of observing the Canons; and was extremely concern'd, upon the account that these Canons prohibited the Clergy, who had been guilty of such Crimes, from Celebrating or discharging their Ministerial Functions. For (says he) if they do not confess their Faults, they are in danger of being damn'd; and if they do confess them, these Canons prohibit them from discharging their Functions. Since the Case stands thus, the Church would be unprovided of Ministers, since the Number of the wicked was so great. He exhorts them to Repentance; and to recite a Prayer, which, he says, he met with in the Psalteries, wherein God is to be implored for their Salvation and Conversion, through the Intercession of the Virgin, and all the Saints. However, forasmuch as the Difficulty still remain'd; he concludes, that he goes to Rome for the removal of it.

To those Treatises of RATHERIUS are annex'd several Sermons. The first and most considerable is a large Instruction upon Lent. He therein blames those who did not observe it according to the Canon, either fasting only one part of that Holy time, or else breaking out into Excess; or lastly, breaking the Fast on Holy Thursday and Saturday. He takes notice, that in his time they fasted in Lent only till Noon: That on Holy Saturday Mass was not celebrated among the Latins till about Night, and that they fasted that day till Mass was over: But that in the Greek Church they began the Solemnity of Easter at nine of the Clock in the Morning; that their Lent was longer. After this he recommends Prayer, Alms-giving, and Repentance; and shews with what mind, and after what manner they ought to put these into Practice. Lastly, to these Instructions he adds a Dissertation against the Error of the Anthropomorphites, into which he perceiv'd several of his Priests were fallen out of Ignorance, not being capable of imagining a God unless he had a Body. By several Arguments he Demonstrates that God is a pure Spirit. He likewise refutes a foolish and superstitious Opinion, that St. Michael Sang Mass in Heaven every Monday. He concludes with exhorting his Clergy to live regularly.

The Persons, whose Errors he had declar'd against in this Sermon, accus'd him (either out of Malice or Ignorance) of having deny'd that Jesus Christ had a Body, and of having condemn'd the Devotion of those who went every Monday to hear Mass in the Church of St. Michael; so that he was oblig'd to explain himself, by declaring that he never said that Jesus Christ, that is, the incarnate Wisdom, had not Eyes, Hands, or a Body; but only that the Divine Substance had none; and that he never said, that it was ill done in going to the Church of St. Michael to

hear Mass; but that he had said, and would maintain, that it was a great piece of Folly to assert, that St. Michael Sang Mass, and Superstition to believe, that it was better to go to St. Michael's Church on Mondays, and Pray to him on that Day, than on any other day of the Week.

The second Discourse upon Lent, is a Moral Exhortation to refrain from Vice.

There are besides four Sermons on Easter-day, and three on the Ascension, which likewise contain very useful Instructions of Morality, taken for the most part out of the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers.

These are all the Works of RATHERIUS, which are extant in the second Tome of the *Spicilegium*. There is still in the twelfth Tome, a Letter of the same Author upon the Eucharist: He wrote it to a Bishop, who having met him in a Convocation of Bishops, held by Conrad, had ask'd him, whether he had Sung Mass that Week or no? He complains, that this Question was propos'd to him, rather to try him, than out of Charity; and answers him, that perhaps it were to be wish'd, that neither of them had celebrated it on Christmas-day; declaring withal, that he had no good Opinion of him. He leaves the World to judge, which of the two who receiv'd the Eucharist unworthily, is most in danger of his Salvation; whether he who receiv'd it seldom, or he who receiv'd it often. He adds, that were they to read the Homilies of St. Chrysostom on the Epistle from Celebrating, and the Other from doing it every day. From this point of Morality RATHERIUS passes to another of Doctrine, and ask's him, to whom he writ; whether he understands figuratively these words, which are spoken in giving the Sacrament; *The Body of Jesus Christ preserve thee to Everlasting Life*. He tells him, that if he understood them in that Sense, he was miserably blind; and assures him, that he ought to believe, that as in the Marriage of Cana in Galilee, the Change of the Water into Wine was Real, and not Figurative; so the Wine is by the Priest's Benediction made the real Blood of Jesus Christ, and the Bread the real Flesh, and not only in a Figure: That if the Taste and the Colour seem to suggest the contrary; yet we are not to stick here; and that as the Mud whereof Man was form'd chang'd its Figure, tho' the Substance still remained, so we ought to believe, that tho' the Colour and Taste of the Bread and Wine remain, yet we receive the real Flesh and the real Blood of Jesus Christ: That if one should ask, what is become of the Substance of the Bread and Wine? it might be answered, that the Bread perhaps vanishes after an invisible manner; or that 'tis changed into Flesh. But that the Gospel teaches us, that this Flesh and this Blood, are the Flesh and Blood of the Body of Jesus Christ: That we ought not to be over-inquisitive about the rest; since 'tis a Mystery of our Faith: because being a Mystery it cannot be comprehended; and being a Mystery of Faith, we should believe it, without going about to explain it.

[But by this Bishop's and Monsieur Du Pin's leave, this parallel will not hold good; nor is it a sound Argument to prove Transubstantiation. The Fallacy of it is apparent. For the change of Water into Wine, as the Marriage of Cana in Galilee, was reckon'd a Miracle, and such as only a God could do: But the change of Bread and Wine into the real Body and Blood of Christ, by a words speaking of the Priest is more Miraculous, and shews the Priest to be endowed with a greater Power than our Saviour himself had, which I presume no Romanist, if he be in his Senses, will be so bold or so blasphemous as to assert. And as for his other Argument to elude the Evidence of our Senses, 'tis altogether as vain; unless it can be proved, that we ought to believe things which contradict our Sense and Reason, as well as those which are above them. The One we grant, the Other we deny. The Mystery of the Incarnation, of the Blessed Trinity in Unity, and the like, are above our Sense and Reason, but contradict neither. But the Mystery of the Transubstantiation, is not only above, but contradicts the joint Testimony of our Senses and Reason at once. So that I leave the World to judge which of the two Opinions is most Orthodox; whether Ours which says, that Christians do by Faith receive very Christ, in the receiving the Elements of Bread and Wine, which remain still the same; or Theirs, which says, that the Bread and Wine are chang'd into the real Body and Blood of Christ, by a Mystical Transubstantiation.]

Foulquin Abbot of Lobes, speaks of almost all these Works of RATHERIUS, which we still have, and likewise makes mention of some others which are lost; viz. a Treatise entitled *The Combat*, or the *Mental Meditations* of one RATHERIUS, Bishop of Verona, and Monk of Lobes, which he writ during his first Exile, and address'd to the most learned Prelates of his Time: A Treatise entitled, *The Frenzy*, because he therein talks like a Mad-man against Baudry: Several Sermons for Holy Thursday, for the Feast of Pentecost, and for several Festivals of the Blessed Virgin, and several other pieces. The same Author adds, that RATHERIUS in his Exile at Canne, meeting with a Copy of the Life



of St. Ursmar, corrected the Solecisms thereof, and sent it to Lobes; and that afterwards being in Provence, he compos'd a Treatise of Grammar, which he dedicated to Roßing's Son, under the Title of *Spera-dorsum*, or, *A Shelter for the back-side*.

The Style of *Ratherius* is obscure and intricate, but pure enough in the Terms: his Expressions are lively and smart, and his Reasonings just enough. He was well acquainted

## Atto Bishop of Vercell.

**A** TTO or Hatto Bishop of Vercell, (not the same with the Bishop of Basil, of the same Name, whom we mentioned in the foregoing Century) is more moderate and less obscure than *Ratherius*. He was the Son of *Aldegaire*, and presided over the Church of Vercell, from the Year 945. till about the Year 960. His Works were a long time conceal'd in the Vatican Library, and were at last made publick by Father *Dabery*, in the eighth Tome of his *Spicilegium*.

The first is a *Capitulary* for the Clergy of his Diocese, containing an hundred Heads or Articles, almost all extracted and copied from the Councils of *Laodicea*, *Carthage*, *Toledo*, and others, from the Decretals of Popes both true and false, and from the *Capitulary* of *Theodulphus*, only excepting a very few, of which perhaps he is the Author. These are the fourth, wherein he enjoyns his Priests, Deacons, and Sub-deacons, to learn the Catholick Faith (that is, the Creed of *Athanasius*) by Heart: The fifth, which is a general Admonition to the Ecclesiasticks, to discharge their Duty, and lead exemplary Lives: The tenth, whereby he ordains, that when they Consecrate the Body of *Jesus Christ*, it should be an intire Oblation, i. e. a whole Loaf unbroken; and that the Priests should celebrate the Mass Fasting. The eighteenth concerning the Institution of *Catechumens*, the Baptism of Mutes, and the Obligation of Godfathers, to instruct those for whom they stand Sureties. The twentieth, whereby 'tis order'd, that in all Churches where Baptism is Administred, there should be a Deacon with the Priest, and enjoyns Priests who have no Deacons, to make speedy choice of some fit Person, and get him to be ordain'd Deacon. The twenty ninth which enjoyns the Conferences of the Priests, on the first day of the Month, a Custom established in the ninth Century, as appears from the *Capitularies* of *Hinemar* and *Riculphus*. The thirty ninth, which imports that for the future all Bishops should be enjoyn'd not to ordain Deacons till they had oblig'd themselves to continue in Celibacy. The seventy fifth, whereby he imposes a Penance on such, who by their slovenliness should Belch after they had receiv'd the Eucharist. The seventy seventh, which imports that those who shall be baptiz'd or confirm'd, shall abstain, during the time prescrib'd by the Bishop, from eating Meat, and for eight days from the use of Marriage, and that no Clerk should be ordain'd till he had received both these Sacraments. And the ninetieth, which concerns the Penances which Priests ought to impose on Publick Offenders, and after what manner they ought to present to the Bishop such Persons as will not submit to Penance.

The next Treatise is about the Persecutions and Troubles which the Ecclesiasticks suffer'd. It is divided into three Parts. The first treats of the Troubles they suffer'd in being censur'd in their Persons. The second, of those they met with in their Ordinations: And the third, of those they endur'd in their Revenues. In the beginning he takes notice that the Church will always have its Persecutors, but that they will never get the Mastery; and that the Church being founded on the Solid Rock of the Apostolical Faith, will always stand by Faith, by the Love of *Jesus Christ*, by the Use of Sacraments, and by the Observation of the Commandments of God. *Happy House!* (says he) *it is not overthrown by Storms, nor shatter'd by Floods, nor shaken by Winds; against which the Gates of Hell will never prevail, tho' assaulted, by them continually; which yields neither to secret Temptations, nor to open Persecutions, nor to the Attacks of Malicious Spirits, nor to the Corruption of Vices and Impieties.* After he had thus exprest himself in general concerning the Persecutions of the Church, he says that one of the most usual in his time, is that when the wicked are corrected by their Superiors, they persecute those who teach them, and openly assault them, that by this means they may evade the submitting to Ecclesiastical Punishments: That to prevent this abuse, it was ordain'd in the Canons, that Bishops should not be accus'd but by Men of unspotted Reputation, nor judg'd by any other Judges than those of their own choosing, nor condemn'd by any other Authority than that of the Holy See, altho' it was allow'd for Metropolitans and Bishops of the Province to hear and examine their Causes. After having establish'd this Point of Civil Law on the false Decretals of the Popes, he says that in his time, they did not only observe these Precautions in the Accusation of Bishops; but that they would not so much as give them leave to make their own defence,

with the Canons, had throwly read the *Latin Fathers*, and very pertinently made use of their Authority and Principles. He reproves with sharpness the Vices and irregularities of his Time, without sparing any Man, and particularly levels against the corrupted Morals of Ecclesiasticks, which he did not stick to detect and describe in very lively Colours, and perhaps with a little too much Picquancy.

and would oblige them either to bring their Brethren to swear that they are innocent, or to provide a Champion to fight for them. He shews that these two Methods of judging the Crime or Innocence of any Man, which were then in use, are both of them unjust and unlawful, especially among Ecclesiasticks. The first, because it does not follow that all those who cannot produce Witnesses to swear to their Innocence, are guilty; and that it had been always the Custom of the Church to acquit those who were not convicted of the Crimes laid to their Charge, without obliging them to bring others to swear for their Innocence. The second Method, (1.) Because it was only in use among Laicks, who did not approve of it themselves. (2.) Because it often happens that the Innocent are vanquish'd, and the Guilty crown'd as Victors. (3.) Because this was to tempt God. (4.) Because it being unlawful for Ecclesiasticks to fight themselves, 'tis altogether unjust to oblige them to find Champions in their stead in order to be acquitted: 'Tis to put them into an incapacity of clearing themselves of one Crime, unless by committing another. He then makes this Objection to himself; *But must we suffer all the Faults which Ecclesiasticks may commit to go unpunish'd?* He answers, that there are some Persons who ought to suffer it; and that there are other Persons whose duty it is to reprove and punish them according to the Power invested in them for that purpose, and with the necessary Precautions: but that a rash Judgment should not be pass'd on those who have receiv'd a Power to judge the very Angels; That the Clergy ought not to be judg'd by Laicks, but by Bishops; and that Laicks ought not to concern themselves with punishing their Crimes, unless they are appeal'd to by the Bishop of the Diocese. *And yet (says he) the quite contrary is now observable; For the Civil Authority incroaches on the Ecclesiastical; and the latter is now crush'd by the former, which ought to support it. So that as in the Election of Prelates, the Will of the Prince is follow'd more than the Decrees of the Holy Fathers; even so in their Condemnation, more regard is had to gratifie their Humours, than to proceed according to Canon Law. And from hence it happens, that by the Injustice of unrighteous Judges, the Offences of the Guilty are no Bar to the holding their Dignity; and Dignity does not exempt any Person from an unjust Accusation.*

The second Part is about the Authority which Princes had usurp'd in the Ecclesiastical Ordinations of Bishops: He says that they ought to be made by those who have a Right thereto according to the Canons and Customs of the Church; but that Princes absolutely require that their Edict should be of universal force in the case: That he, whom they chose, must be receiv'd, tho' never so wicked; and that the Man, whom others shall elect, should be rejected, tho' never so deserving: That the Faults of those whom they chuse, how great soever, were look'd upon as nothing: That they had no regard to the Virtues, but to the Riches, the Parentage, and the Services of the Persons: That many were ordain'd for Money, others by Recommendation, or because they are Relations, or in recompence of some Service they had done: That there are some Princes so blind, as to prefer Infants to Bishopricks, who had not so much as one of the necessary Qualifications; and who are oblig'd to be under the Care of Tutors and Masters, even while they are the Masters and Judges of a whole Diocese.

In the last Part he reprehends the Abuse which prevail'd in his time, of rifling the Revenues of the Church, when the Episcopal See was vacant by the Death, or by the Expulsion of a Bishop. He cites in the three Parts several Canons, and a great many fine Passages out of the Fathers, to back his own Arguments.

To these Treatises are annex'd eleven Letters of Atto.

The first is directed to a Bishop nam'd *Waldon*, who was at variance with his Prince. He exhorts him to submit to his Prince, and produces several Passages out of the Fathers concerning the Obedience which is due to Kings. This *Waldon* is doubtless the same with him whom *Berenger* had made Bishop of *Cuma*, and who afterwards prov'd treacherous to him, and withdrew to the Emperor *Otho*, as *Luitprand* relates it.

The three following Letters are directed to the Faithful of his own Diocese: The two first are against those, who pretended to Divine and Prophetic of things to come: and the last is against those who would feast on *Fridays*.



Atto Bishop of Verceil.

The fifth is directed to a Bishop named *Afo*. He therein shews by the Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws, that Marriage is prohibited between those who had contracted a Spiritual Affinity by Baptism, contrary to the Advice of that Bishop, who found Fault that one *Thierry*, who had marry'd his God-father's Daughter, was divorc'd from her, and excommunicated till such time as he made his Appearance in a Court of Judicature before the Archbishop and Bishops.

The sixth is a Letter of *Gunzon* Deacon of the Church of *Navarre*, wherein he sends *Atto* the Copy of a Letter, pretended to be Pope *Zachary's*, to *Theodorus* Bishop of *Pavia*, about the Prohibition of Marriage between those who have contracted a Spiritual Affinity.

The seventh is a Letter of *Ambrose*, a Priest of *Milan*, directed to *Atto*, whereby he gives him to understand that these sorts of Marriages were likewise prohibited in his Church; and desires he would let him know the meaning of the Titles *Priestesses* and *Deaconesses*, mention'd in *Zachary's* Letter.

*Atto* replies in the eighth Letter, that the *Priestesses* and *Deaconesses* were Widows chosen to assist the Women in the Administration of the Sacrament of Baptism. He does not approve at all their Opinion, who pretend that the *Deaconesses* were *Abbeesses*: and he observes that these Titles of *Priests* and *Deacons* might likewise be given to Women.

The ninth and tenth are directed to the Ecclesiasticks of his own Diocese, against those who kept Company with lew'd Women, with whom they maintain'd a scandalous Familiarity, and whom they kept and maintain'd out of the Revenues of the Church.

In the last, he advises the Bishops, his Brethren, upon what was necessary to be done in case the King of *Italy*, (*viz.* *Berenger* and *Adalbert* mention'd formerly) fearing their Enemies, should require him and the rest of the Bishops to continue Loyal to them, not only by the Oath of Allegiance, but by exacting Hostages from them. He gives them to understand that 'tis not his Opinion that they ought to give them any. (1.) Because he is not sensible, that the

Holy Scriptures and the Fathers have commanded any thing else than to be Loyal and Subject to one's Prince; and to Atto Bishops do one's best to preserve the publick Peace of the State, and to provide for the Safety of one's King. (2.) Because 'tis a sort of Punishment inflicted on the Innocent for another's Fault, which is contrary to Justice. (3.) Because 'tis the exposing of a Man's Life for some Temporal Interest, and the leaving it to the changeable Will of others. (4.) Because 'tis such a new and strange thing, as would make the World believe either that the Bishops of whom these Hostages were requir'd, are more disloyal than their Predecessors, or else that the Princes are more odious. Whereupon he exhorts his Brethren to pray to God for the Safety of their Princes, and to beg him to infuse into them a good Opinion of the Loyalty of the Prelates of their Kingdom, and that he would preserve them steady and constant in their Fidelity.

There is still in the Manuscript at *Rome* another piece of *Atto*, intituled *The Poliptick*, or *The Perpendicular*, which serves as a Reproof of Vice, and a Recommender of Vertue; and seventeen Sermons which 'tis impossible to Transcribe, because the Manuscript is so torn in this place, that one cannot read it. There are likewise several things wanting in the Works which are copied out; all which might be supply'd by the Manuscript which they say is in the Archives of the Church of *Verceil*; but the Canons of that Church would never communicate them, nor suffer them to be copied, notwithstanding the importunity of Father *Dachery* made by Cardinal *Bona*, and the Ambassador of the Duke of *Savoy*: whether 'tis because they knew not where this Treasure lay, or because they were minded it should lie dormant there.

The Works of this Author are nothing else almost but a Collection of Citations out of Scripture, the Canons, and the Fathers, which were very applicable to his Purpose. What is his own, is writ with some Spirit, and after a lively and natural Manner.

## LUITPRAND.

Luitprand

**L**uitprand, or Lintprand, is one of the greatest Ornaments of *Italy*. *Trithemius* assures us that he was an *Italian*, and descended from a Family of *Pavia*: Others suppose that his Family was *Spanish*. However it be, his Father was sent by *Hugh* King of *Italy* to the Emperor at *Constantinople*; and being return'd from that Embassy, he embrac'd the Monastick Life, leaving *Luitprand* very young. He was brought to *Pavia*, and made Deacon of that Church. His Relations presented him to *Berenger* II. to be his Secretary. He serv'd him a long time, and was sent Ambassador by that Prince about the Year 948. to *Constantine Porphyrogeneta* Emperor of the *East*. Some say that soon after his return he was Bishop of *Cremona*; but 'tis more likely that he was not advanced to that Dignity till *Otho* I. had render'd himself Master of *Italy*: For he soon fell into disgrace with *Berenger*, who persecuted him and all his Family; so that he was forc'd to fly into *Germany*, where he compos'd his History, on the top of which he only assumes the Title of Deacon. He came into *Italy* with *Otho*, and assisted at the Council held at *Rome* in the Year 963. against *John* XII. in the quality of Bishop of *Cremona*, where he was the Emperor's Interpreter. In the Year 968. he was sent Ambassador by that Prince to *Phocas* Emperor of the *East*, and has writ himself the Relation of that Embassy, which contains very excellent Remarks on the Manners of the *Grecian* Emperors of that Time. His History is dedicated to *Raimond* Bishop of *Elvira* in *Spain*. It is divided into six Books, and begins with the Reigns of *Leo* Emperor of the *East*, and of *Arnulphus* Emperor of the *West*, and ends at *Luitprand's* Embassy from *Berenger* to *Constantine*. But the last Book is imperfect; and instead of continuing the History, a Fragment is added, containing the History of the Expulsion of *Berenger*, of the Condemnation of Pope *John* XII. and of all that happen'd at *Rome* till Pope *Be-*

*nedict* was outed of his Popedom. The Fragment seems to me to be *Luitprand's*, if we may judge by the Style, and certainly it belongs to an Author of that time. The third Book is intituled, *The Counterpoison*, that is, *The Revenge*; because therein he undertakes to revenge himself of the base usage he had receiv'd from *Berenger*. This History, and the Relation of his Embassy to the Emperor *Phocas*, are the only genuine Pieces of *Luitprand*. For the Book of the Lives of the Popes from *St. Peter* down to *Formosus*, is not writ in *Luitprand's* Style, nor is it mention'd in *Sigebert* or *Trithemius*. Some believe that it belongs to a more ancient Author, but they are mistaken; for it ends with a Passage copied out of the History of *Luitprand* which is a farther Evidence that this Work is none of his: But what Time soever it was of, 'tis nothing else but a vile Copier of *Anastasius* the Librarian. As for the *Chronicon* which goes under the name of *Luitprand*, 'tis apparently a spurious Piece, which ought to be reckon'd among the Romances made in the form of ancient *Chronicons* by the *Spaniards*.

*Luitprand's* Style is harsh and rough, but strong and vehement. He wrote his History in a patheticall Manner, but such as is not pleasant, without observing the Regular Order and Series of Times. He therein speaks particularly of the Affairs of *Italy*, and of that which concern'd the Empire of the *West*, and therein likewise inserts something of the Empire of the *East*, and of the History of the Popes.

His History was printed at *Basil* in the Year 1532. The Relation of his Embassy at *Ingolstadt* in the Year 1600. the Book of Lives of the Popes, which is foisted on him at *Mayence* in the Year 1602. and all his Works together, with the spurious *Chronicon*, were publish'd by *Jerome* of *Higuera* the Jesuit, and printed in *Folio* at *Antwerp* in the Year 1640.

Luitprand

## C H A P. III.

### An Account of the Churches of France.

Of the Churches of France

**I**N the tenth Century the Church of *Rheims* was look'd upon as the chief Church of *France*, and its Archbishops had the principal Share in the Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs of that Kingdom. The Privileges which the Popes granted to them, the great Revenues which they possess'd, and which were considerably augmented at that Time, the Prerogative which they had of Consecrating Kings,

the Post they held in the Assemblies both of Church and State; their Quality, their Reputation, and their Personal Merit, rais'd them to a higher Pitch of Power and Dignity than any Prelate could hope for. But forasmuch as all great Dignities are envied and eagerly thirsted after, and the higher the Post is, the more 'tis expos'd to Storms and Dangers; 'tis not all to be wonder'd at that there were so many

Of the Churches of France.



Artifices us'd to come into this Archbishoprick, so many heats to keep in it, and if those that had the possession of it, have been subject to so many Scandals, as the ensuing History will make appear. But because the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Churches of France, and particularly of that of Rheims, bear so near a Relation to those of the State; and because the Changes of Kings, and the Revolutions of the Government have likewise produc'd very many Alterations in the Affairs of the Church: 'Tis necessary to begin with giving you a Scheme of the State of the French Monarchy, and of the Succession of the Kings who govern'd France during the tenth Century.

*The state of France after the Death of Charles the Great, which happen'd in the Year 888. \* his Son Charles, surnam'd the Simple, being still in his Minority, the Neustrians met at Compeigne, elected Odo or Eudes, Count of Paris, and Duke of France, to govern the Kingdom, gave him the Quality of King, and caus'd him to be crown'd by Gautier Archbishop of Sens. On the other side, Radulphus the Son of Conrad, made himself Master of the Country between Mont-jou and the Appenine Mountains; that is, Savoy and Switzerland, and caus'd himself to be crown'd King of Lower Burgundy. Lewis the Son of Bozon, seiz'd on the Country which lies from Lyons to the Sea, between the Rhone and the Alpes, and went under the name of King of Arles or Provence, and caus'd that Kingdom to be conferr'd upon him by a Council held at Valence on purpose in the Year 890. Thus France was divided into three Kingdoms: The Kingdom of France, which comprehended Normandy, Aquitain, and the Duchy of Burgundy; the Kingdom of Arles; and the Kingdom of Lower Burgundy. Eudes was not long in quiet possession of a Kingdom to which he could pretend no Right. Charles the Simple had his Partisans, who sent for him from England, whither his Mother had carry'd him, and caus'd him to be crown'd at Rheims in the Year 893. He immediately enter'd into possession of a part of the Kingdom, and rais'd a Civil War between the two Parties; which within a while was appeas'd, and wholly ended by the Death of Eudes, which happen'd on the thirtieth of January 898. By his Death Charles the Simple took possession of the Kingdom of France, not of that of Arles, nor of Lower Burgundy. In the Year 918. he added Lorraine to his Dominions, having conquer'd it from Henry the Faulconer, after the Death of Conrad. But the Malecontents among the French Nobles, took an occasion from this War, to cut him out new Work, and elected Robert the Brother of Eudes King, who was crown'd at Rheims on the twentieth of June in the Year 922. so that Charles was forc'd to quit Lorraine to come and fight Robert. This last was kill'd in Battle, but his Party elected in his room his Brother-in-Law Radulphus II. Duke of Burgundy. Charles the Simple struck up an Alliance with Henry the Faulconer, to whom he remitted Lorraine, upon condition that he should aid him; but he was treacherously taken in the Year 923. by Hebert Count of Vermandois, who kept him Prisoner in Thierry Castle. The Queen his Wife withdrew into Eng-*

land with her Son Lewis. From that time Charles the Simple was always in the Power of Hebert, or Hugh le Blanc Count of Paris, Robert's Son, who kept him Prisoner till his Death, which happen'd in the Year 929. Upon his Death Radulphus was left in quiet possession of the Kingdom to the Year 936. at which time he dy'd without Issue, leaving the Dukedom of Burgundy to his Brother Hugh the Black, and the chief Authority of France to Hugh the White, Count of Paris and Orleans, and Duke of France, his Brother-in-Law. However, this Man had not the Heart to take the Crown upon him, being afraid of Hebert Count of Vermandois, and Gisalbert Duke of Lorraine; and he thought it more advisable to send for the Son of Charles the Simple out of England, who upon that account was call'd Lewis d'Outremer. He was receiv'd without any Opposition, and crown'd at Laon in the Year 936. Lewis during his Reign had great Contests with the Counts Hebert and Hugh, and was sometimes at War, sometimes at Peace with Otto King of Germany. But at last, having accommodated Matters with Hugh, he dy'd peaceably in the Year 954. leaving the Title of King to his Son Lotharius, an Infant of fourteen or fifteen Years of Age, and the Administration of the Government to Hugh, to whom the young King granted the Duchy of Burgundy and Aquitain. Hugh dy'd in the Year 956. and left four Children, of whom the Eldest, nam'd Hugh-Capet, was declar'd Duke of France in the Year 959. by Lotharius, who gave him likewise Poitou. Lotharius reign'd peaceably three and thirty Years, having after the Death of Hugh the White, resum'd the Royal Authority. But this was lost in the hands of his Son Lewis, surnam'd the Fainthearted; who surviv'd his Father only sixteen Months under the Tutelage of Hugh-Capet, and was the last King of the Carolignian Line. For after his Death Hugh-Capet was elected King by the Nobles of Noyon, about the end of May in the Year 987. and afterwards crown'd at Rheims, without any regard had to Charles Duke of Lorraine, Brother to Lotharius, whom they hated, because he had taken an Oath of Allegiance to the King of Germany for his Duchy of Lorraine. The next Year Hugh-Capet caus'd his Son Robert also to be crown'd. However Duke Charles was not altogether out of hopes of re-investing himself in the States of his Ancestors, and having seiz'd on Laon and Rheims, he made War for some time with Hugh; but was taken in the Year 991. in the City of Laon, and carried Prisoner to Senlis, and from thence to Orleans, where he was shut up in a Tower, wherein he dy'd three Years after. And thus the Kingdom of France was transfer'd from the Carolignian Line to that of Hugh-Capet, who liv'd till the Year 996. and left his Son Robert in quiet possession of the Kingdom, which this good King govern'd till the three and thirtieth Year of the ensuing Century. And thus much may suffice for what concerns the Political Estate of the Kingdom of France: Let us now proceed to the Ecclesiastical Affairs, wherein the Archbishops of Rheims had a principal share.

## Fulcus Arch-Bishop of Rheims.

*Fulcus succeeded Hincmarus in the Archbishoprick of Rheims, in the Year 882. He was a Person of Quality, who had been a long time at Court. Immediately he sent to the Pope Marinus his Confession of the Faith, according to Custom, and receiv'd the Pall from him. In a second Letter he demanded a Confirmation of the Privileges granted by the Popes to his Predecessors, and made Complaints to him of the Estate bequeath'd by his Brother Rampo, for the building of a Monastery, of which Ermenfroy, who had married his Widow, had taken Possession. Marinus wrote on this last point to Gerard Archbishop of Sens, in whose Diocess this Monastery was; and to John Archbishop of Roan, to whose Diocess Ermenfroy did belong, giving him orders to enjoin him to relinquish the Estate which he had so unjustly possess'd himself of; and if he would not do it, to make use of Canonical Punishments against him. Fulcus wrote likewise to Pope Adrian the Successor of Marinus, to Congratulate his Advancement to the Popedom; and at the same time sent him some Copies of the Privileges granted by the Popes, Leo, Benedict, and Nicholas to the Church of Rheims, to which he desires him to grant a Confirmation. In the same Letter he intreats him to send a Commission to the Archbishops of Sens and Roan, to adjust the business of the Monastery, which Ermenfroy had taken possession of, and writes in favour of Frotarius Archbishop of Bruges, who was accus'd by a Monk of his Diocess; assuring the Pope, that he had been elected by the Bishops of his Province, by the Clergy and Laity of his own Diocess, and confirm'd by Pope Marinus. He sent another very submissive Letter to Pope Stephen, wherein he thanks him for the Honour he did him in writing to him, and in treating with him as a Friend and*

Brother; Titles which he could not pretend to, thinking it an Honour to be his Servant and Subject. He assures him, that if he were not surrounded, and as it were Besieged by the Barbarians, who were not above five Leagues off his City, and who Beleagu'd Paris; he would have undertaken a Journey to Rome. He informs him of the part he bore in the Snares which were laid against him, and makes his acknowledgments for the favour shew'd by the Pope to his Son Guy, who was the Archbishop's Kinsman. He promises Obedience to the Pope, and exalts the Dignity of the Church of Rheims, which he pretends had been founded by St. Sixtus, who was sent by St. Peter, and was the chief of the whole Kingdom. He adds, that Pope Hormisdas had established the Archbishop of Rheims, his Vicar in Gaul; and desires him to confirm the Privileges granted by his Predecessors. He presses him to order Ermenfroy to be excommunicated by the Archbishops of Sens and Roan; and intreats him to write to King Charles, to oblige him to restore in full to the Church of Rheims the Revenues which belong'd to it.

The Pope answer'd Fulcus, that he was glad to see he had such good thoughts of the Holy See; he assur'd him, that he look'd upon Guy as his own Child; that he was deeply affected with the Defolation of France, caus'd by the Barbarians; that he pray'd God to deliver that Kingdom out of all its Trouble; And Lastly, he acquainted him, that he had sent Letters according to his desire, to the Archbishops of Sens and Roan.

Fulcus wrote a second Letter to this Pope, wherein he renews his complaints against Ermenfroy, who would not obey the Injunctions of the two Archbishops, and intreats the Pope to cause him to be excommunicated. At the same time



time he asks his Advice, whether it be lawful to ordain Bishops every Festival Day.

The Pope sent him afterwards several Letters.

The first is a Letter of Consolation, for the Miseries he underwent.

The second is a Recommendatory Letter, in Behalf of a Man who was oppress'd by his Children and Relations.

The third is directed to the Bishops of France against *Frotarius*, who had seiz'd upon the See of *Burges*, after he had been turn'd out of the Bishopricks of *Bordeaux* and *Poitiers*. He enjoyns him under the Penalty of Excommunication, to relinquish *Burges*, and return to *Bordeaux*.

The fourth is in Favour of *Teutboldus*, whom he had ordain'd Bishop of *Langres*. He therein tells him, that after the Death of *Isaac* Bishop of that Church, *Aurelian* Archbishop of *Lyons* had ordain'd in his Room a Monk call'd *Egilon*, without being elected by either Clergy or Laity; who had elected *Teutboldus*, and desir'd the Pope that he might be consecrated; that being willing to maintain the Privileges of all Churches, he had sent to *Aurelian* to ordain *Teutboldus*, provided it appear'd to him, that he had been unanimously elected by Clergy and Laity: That he had sent a Bishop to be upon the Spot, to see that this Order were duly put in Execution; but that *Aurelian* had put a Trick upon him, by sending him before to *Langres*, with a Promise, that he would be there soon after him; and that instead of being so good as his Word, he suffer'd the Bishop to wait for him to no Purpose: That the Clergy and Laity had sent an Act of the Election to *Rome*, and pray'd that *Teutboldus* might be consecrated; that he had writ again to *Aurelian*, requiring him to ordain him; but that instead of obeying his Order, he made it his Business to bring the other into Possession; Lastly, That upon the fresh Instances of the Clergy and Laity of *Langres*, he had ordain'd *Teutboldus*; he enjoyns *Fulcus* to put him into Possession. *Fulcus* reply'd to him, that he was very willing to put his Orders touching *Teutboldus* into Execution, but that he had been oblig'd to defer it upon the Instance of King *Eudes*, who would send his Ambassadors to him, to know his Resolution. He adds, that the Bishops were very glad at his declaring, that he was willing to maintain the Rights and Privileges of Bishops in their full Force. He desires to know of him, whether it be lawful for any of his Suffragans to execute the Orders of the King, or of any other without his Leave, or to undertake any Thing contrary to his Prohibitions.

The same Pope confirms the Privileges of the Church of *Rheims*, and prohibits all Persons whatsoever from seizing or detaining any of the Revenues which belong to it. He likewise wrote to *Fulcus* about the Difference which happen'd between *Herman* Archbishop of *Cologne*, and *Aldegairus* Bishop of *Hamburg* and *Breme*. They had both written to the Holy See upon that Subject, and had been cited thither. *Aldegairus* came to *Rome* accordingly, but *Herman* did not appear. However, the Pope being unwilling to determine a Matter of that Consequence, without hearing both Parties, he orders *Fulcus* to call a Synod in his Name at *Worms*, with the Bishops his Suffragans and Neighbours; and to cite thither *Herman* and *Aldegairus*, with the Archbishop of *Mayence* and his Suffragans, to examine strictly the Pretensions of both Parties. He invites him to come to *Rome* upon that Affair and others, or at least to send thither some able Person, with the Parties concern'd, that so he might be fully inform'd of all Things.

The Pope being dead before this Affair was adjust'd, *Fulcus* wrote about it to his Successor *Formosus*, praying that he would continue him in the same Commission. He thank'd him at the same Time for the Complements he had sent him by the Abbess *Bertha*; and asks his Advice, what ought to be done against one who had a mind to seize on the Estate which his Brother-in-Law Count *Everard*, had bequeath'd to a Monastery, which he had built in Honour of St. *Calixtus*, whose Body he had brought from *Rome*. He withal declares to him, that he was very sorry to hear that there were some Persons, who gave Disturbance to the Church of *Rome*, and he was ready to stand in its Defence. In the Conclusion he gives them to understand, that several Bishops of France requir'd the Pall, which they ought by no Means to have, since it would cause them to despise their Metropolitans; and that he ought to take special Care about it, because this Abuse might be the Cause of a great deal of Trouble in the Church of France.

Pope *Formosus* return'd him this Answer, that he was oblig'd to him for the Concern he shew'd at the unhappy State of the Church of *Rome*: That the Eastern Churches were likewise disturb'd by ancient Heresies and new Schisms: That the Bishops of *Africa* had sent their Deputies to *Rome*, for the adjusting and making up a Schism, which was then on Foot between the Bishops of that Country; and that there were several other Deputies at *Rome*, from divers Parts, who requir'd Answers upon several distinct Subjects: That he had resolv'd to hold a Synod the first of *March*, to which he invited him. He had already invited him to another Synod by a former Letter, whereby he confirm'd the Privileges granted to the Church of *Rheims*, and prohibited

any Seizure to be made of the Revenues which belong'd to it. By the same Letter he likewise acquainted him of the Coronation of *Guy* perform'd by him that same Year.

By another Letter the Year ensuing, he confirm'd the Donations granted to the Church of *Rheims*, and gave *Fulcus* to understand, that he had crown'd *Lambert* the Son of *Guy* Emperor. He likewise reprimands several Laicks who would not be subject to their Archbishop.

*Formosus* wrote likewise several Letters in Favour of *Charles the Simple*, against *Eudes*. He sent for *Fulcus* to *Rome* upon that Subject, desiring all Acts of Hostility might cease, till his Return. *Fulcus* excus'd himself from his Journey, and tells the Pope that he ought to write to *Arnulphus* King of *Germany*, requiring him to assist *Charles*, and to threaten *Eudes* with Excommunication if he continued to ravage France. The Pope wrote to each of them; but it could not hinder *Eudes* from carrying on his Design: And *Arnulphus* was so far from favouring *Charles*, that he enter'd the Kingdom, laid Siege to the City of *Rheims*; ravag'd the Country, and particularly rifled the Revenues which belong'd to the Church. *Fulcus* made his Complaint of this to the Pope. A while after he likewise wrote another Letter to him, wherein he takes Notice, that it was expedient, that *Lambert* should enter into an Alliance with King *Charles*, and that the Pope should write to *Eudes* to inform him, that it was highly reasonable, that *Charles* should enjoy part of his Father's Dominions. At the same Time he advises him, about three Persons who lay under perpetual Excommunication, because of the ill Usage they shew'd to *Teutboldus* Bishop of *Langres*, and to *Gautier* Archbishop of *Sens*; viz: whether he might admit them to Penance: And about *Heriland* Bishop of *Teroüane*, turn'd out of his Diocese by the Normans; whether he might give him another Bishoprick, and place in his Stead a Person more agreeable to the People of the Place, and who would speak the Language of the Country. The Pope return'd him this Answer, That he was oblig'd to him for what he wrote with Relation to *Lambert*; that the three Persons he spoke of, had been condemn'd to a perpetual Excommunication, for having put out the Eyes of *Teutboldus*, and for having cast *Gautier* into Prison, and that they ought still to lye under that Sentence.

The last Letter which Pope *Formosus* wrote to *Fulcus*, related to *Berchairus*, whom the Laity and Clergy of *Chalons* had elected their Bishop by the Consent of King *Eudes*. He complains of the unwillingness of *Fulcus* to consecrate him; and that after the Decease of the late Bishop, he had by way of Prevention, caus'd this Bishoprick to be govern'd by *Heriland* Bishop of *Teroüane*, who had been turn'd out of his own Diocels; that afterwards he had ordain'd *Mancion*, a Man of a profligate Life; and that *Berchairus* intending to go to *Rome*, had been arrested by *Conrad* the Creature of *Fulcus*, and sent into Banishment. For this he cites the Archbishop to *Rome*, with *Mancion*, *Conrad*, and several other Bishops.

*Fulcus* return'd no Reply to *Formosus*, but wrote a Letter of Compliment to *Stephen VI.* his Successor. However this did not prevent that Pope from citing him to a Synod, to be holden the latter End of September. He excus'd his going thither, and sent several of his Clergy in his Room. He gave the Pope to understand, that he wonder'd at the hard Expressions of his Letter; and the more, because he had been always very submissive to the Holy See, and had received nothing from it but Kindnesses and Civilities. He imputes this Harshness of the Pope to the false Reports he had receiv'd of him. To justify himself, he shews how he had been educated from his Childhood, in all that an Ecclesiastick ought to know: How afterwards he was call'd to Court by King *Charles* the Son of *Lewis*, and continued in it till the Reign of *Charlemagne*; that he had been elected Archbishop of *Rheims* by the Bishops of the Province, and by the Clergy and Laity of that City; and how industrious he had been in promoting the Interest of that Church. Lastly he adds, that if King *Eudes* would give him Leave, he would go to *Rome* when the Way was open, for he was then enclosed by *Zuentibold* the Son of *Arnulphus*, who had basely us'd and rifled his Church. In fine, he pray'd the Pope to free him from that Tyranny, and not to oblige him to relinquish his Church, at a Time wherein his Presence was so necessary. These are all the Letters of *Fulcus* to the Popes, and of the Popes to that Archbishop, of which *Flooard* gives us an Extract, in the four first Chapters of the fourth Book of his History.

In his fifth Chapter the same Author mentions the Letters of this Archbishop, directed to the Kings and Princes.

The first is to *Charles the Gros*, the Son of *Lewis* of *Germany*, after the Death of *Charles the Bald*, wherein he pray'd him to protect France against the Normans, who had ravaged the Country, and laid Siege to the principal Towns thereof.

In a second Letter to the same Emperor, he intreats that he would procure the Pall for him from the Pope, and the Confirmation of the Privileges granted to the Church of *Rheims*.

Of the Churches of France. Other Letters of Stephen V to Fulcus.

Of the Churches of France.

The Letter of Fulcus to Pope Formosus.

The Letter of Formosus to Fulcus.

The Letters of Fulcus to Stephen VI.

The Letters of Fulcus to the Kings and Princes.



The third is directed to *Arnulphus* King of Germany, where-  
 of the in he gives him the Reason why he had anointed *Charles the*  
 Churches Simple King. He gives him to understand, that upon the  
 of France. Death of *Charles the Bald*, the *French* immediately made  
 their Application to him, to be accepted under his Protec-  
 tion: But that having received no Protection nor Counte-  
 nance from him, they were obliged to choose *Charles* for  
 their King, who was the only Man next him of the Royal  
 Blood, and whose Brothers and Predecessors had been Kings:  
 That the Reason why they did not choose him sooner was,  
 because being too young he was not capable of governing  
 the Kingdom, especially at a Time when the *Normans* were  
 ready to rife and pillage the whole Kingdom; and that they  
 had done it at last without consulting *Arnulphus* in the Case,  
 according to the Custom of *France*, which always was, when  
 one King was dead, to put up in his Place one of the Royal  
 Family, without consulting any Foreign Power. He like-  
 wise answer'd that which they accus'd him of, viz. That  
 he had never crown'd *Charles the Simple*, but that he might  
 with the more Ease bestow the Kingdom on *Guy*; and makes  
 it appear, that it was only a Calumny invented by his En-  
 mies. And whereas some were pleas'd to raise a Report,  
 that *Charles* was not the Son of *Lewis the Lisper*; he says,  
 that the very sight of him would be a sufficient Evidence to  
 convince them of the contrary; because any one might easily  
 discern in him, the very Air and Features of his Father.  
 Lastly, he intreats *Arnulphus* to do Justice to this innocent  
 King, and his own Kinsman: To consider that the King-  
 dom of *France* had always been an Hereditary Kingdom;  
 and to believe that the *French* had no other Design, than  
 that *Charles* should be led by his Counsels, and bound to  
 him in a firm Bond of Amity and Alliance.

In the fourth Letter which is likewise directed to *Arnul-  
 phus*, he assures him of the Fidelity wherewith King *Charles*  
 and himself had observed the Treaties made with that Prince.  
 He informs him, that this King being minded to attack *Eudes*,  
 had writ to *Guy* and the Pope, to engage them on his side.

The fifth was written to King *Eudes*. He intreats him  
 to grant the Church of *Laon* Liberty to choose a Bishop,  
 in the Room of *Didon* lately deceas'd.

The sixth was directed to *Charles*, whom he very sharply  
 reproves for his Intention of making a League with the  
*Normans*, and of making use of them to reinstate him in  
 his Kingdom. He remonstrates to him, that it was a Piece  
 of Idolatry, thus to enter into the Alliance and Interest of  
*Pagans*: That the Kings his Predecessors were Servants of  
 the true God; and that he had renouced him, by joyning  
 with *Infidels*; that this was not the way to re-ascend the  
 Throne of his Ancestors, but rather to loose it, by pulling  
 on his Head the Wrath of an angry God: That those who  
 gave him this Advice were his Enemies, and that if he fol-  
 lowed it, he knew not how to continue loyal to him, nor  
 how to prevent himself from drawing off as many as he  
 could from obeying him, but that he must be forced to ex-  
 communicate him, and condemn him with a perpetual *Ana-  
 thema*. He adds, that he wrote these Things with extreme  
 Grief and Concern, because it was his Desire, that he might  
 be had in Honour both with God and Man, and that he  
 might regain his Throne by the Help of the Lord, and not  
 by the Assistance of the Devil; because the Kingdoms which  
 God bestows are firm and lasting; whereas those which  
 are acquir'd by Injustice and Rapine are uncertain, and of  
 a short standing.

The seventh was directed to the Emperor *Lambert*, whom  
 he congratulated upon the Pope's Declaration, that he would  
 look upon him as his own Son. He exhorts him always to  
 bear a due Respect and Honour to the Holy See, because  
 that was the only Way of securing himself an Interest in  
 Heaven, and of obtaining a Superiority over all his En-  
 mies. He wish'd him to remember that his Uncle *Lambert*,  
 who had been an Enemy to the Holy See, perish'd miser-  
 ably; and he intreated him to intercede with the Pope for  
 their Kinsman *Rampon*, who had been excommunicated.

The eighth was dedicated to *Albrade*, or *Alfrede*, the King  
 of Great Britain, whom he congratulates for the Choice he  
 made of a worthy Person to fill the See of *Canterbury*; be-  
 cause he heard that his Country they advanced such a Sort  
 of Men, as permitted the Bishops and Priests to have Wo-  
 men among them, and the Laicks to marry their Kindred,  
 as well as those Virgins who were dedicated to God's Ser-  
 vice; and to have a Wife and a Concubine at the same  
 Time.

The ninth was directed to *Richilda*, a Queen or Empress,  
 whom he inform'd of the ill Reports which went about of  
 her Conduct, and exhorts her to lead a Life more con-  
 formable to Christianity, and to her State of Widowhood,  
 which she had devoted to God.

In the sixth Chapter *Flodoard* makes mention of the Letters  
 of Fulcuso which *Fulcus* sent to several Bishops.

In the first directed to *Frotharius*, Archbishop of *Bordeaux*,  
 he desires that Archbishop to preserve the Revenues of the  
 Church of *Rheims*, which were in his Diocese, and to ex-  
 communicate such as should seize on them.

The second is directed to *Rostaing*, Archbishop of *Arles*,  
 on the same Subject.

In the third directed to *Herman*, Archbishop of *Cologne*,  
 he declares that he had a great Desire to hold a Conference  
 with him, and the Bishops of his Province, but that he was  
 prevented by the Incursions of the *Normans*: And he prays  
 him to do him Justice with Relation to some of the Re-  
 venues belonging to his Church, of which several Persons  
 had made a Schism; the Cognizance of this Affair having  
 been refer'd to *Wilbert* his Predecessor, and now laid be-  
 fore him.

The fourth written to the same Person, relates likewise  
 to the Interest of the Church of *Rheims*, for some Revenues  
 which were embezzled from it.

The fifth is directed to *Gontier*, Archbishop of *Sens*, about  
 the Business of the Abbess *Hildegarda*. He intreats this  
 Archbishop not to be so false as he has been, to the Assign-  
 ments made upon this Account, and to do Right to that  
 Abbess.

In the sixth he congratulates *Pleonicus* a Bishop of *Eng-  
 land*, for his endeavouring to root out those Disorders of  
 which he had made mention in his Letter to *Alfrede*, and  
 he exhorts him to continue in his Design.

The seventh was directed to *John* a Roman Prelate, whom  
 he put in mind of some ancient Tokens of Friendship, which  
 he had shewn to him; and intreats him to assure Pope *Ste-  
 phen* of his Submission to him, and begs he would stand his  
 Friend in that Affair.

The eighth, ninth and tenth were directed to *Dodilon*, Bi-  
 shop of *Cambray*. By the two first he calls him to the Sy-  
 nod, which was to meet about determining the Business be-  
 tween *Hildegarda* and *Hermingard*: And by the last, wrote  
 in his own Name, and in the Name of the Bishops his Suf-  
 fragans, he enjoyns him to compel Count *Baldwin* to make  
 due Restitutions of the Church Revenues which he had seiz'd  
 on, to send him the Letter which they wrote to him upon  
 the same Subject; and to go and meet with Bishop *Hetilon*  
 at *Arras*.

The eleventh was writ to this *Hetilon*, upon the Account  
 of *Dodilon*'s having caus'd the Body of St. *Calixtus* to be  
 taken away; which had been bequeathed by *Radulphus* to  
 the Church of *Rheims* whither it was brought.

The twelfth was directed to *Didon* Bishop of *Laon*, whom  
 he reproves for having refused the Sacraments of Penance  
 and the Eucharist, at the Point of Death, to one *Waleber*,  
 who was executed for High Treason; and for denying him  
 Burial, and forbidding any Prayers to be made for him.

In the thirteenth he desires *Peter* a Roman Prelate to ob-  
 tain the Favour of Pope *Formosus*, that he might put *Heri-  
 land*, turn'd out of his own Diocese of *Teroniane*, into Pos-  
 session of the Bishoprick of *Chalons*, putting him in mind  
 of what had been done in the Case of *Aetardus* Bishop of  
*Nants*, who had been translated to *Tours*.

The fourteenth was directed to *Honoratus* Bishop of *Beau-  
 vais*: He complains, that this Bishop was his open and pro-  
 fess'd Enemy; exhorts him to a Reconciliation, and gives  
 him to understand, that he was accus'd of Rapines: He  
 takes Notice to him of the Excommunication of one nam'd  
*Aldramus*, which the Bishop of *Beauvais* had thunder'd out,  
 and which he said that the Archbishop of *Rheims* was bound  
 to put in Execution: As to this Point he tells him, that he  
 was always ready to follow the Advice and Opinion of  
 other Bishops, but that he knew of no Power which the  
 Church of *Beauvais* had to command the Church of *Rheims*;  
 and that this Excommunication was not grounded on a  
 Lawful and Canonical Reason, but only because this Man  
 had left the Interest of *Eudes*, and imbraced that of King  
*Charles*. He likewise summoned him to appear at the Or-  
 dination of the Bishops of *Sens* and *Chalons*, and gave him  
 to understand that Pope *Stephen* had order'd him to send  
 him to *Ravenna*.

The fifteenth is a Letter of Compliment to *Teutboldus*,  
 Bishop of *Langres*.

The sixteenth was directed to *Radulphus* Successor to *Di-  
 don* Bishop of *Laon*, whose Promotion to that Dignity he  
 congratulates, and advertis'd him that he had too rashly ex-  
 communicated one of his Diocefans, hinting withal that he  
 gave him his Advice as a Friend to a Friend, not being  
 willing to make use of that Authority and Privilege which  
 the Church of *Rheims* had from all Antiquity, of succour-  
 ing all those who made their Application to it, and thought  
 themselves injur'd by their Bishops.

We might likewise to these Letters joyn that of *Mancion*  
 Bishop of *Chalons*, directed to *Fulcus*, and publish'd by Fa-  
 ther *Mabillon* in the third Tome of his Collections, wherein  
 he asks the Archbishop's Advice, how he ought to behave  
 himself with relation to a Priest, who was solemnly be-  
 trothed to a Woman, and would marry her publicly.

In the seventh Chapter *Flodoard* speaks of several Letters  
 of *Fulcus*, directed to Abbots, and to Persons of Note.

The first was directed to an Abbot called *Stephen*, whom  
 he comforts upon his having been depriv'd of a Bishoprick  
 to which he had been elected.



In the second he reprov'd *Baldwin* Count of *Flanders*, for the many Injuries he offer'd to the Churches of his Country: And among others for having caus'd a Priest to be whip'd; for having turn'd out several Parochial Priests out of their Churches, in order to make room for others of his own choosing; for having unjustly seiz'd upon an Estate which the King had bestow'd on the Church of *Noyon*; for having seiz'd upon a Monastery, &c. he threaten'd to excommunicate him, in case he did not forthwith make Restitution, and leave off his Cruelties to the Church.

The third is directed to the Clergy and Laity of *Senlis*, upon the Election of a Bishop.

The fourth to the Clergy of *Laon* upon the same Subject. The fifth to the Monks of *Corby*, whom he severely re-proves for their having cruelly turn'd out their Abbot. These are all the Letters of *Fulcus*, which are mention'd in *Floard*; the very Extracts of which shew us, that this Archbishop wrote with a great deal of Strength and Authority: That he was zealous for the Welfare of the Church, for the Dignity of Bishops, and particularly for the Rights and Prerogatives of the Church of *Rheims*. He was assassinated by *Winemare* and others of Count *Baldwin's* Creatures, in the Year 900. which Count was incens'd against him for having taken away from him the Abby of *St. Wasst*, and the Castle of *Arras*.

## Harveus Archbishop of Rheims.

**H**IS Successor was one *Harveus*, a young Lord belonging to Court, and Nephew to Count *Hughbold*. He was ordain'd by the unanimous Consent of all the Bishops of the Province. Immediately after his Ordination he soon render'd himself capable of governing his Diocese, and gain'd the Esteem and Love of all the World by his Charity to the Poor, by his sweet Temper, by his good Nature, and by the Zeal he expressed for the Welfare of the Church, and for Ecclesiastical Discipline. He held several Provincial Councils, wherein he discours'd very usefully of Religion, and of the Peace both of Church and State, and of the Conversion of the *Normans*, who about that Time embrac'd the Christian Faith. It was for their sakes that he sent to *Guy* Archbishop of *Roan*, a Letter containing three and twenty Articles, extracted out of the Canons and Letters of the Popes, about the Manner of treating those, who after they had been baptiz'd, had apostatiz'd, and afterwards return'd to the Church. In the Year 909. he held a Council at *Trosly* (a Village near *Soissons*) at which assisted the Archbishop of *Roan*, with the Bishops of *Laon*, *Beauvais*, *Noyon*, *Chalons*, *Soissons*, *Cambray*, *Meaux*, *Senlis*, *Teroüane*, and *Amiens*; in which, after he had discours'd at large of the Miseries under which *France* groan'd, which he imputed to the Sins both of the Laity and the Clergy, he gave them very fine and large Instructions, grounded on several Passages of the Fathers and Canons of Councils. 1. Concerning the Honour and Respect due to Churches, and to Ecclesiasticks. 2. Concerning the Duty and Allegiance which Bishops and Ecclesiasticks ow'd to their King, and concerning the Duties and Qualifications of a Prince. 3. Concerning the Reformation of those Abuses which were crept into the Monastick Life, and particularly concerning the Abbies which were possess'd by Laicks. It was ordain'd that Abbots should be Religious Persons, well skill'd in the Regular Discipline; and that the Monks and Religious should live according to their Profession and Rule, praying for the Welfare of Kings, for the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Tranquility of the Church, without concerning themselves with Secular Affairs, without hunting after the Poms of this World, and without incroaching on the Rights and Privileges of Ecclesiasticks: And that they might have no Excuse for Strangling, the Abbots were enjoyn'd, or at least those who had the Government of Monasteries in their Care, to provide them Necessaries. 4. Against those who either by Violence, or by any other Method, seiz'd on Church Lands, which he look'd upon as Sacrilege. 5. Against those who either abus'd or persecuted the Clergy. 6. Against those who would not pay Tenths, and the other Revenues belonging to the Church. The Duty of Tithes reach'd not only to the Fruits of the Earth, and to the Breed of Cattle, but likewise to those Things which were the Profits of a Man's Industry and Labour. 7. Concerning the Rapines and Robberies so rife at that Time. He demonstrates the Enormity thereof, and shews the Obligation they lay under of making Restitution, before they could expect Absolution. 8. Against stealing young Women, and against clandestine or unlawful Marriages. 9. Concerning the Prohibitions renew'd so often by the Canons against Priests having Women amongst them. 10. Concerning the Chastity which all Christians were oblig'd to preserve in their Words and Actions. 11. Concerning the Obligation of keeping strictly to the Oaths they took, without being perjurd. 12. Against quarrellsome Persons who took delight in Law-Suits and vexatious Prosecutions. 13. Against Homicides and Lyars. 14. Against the Abuse which then prevail'd of rifling the Goods of Bishops after their Decease. Upon this he advises that two or three of the neighbouring Bishops, upon the News of the Death of their Brother, should go and perform the last Offices over him. In the Conclusion, he exhorted the Bishops to refute the Errors of *Phoivus*. Lastly, He sums up in a few Words what Christians ought to believe and practise, and exhorts them faithfully to discharge their Duties.

In the Year 921. *Herveus* held another Council at the same Place, wherein he took off the Excommunication issued out against Count *Ertebold*, who had seiz'd upon some of the Church Revenues.

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This Archbishop assisted *Charles the Simple* in his Expedition against the *Hunns*, who ravag'd *Lorraine*, and was the only Man who continued loyal to that Prince, when he was abandon'd by the *French* Lords. In the Year 920. he brought him back to *Rheims*, and adjust'd Matters betwixt him and his Lords, and re-establish'd him in his Kingdom. But within a short Time after the Lords revolted again, and being met at *Rheims*, they elected King *Robert*, and *Herveus* was constrain'd to crown him. He did not survive this Coronation but four Days, and dy'd in the Year 922. having presid'd over the Church of *Rheims* two and twenty Years lacking four Days.

*Robert* caus'd *Seulfus* to be elected in his room, who was the Archdeacon of that Church. He had been the Disciple of *Remy* of *Auxerre*, who had instructed him in the Sciences, both Divine and Profane. He was ordain'd by *Abbo* Bishop of *Soissons*, and by the other Bishops of the Province of *Rheims*. *Eudes* the Brother of *Herveus*, and a Nephew of that Name, were cited before him, being accus'd of Disloyalty to *Robert*; and they not justifying themselves, were strip'd of all the Revenues of the Church of *Rheims* in their Possession, and cast into Prison; the former in the Custody of *Hebert* Count of *Vernandois*; and the latter at *Paris*. In a Provincial Council held in the Year 923. he impos'd a Penance on those who had born Arms in the War between *Robert* and *Charles*; and in another Council held in the Year 924. at *Trosly*, he put an End to the Difference which was between Count *Isaac* and *Stephen* Bishop of *Cambray*; the former paying an hundred Pounds to the latter, for the Wrong he had done to his Church. 'Tis said that *Seulfus* agreed with *Hebert* to resign the Archbishoprick to the Son of that Count. However the Case was, *Seulfus* did not enjoy this Dignity long, being poison'd in the Year 925. by the Order of *Hebert* as it is supposed.

Presently after his Death that Count came to *Rheims*, and having called thither *Abbo* Bishop of *Soissons*, and *Bawuo* Bishop of *Chalons*, he caus'd his Son *Hugh*, who was not then above five Years old, to be elected by the Clergy and People of *Rheims*. Afterwards he procur'd the Confirmation of this Election by King *Radulphus*, who committed the Temporalities of this Diocese to *Hebert*, till his Son came of Age to take upon himself the Government thereof. The Spiritualities were conferr'd by Pope *John X.* on *Abbo* Bishop of *Soissons*, so that *Hebert* became absolute Master of that Church, and drove out of it all the Clergy whom he suppos'd to be against his Interests, and among others *Floard*, as he himself informs us.

In the Year 927. King *Radulphus* and Count *Hebert* fell out upon the Account of the Earldom of *Laon*, which *Hebert* would have had given to his Son *Odo*, and which the King desir'd to keep for himself. *Hebert* willing to rely on a Power which might support his Pretensions, had an Interview with *Henry* King of *Germany*, and struck up an Alliance with him. He caus'd a Council to be conven'd the same Year at *Trosly*, notwithstanding the Prohibition of King *Radulphus*, which consisted of six Bishops of the Province of *Rheims*: Afterwards he deliver'd *Charles the Simple* out of Prison, brought him to *St. Quintin*, and procur'd an Interview between him and *Radulphus* Duke of *Normandy*: From whence he brought him to *Rheims*, and writ to Pope *John X.* for the reestablishing of that Prince. This Attempt oblig'd *Radulphus* to quit the City of *Laon* to *Hebert*, and to adjust Matters with him. *Radulphus* Duke of the *Normans* would not restore to *Hebert* his Son *Odo*, till he had set *Charles* at Liberty, and promis'd to obey him. At the same Time *Hebert* invited to *Rheims* *Odalric* Archbishop of *Aix*, who had been turn'd out of his Church by the *Saracens*, that he might there discharge his Episcopal Functions; and to reward him, he gave him the Abby of *St. Timotheus*, with the Revenue of a Prebend.

*France* was then as it were parted between the great Lords, and the Regal Authority was extremely cramp'd. *Hugh* the White, Count of *Paris*, and *Hebert*, were two of the most powerful: *Radulphus* had the Title of King, and that little of the Regal Authority which remain'd. For *Charles* was the Sport and Pallime of all three. As soon as *Hebert* was reconcil'd to *Radulphus*, he threw *Charles* again into Prison; and



and Radulphus afterwards returning to Rheims, gave him a seeming Sort of Liberty, which he did not long enjoy, dying on the seventh of October, in the Year 929. After his Death Hugh and Hebert fell out, the Umbrage of which Quarrel was, that the latter had given Entertainment to several Vassals belonging to the former, and among others to Herluin Count of Montreuil. Radulphus sided with his Brother-in-Law Hugh, and there was a warm War between them: But Radulphus having taken the City of Rheims, in the Year 931. caus'd Artaldus, a Monk of St. Remy, to be ordain'd Archbishop of the Place, who the Year after receiv'd the Pall from Pope John XI. This Archbishop held a Council in the Year 934. at Chateau-Thierry, where he ordain'd Hildegarus Bishop of Beauvais; and in the same Year he ordain'd Fulbert Bishop of Cambray. The Year after he held another Council at Fismes, wherein he excommunicated those who had made an unlawful Seizure on the Revenue of the Church: King Radulphus being dead, Hugh the white recall'd out of England Lewis, Charles the Simple's Son, call'd upon that Account Lewis d'Outremer, and caus'd him to be crown'd at Laon by Artaldus Archbishop of Rheims, who continued in the peaceable Possession of his Archbishoprick for some Time, and ordain'd Bishops in all the Churches of his Province, except Chalons and Amiens. But Hebert would not endure that any other but himself should be in the Possession of so considerable a Post, and thereupon sent several of his Troops to take and rife the Castles and Villages which belong'd to the Archbishoprick of Rheims. Artaldus for this excommunicated him. King Lewis to make him amends for the Losses he sustain'd, granted him the Earldom of Rheims, and the Privilege of the Mint, and assisted him in taking several Castles which were held out by the Troops of Hebert. Fortune did not long favour Artaldus; for Hugh entering into a new League with Hebert against Lewis d'Outremer, they came with William Duke of Normandy, belieg'd the City of Rheims, became Masters of it at the End of six Days, and caus'd Artaldus to appear in the Church of St. Remy, in the Presence of several Lords and Bishops; and oblig'd him to make a Relinquishment of his Archbishoprick, and to content himself with the Abbies of St. Bazol and Aveny, into the former of which he retir'd, after he had govern'd the Church of Rheims for the Space of eight Years and seven Months. Hugh the Son of Hebert, was replac'd in Possession thereof, and was ordain'd Priest by Guy Bishop of Soissons, three Months after his Return, and fifteen Years after his first Election. He had spent this Interval of Time at Auxerre, where he had follow'd his Studies under Guy Bishop of that City, who had ordain'd him Deacon; for he had receiv'd his other Orders at Rheims from the Hand of Abbo Bishop of Soissons.

The next Year, namely 941. the two Counts Hebert and Hugh conven'd the Bishops of the Province of Rheims at Soissons, and enter'd into a Consultation of ordaining Hugh, the Son of Hebert Archbishop of Rheims. The Deputies of the Clergy and Laity of Rheims met there, and demanded that he might be ordain'd, asserting that Artaldus had not been elected according to the Canon, but intruded by Force; and that he had given up all the Title he could claim to that Archbishoprick. Upon this Remonstrance, the Bishops resolv'd upon ordaining Hugh, and immediately set out for Rheims for that Purpose. Artaldus was already withdrawn to Lewis d'Outremer: but that Prince having been defeated in the Year 941. near Laon, Artaldus was very lucky in reconciling himself with Hugh the White and Hebert, in re-entering into the Possession of his Abbies, and in making a League with Hugh Archbishop of Rheims, who soon after receiv'd the Pall that was sent him by Pope Stephen VIII. Notwithstanding this League, Artaldus return'd to Lewis d'Outremer. In the mean time Hebert dying in 943. Lewis was persuaded by Hugh the White to entertain the Sons of this Count, and also to leave Hugh in Possession of the Archbishoprick of Rheims, upon Condition that they restor'd to Artaldus his Abbies, give him another Bishoprick, and grant that his Kinsmen should retain the Honours they had obtain'd. This Treaty was not long kept; for Hugh the White and Lewis d'Outremer warring against each other, the latter laid Siege twice to the City of Rheims, and the second Time having chas'd away Hugh Archbishop of Rheims, he enter'd the City, and re-establishes Artaldus, who was replac'd in his See in the Year 946. by the Archbishops of Treves and Mayence. The Church of Amiens becoming vacant the Year after, Hugh ordain'd Tetbold Archdeacon of Soissons Bishop thereof, which occasion'd a Trial which was brought before an Assembly of Bishops and Lords, held near the River Cher. The Affair was not brought to any Issue at that Place, but put off to November. In the mean time Artaldus was left in Possession of the Archbishoprick of Rheims, and Hugh permitted to stay at Monzon.

A Council was call'd and held at Verdun; wherein were Robert Archbishop of Treves, Artaldus Archbishop of Rheims, Odalric Archbishop of Aix, Adalberon Bishop of Metz, Gozelin Bishop of Tulle, Hildebald Bishop of the Upper Rhine, in the Presence of Bruno an Abbot, Brother to King Otho,

and of the Abbots Agenold and Odilo. Hugh was cited thither by two Bishops, but would not appear. The Synod of the adjudg'd the Archbishops of Rheims to belong to Artaldus.

Another Council was call'd in January following upon of France, the same Subject, and held in the Church of St. Peter, near to Monzon. They met at the Time appointed, and Hugh made his Appearance. But after he had discours'd with Robert Archbishop of Treves, he withdrew, and only caus'd a Letter to be presented by one of his Clergy, which was brought from Rome, and writ in the Name of Pope Agapetus, wherein it was order'd, that Hugh should be re-establish'd in the Archbishoprick of Rheims. The Bishops having read the Letter, alledg'd that it would not be reasonable to supersede the Execution of the Orders which they had receiv'd from the Holy See, upon the Account of a Letter presented by the Enemy of Artaldus, and after they had read the nineteenth Chapter of the Council of Carthage, concerning the Accuser and the Accused, they adjudg'd Artaldus to have continued in the Communion of the Church, and in Possession of the Archbishoprick of Rheims; and that Hugh, who had been already summon'd before two Synods, without appearing to either, ought to be depriv'd of the Communion and Government of that Church, till such Time as he should clear himself in a General Council. This Sentence they notified to Hugh, who for his Part declar'd, that he would not submit to it. In the mean Time Artaldus having appeal'd to the Authority of the Holy See, Pope Agapetus sent Bishop Marinus his Vicar to King Otho, that he might call a General Synod, to pass a definitive Sentence on this Affair.

It was held at Ingelheim the seventh of June, in the Year 948. Marinus the Pope's Legate was the President thereof, and the Archbishop of Cologne, Mayence, Treves, and Hambourgh his Assistants, with six and twenty Bishops of Germany, without reckoning Artaldus Archbishop of Rheims, upon whose Account the Assembly met. The Kings Otho and Lewis d'Outremer were likewise present. The latter made his Complaints against the Rebellion of Hugh; and afterwards Artaldus presented his Petition to the Pope's Legate and the Synod, wherein he gave a Remonstrance of all his Concerns, which was as follows. That after the Death of Herveus, Sculfus who had been put up in his Place, declar'd himself against the Kindred of his Predecessor: And that he might gain his Point, he enter'd into a Confederacy with Count Hebert, who cast them into Prison, where they were confin'd till the Death of King Robert. That Sculfus dying in the third Year of his Pontificate, being poison'd (as several attested) by Hebert's Creatures, that Count seiz'd on the Church of Rheims, and was in Possession thereof for the Space of six Years by the Permission of King Radulphus. But that afterwards that King being mov'd by the Remonstrances of the Bishops, who complain'd that that Church was left so long without a Pastor, after he had made himself Master of Rheims, had caus'd him to be ordain'd by eighteen Bishops. That he had discharg'd the Episcopal Functions for nine Years together, ordain'd eight Bishops, and a great many Clerks, and crown'd King Lewis and Queen Gerderga. But that Count Hugh being incens'd against him, because he would not join in his Revolt against the King, had forc'd him, after he had taken the City of Rheims, to resign his Archbishoprick, had sent him into the Monastery of St. Bazol, and had put into his Place Hugh, Count Hebert's Son, who had been ordain'd Deacon at Auxerre. That afterwards he call'd a Synod at Soissons, wherein a Proposal was made to him to permit the Ordination of Hugh. That he immediately oppos'd it, and had declar'd them excommunicated who should ordain any other Archbishop of Rheims whilst he was living, and him who should accept of such Ordination. That afterwards, to get out of their Hands, he had desir'd them, that they would let him go to ask Advice of the Queen, and his Friends, what he ought to do, and that they would send some body along with him to know his Answer. They sent with him Bishop Deroldus, to whom, in the Presence of the Queen, he gave this Answer, That he excommunicated the Bishops who should dare to ordain another in his Place; repeating the Protestation he had formerly made of appealing to the Holy See. That without being concern'd at this Denunciation, some of these Bishops went to Rheims to ordain Hugh. That from that Time King Lewis proving unsuccessful, he had been oblig'd to wander from Place to Place like a Vagabond; and that afterwards several of his Friends had brought him by force to the Counts Hugh the White and Hebert, who having him in their Power, constrain'd him to resign the Revenues of his Church, and sent him into the Monastery of St. Bazol. That being inform'd that they design'd to make away with him, he fled to Laon. That since that, King Otho came in to the assistance of King Lewis, had turn'd Hugh out of the Archbishoprick of Rheims, and re-establish'd him therein. That Hugh retir'd to the Castle of Monzon: that in the Conference held upon the River Cher, where he was present with Hugh, his Affair was there debated before the Bishops then present. That Hugh had there produc'd a Letter writ to the Pope in his Name, whereby he desir'd to be discharg'd from his Archbishoprick, which he had maintain'd was counterfeit. That the Favourites of Hugh having alledg'd that



that an Affair of that Importance could not be determin'd in that Assembly, because it was not a Synod convocated according to form; they had put it off to November, wherein a Synod was to be held; and that in the mean time it was order'd, that he should have the Government of the Church of Rheims, and Hugh was allow'd to stay at Mouzon. That Hugh came in the Season of Vintage with Count Thibold, to carry off all the Wine round about the City of Rheims. That the Synod had been held at Verdun as appointed, to which Hugh was cited, and he would not make his Appearance, nor to another held afterwards near Mouzon, which had pass'd a Sentence absolutely in his favour. But that Hugh having declar'd that he would not submit to this Sentence, and remaining still at Mouzon, he had sent to Rome by the Ambassadors of King Otho a Petition containing his Complaints; that he expected the Issue of all from the Orders of the Holy See, and the Determination of the Council. This Petition of Artaldus having been read in Latin and in the old Teutonick Language, Sigeboldus a Clerk belonging to Hugh enter'd, presented to the Council the Letter which had been brought from Rome, and which had been already produc'd before the Council of Mouzon, and avouch'd that it had been given him by the Legate Marinus then present. It was written in the name of Guy Bishop of Soissons, Hildegair Bishop of Beauvais, and of all the other Bishops of the Province of Rheims, who desir'd the re-establishment of Hugh, and the Expulsion of Artaldus. When this Letter had been read, the Bishops therein mention'd did declare that it was Counterfeit, and that they had never heard the least mention of any such Thing, nor gave their Consent that such a Request should be made in their Names. Upon this their Declaration this Deacon was depos'd as an Impostor and Calumniator; and in the same Session Artaldus was confirm'd in the Archbishoprick of Rheims. In the second Session Robert Archbishop of Treves alledg'd, that since they had re-establish'd Artaldus as lawful Archbishop of Rheims, it was requisite to condemn the Intruder. Marinus told them the Council ought to pronounce a Sentence agreeable to the Canon; and after the Decrees of the Pope's touching this Subject were read, the Bishops declar'd Hugh to be excommunicated and thrown out of the Church, till such time as he should do Penance for his Fault. In the other Sessions they debated on several Points relating to Church Discipline; and all the Acts of this Council are reduc'd into ten Canons.

The first contains the Excommunication of Hugh.

The second, the Resettlement of Artaldus, and the Excommunication of those, who were ordain'd by Hugh, unless they should appear before the Synod to be held at Treves, September 13. to make Satisfaction, and to receive Penance for what they had done.

The third inflicts the same Punishment on Count Hugh the White, for having turn'd out Radulphus, Bishop of Laon.

The fourth prohibits the Laity from bestowing Churches on Priests, or from turning them out of them without the Approbation of the Bishop.

The fifth is against those who abuse the Priests, or do them any wrong.

In the sixth, it is order'd that the whole Easter-Week, and the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday after Whitsunday should be kept as Festivals, as well as the Lord's Day.

In the seventh, it is order'd, that in the Grand Litany (which is on St. Mark's day) a Fast shall be kept as in the Rogation-Week before the Ascension.

The eighth imports that the Laicks should have no share of the Offerings which the Faithful offer'd on the Altar.

The ninth, that the Cognizance of all Differences about Tithes should be brought before the Bishops.

The tenth and last Canon is imperfect, and one cannot well comprehend the meaning thereof; There is mention made of Widows dedicated to the Service of God.

After this Council Lewis d'Outremer assisted by Conrad Duke of Lorraine, retook Mouzon, Montague and Laon, and the Bishops being met at Mouzon, excommunicated Count Thibold, and cited Count Hugh the White to appear before the Synod to be held at Treves. In this Assembly, Guy Bishop of Soissons, who had ordain'd Hugh, came to wait upon King Lewis, and to give him Satisfaction.

Artaldus when he departed from Laon went to Treves with Guy Bishop of Soissons, Radulphus Bishop of Laon, and Wickfroy of Terronane, where they met with Marinus the Pope's Legate, and Robert Archbishop of Treves, who waited for their coming, without whom there would not have been any other Bishops of Germany and Lorraine. Marinus asked Artaldus and the rest of the Bishops, how Hugh the White had behav'd himself since the last Synod, and whether the Letters which cited him before the Synod had been deliver'd to him. They reply'd, that he still persisted in his Rebellion and Robberies; that one of their Letters had been deliver'd to him, and that the other had been intercepted by his Party. Upon his Reply, it was asked whether any one was come on his behalf; and none

appearing, the Assembly was adjourn'd till the morrow. On that day there appear'd no Deputy in behalf of Count Hugh; and tho' the Clergy and Nobles cry'd out, that he ought to be excommunicated; yet that was put off to the third day. In the mean time they consulted about the Affair of the Bishops who had been cited before the Synod, or who had any hand in the Ordination of Hugh. The Bishop of Soissons begg'd Pardon and obtain'd it; the Bishop of Terronane was found to have no hand in the Ordination; and the Bishop of Noyon was excus'd by Reason of his Sickness. On the third day Hugh the White was excommunicated till such time as he should come and ask the Legate and the Bishops Pardon for what he had done: And in case he should defer that, he enjoyn'd him to go to Rome for Absolution. There were likewise two Bishops excommunicated who were ordain'd by Hugh, the one of Amiens, the other of Senlis; and a Clerk who had instituted and inducted the latter. Hildegairus Bishop of Beauvais was cited before Marinus, or to Rome, for assisting at their Ordination: And lastly, the young Count Hebert, Brother to Hugh, was likewise summon'd to make Satisfaction for the wrong he had done the Bishops. All these Things were transacted in the Year 948. and from that Time forward Artaldus remain'd in Possession of the Archbishoprick of Rheims, which was made sure to him by the Peace concluded between Lewis d'Outremer and Hugh the White in the Year 953. In the same Year this Archbishop held a Council of five Bishops at St. Thierry, wherein he excommunicated Count Reginald, who had seiz'd upon the Revenues of the Church.

Artaldus dying the last day of August in the Year 967. The Death after he had been Archbishop of Rheims thirty years, several of Artaldus Bishops propos'd the Re-establishing Hugh. The Affair was debated in a Council held in a Village of the Diocess of Meaux upon the River Marne, consisting of thirteen Bishops of the Provinces of Rheims and Sens. The Bishops of Laon and Chalons very strongly oppos'd his Restitution, and the Case was refer'd to the Arbitration of his Holiness. He gave them to understand by Bruno Archbishop of Cologne, that Hugh had been rejected and excommunicated by the Councils of Rome and Pavia, and that there was no thinking of him again. Whereupon they elected a Clerk of the Church of Rheims call'd Odalric, the Son of a Count nam'd Hugh, who was supported by King Lotharius, by the Queen-Mother, and by Bruno. He enjoy'd the Archbishoprick very peaceably for the space of seven years, and dy'd in the year 968. His Successor was Adalberon or Alberon, Brother of Count Henry, who govern'd the Church of Rheims for nineteen years, with a great deal of Prudence and Candor. Under his Episcopacy a Council was held at Rheims in the year 975. whereof Stephen Deacon of Pope Benedict VII. was President. In this Council Thibold was excommunicated for having unlawfully seiz'd upon the Church of Amiens. In the Year 972. he held another Council at St. Mary's Mount, wherein he procur'd a Ratification of an Order he had made, of putting Monks into the Monastery of St. Monzon instead of Canons who were there: After the death of this Archbishop, Hugh Capet laid hold on this opportunity of taking into his Interests Arnulphus, the Bastard Brother of Charles Duke of Lorraine, the last of the Carolignian Race. Clerk of the Church of Laon, by procuring him to be elected Archbishop of Rheims in the year 989. who immediately took of him an Oath of Fidelity. But within six Months after his being in possession of the Archbishoprick of Rheims, his Brother Charles was introduc'd into that City, and became Master of it by means of a Priest nam'd Adalger. Which was brought about, as 'tis suppos'd, by the Intelligence he had from the Archbishop, who however was carry'd by his Brother to Laon, and cast into Prison for forms sake. Arnulphus notwithstanding issued out a Sentence of Excommunication against those who had made an unlawful Seizure of the Revenues of the Church of Rheims; and the Bishops of the Province met at Senlis, and pass'd a Decree against Adalger, whereby they excommunicated him and all others who had any hand in the Usurpation made upon the Churches of Rheims and Laon. This Excommunication was sent to all the Bishops, and Complaints were made to the Holy See, who took part with Arnulphus. But Hugh Capet, who had always suspected his Treachery, having discover'd that his Suspicion was not groundless, and that he was in the Interests of his Brother, wrote against him to Pope John XV. and caus'd the Bishops of the Province of Rheims to write to him likewise, who accus'd Arnulphus, and desir'd he might be condemn'd. After this Hugh becoming Master of the City of Laon, and having Charles in Custody, he took Arnulphus, and brought him to Rheims, where he call'd a Council to proceed against him. It consisted of six Suffragans of the Archbishoprick of Rheims, viz. Guy Bishop of Soissons, Adalberon of Laon, Herdeus of Beauvais, Gotesman of Amiens, Ratbode of Noyon, and Eudes of Senlis; besides them were Hebert Archbishop of Bourges, Sigwin Archbishop of Sens, Gantier Bishop of Autun, Bruno of Langres,

Odalric, Bishop of Rheims.

Adalberon Archbishop of Rheims.

Arnulphus Archbishop of Rheims.



*Langres, Milo of Maſton, Arnulphus Biſhop of Orleans, and Hebert of Auxerre, with ſeveral Abbots of ſeveral Dioceſſes. Sigwin was Preſident thereof, and Arnulphus of Orleans Prolocutor. In the firſt Seſſion held the ſixteenth of June in the Church of Bazol, Arnulphus Archbiſhop of Rheims was accus'd for having betray'd his Truſt to King Hugh, and being the chief Cauſe of the taking that City. Sigwin Archbiſhop of Sens, alledg'd that he would not permit a Proceſs to be made on this Charge, till he was ſure that Arnulphus ſhould not be put to Death in caſe he were convicted of High Treason; and moreover cited the thirty firſt Chapter of the Council of Toledo, which imports that Biſhops ſhall not proceed to the Determination of ſuch Matters, till they had engag'd the Princes upon Oath to remit the Punishment of the Offenders. Hervens ſhew'd that it would be of worſe conſequence if the Prince ſhould take cognizance of the Caſe, and deprive the Biſhops of the right of doing it. Bruno declar'd that he was moſt concern'd in this Affair; that upon the account of his being a Retainer to the King Lotharius's Uncle, he had engag'd himſelf for the Fidelity of Arnulphus, that he might be made Archbiſhop of Rheims, in hopes that he would not let him ſuffer any prejudice for this Act of Kindneſs: That Arnulphus was ſo far from making his due acknowledgments, that he had begun to perſecute his Friends, and had put him in danger of his Life: That he had to no purpoſe warrant'd that he would not break the Oath of Fidelity which he had taken to King Hugh; that there was ſufficient Evidence of his Treachery, becauſe the Authors of that Rebellion were his moſt intimate Friends, and ſuch as he eſteem'd very highly. As to that which was alledg'd, that care ought to be taken that the Offender ſhould not looſe his Life; he anſwer'd, that there was no need to fear any ſuch thing under Princes ſo merciful as theirs were; but that it was more to be fear'd, whiſt they endeavour'd after the Safety of one Man, that the whole Eccleſiaſtical Order would be expoſ'd to danger. At laſt it was concluded, that the Prieſt who had deliver'd up the Gates of the City to Duke Charles, ſhould be brought in. Whiſt they ſtaid for his coming, they read over the Oath of Fidelity which Arnulphus had taken to King Hugh and King Robert. Afterwards the Prieſt nam'd Adalger appearing, declar'd that it was Arnulphus who gave him the Keys of the City Gates, with orders to deliver them up to Duke Charles. After this Evidence was given, they read the Decree which Arnulphus had made againſt thoſe who made an unlawful Seizure of the Revenue of the Church of Rheims, which prov'd that himſelf was excommunicated becauſe he was the Author of that Depredation, and went ſhares with thoſe who committed it. To this was joyn'd the Sentence of the Biſhops of the Province of Rheims, paſſ'd at Sens much about the time wherein they began to ſuſpect Arnulphus of Treason. After the reading of theſe Papers and the Canons of the Council of Carthage againſt Perſons excommunicated who partake of the Sacrament, and againſt Biſhops who do any thing contrary to the Oath which they have taken in their Ordination, leave was given to all who were minded to vindicate Arnulphus, to ſay freely what they could in his behalf. The Clergy of his own Church would neither accuſe nor defend him: But John Scholaſticus of Auxerre, Rannulphus Abbot of Sens, and Abbo Superior of the Monastery of Fleury, undertook to defend him, and produc'd a great many Paſſages extract'd out of the falſe Decretals of the Ancient Popes, to prove that Arnulphus ought to be re-eſta bliſh'd before they proceeded to judge him; and that they might not judge him till he had been cited ſeveral times, and the Holy See made acquainted with the Buſineſs. It was anſwer'd them that he had ſufficient Notice given him; That they ought not to re-eſta bliſh him till he had receiv'd ſuch a Sentence as declar'd him abſolv'd, ſince he had been already condemn'd; That Hildemare Biſhop of Beauvais, and Abbo Archbiſhop of Rheims charg'd with the ſame Crime as Arnulphus was, had been judg'd by the Synods of the Province; That the Holy See had been already inform'd of this Affair by the Letters of King Hugh, and of the Biſhops of the Province of Rheims, which had been carry'd to Rome by Deputies, which the Pope at firſt had pretty well entertain'd: But that ſince Count Hebers had preſented his Holineſs with a fine white Steed and ſeveral other things, he deny'd to give them any further Audience. The Deputies which Biſhop Bruno had ſent to Rome for his Releaſment, added, that having requested the Pope to Anathematize thoſe who were guilty of his Confinement, the Clerks of the Pope had demanded Money of them for it; and that they not being willing to give them any on that account, the Pope had told them as his final Anſwer, that the Perſon for whom he had been apprehended might releaſe him, if he thought fit: From whence they concluded, that the Holy See did not hinder them from proceeding upon the Spot to the Judgment and Determination of that Affair. But they carried the Point higher yet, and Arnulphus Biſhop of Orleans remonſtrated, that they might go on in the Trial, without waiting for what Rome ſhould ſay in the Caſe. And after he had made Proteſtation that all due*

Reſpect ought to be paid to the Holy See and its Decisions, without offering prejudice to the Canons of the Councils; he gave them to underſtand that there are two things of which great care ought to be taken, which were not to permit that the Silence, or the new Laws or Inſtitutions of the Popes, be any prejudice to the Ancient Laws of the Church: Becauſe this would be to overthrow all order, and to make every thing depend on the Will and Pleaſure of one ſingle Man. That this did not derogate any thing of the Privileges of the Pontifex Maximus; becauſe if the Biſhop of Rome were a Man of Worth for his Learning and his Piety, there was no fear of his Silence, or of his Altering the Conſtitutions of the Church. That if on the contrary, either out of Ignorance, or Fear, or Paſſion, he ſhould ſwerve from Juſtice, his Silence and his new Decrees were the leſs to be fear'd; becauſe he who acts contrary to the Laws, cannot prejudice the Laws. From thence he took an occaſion to lament the ſad Eſtate of the Church of Rome, and gave a brief account of the Popes from Octavian to Boniface, and ſhew'd his abhorrence of their Irregularities. He asked whether Biſhops, noted for their Sanctity and Piety, were oblig'd to ſubmit themſelves blindly to ſuch infamous Monſters, who had no Learning, neither Divine nor Prophane. He complain'd that they ſhould advance to the higheſt Poſt of the Church the meer Scum and Refuſe of the Clergy; Paſtors who more deſerv'd the name of Walking Statues, than of Reasonable Men. Upon default of excellent Popes, he was for conſulting Metropolitans; and took notice that there were a great many ſuch in Gallia, Belgica, and in Germany, very well ſkill'd in Matters of Religion; and that it was more proper to ask their Opinion, if the War which happens between Princes did not hinder it, than to go to ſeek it in that City, which at preſent declares in favour of him who gives moſt, and weighs its Judgments by the Number of Crowns which are preſented. He adds, that if any one ſhould alledge with Pope Gelafius, that the Church of Rome is the Judge of all Churches, and can be judg'd by none, this is a Propoſition which the African Biſhops would not conſent to, and which could not be true at this time, wherein there was ſcarce one at Rome who had ſo much as ſtudied Humane Learning, if common Fame were to be credited therein. That Ignorance was more excuſable in other Biſhops than in the Biſhop of Rome, who ought to be Judge of the Faith, of the Life, of the Manners, and of the Diſcipline of the whole Church. That according to St. Gregory's Opinion, the Biſhops, when in fault, are Subject to the Correction of the Holy See; but when they are unblameable, Humility in one Senſe renders them all Equal. Laſtly, that when the Biſhops of Rome of this time were like to Damasus, nothing could be done more than had been done, ſince the Biſhops and the King had writ concerning this very Buſineſs to the Holy See, and they had not undertaken to decide it in the Province, till ſuch time as they had no hopes of having it try'd at Rome, which was conformable to the Canons of the Council of Sardica. He quoted ſeveral Paſſages out of St. Gregory, to ſhew that Biſhops are oblig'd to puniſh Offences, and that they may depoſe Biſhops who are convicted thereof. He added, that tho' one might paſs by other Crimes in ſilence, one could not do ſo in the Caſe of High-Treason: Yet that there have been Inſtances of Archbiſhops of Rheims, condemn'd by the Biſhops of the Province for this very Crime; namely Gilles Archbiſhop of Rheims, who prov'd diſloyal to Childebert and Ebbo, and was depoſ'd at Thionville: That the Decree of Damasus, which imports that the Cauſes of Biſhops ſhall be try'd at Rome, ought to be extended to none but difficult Cauſes, and not to ſuch wherein the Crime is ſelf-evident: That the African Biſhops have conteſted the very Right of Ap-pellation, and that the Councils of Nice and Antioch appointed the Synod of the Province to determine theſe Matters: That he would very readily grant the Church of Rome more than ever the African Biſhops pretended to allow it: That they conſulted it when the Affairs of the State permitted it, and they ſubmitted to its Determinations, unleſs they were contrary to Equity: But if it remain'd ſilent, the Eccleſiaſtical Laws ought to be conſulted, and the rather becauſe the Church of Rome at preſent was deſtitute of all manner of Supports and Supplies; for ſince the Fall of the Empire it has loſt the Churches of Alexandria and Antioch, as well as thoſe of Africa and Aſia, and all Europe began to fly off from it: That the Churches of Conſtantinople was withdrawn from its Obedience: That the Churches of Spain, which were moſt remote, did not acknowledge its Determinations; and that Rome had abandon'd it ſelf, ſince it no longer gave any wholeſome Advice to it ſelf, or others. He concludes, that according to the Examples and Canons of former times, they ought to proceed to the Trial of the Archbiſhop of Rheims.

[From all this Learned and Judicious Speech of the Biſhop of Orleans, it cannot but be obſerv'd, that even in theſe dark times, where in Rome might with eaſe have impoſed on the blind and ignorant World, there were ſome ſo wiſe, and ſo honeſt as not to think it Biſhop (eſpecially if a wicked and ignorant one) to be the Inſal-

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lible Judges of all Controversies. Now whether this honest proceeding of the Council of Rheims in judging Arnulphus, even in a time when they professed to pay all due deference to the Holy See; and whether the Practice of the Modern Gallican Churches in this Age, be not a sufficient Evidence to prove how little they (even of the Romish Communion) believe the Doctrine of the Pope's Infallibility (unless as far as they gain by it) I leave the fair and impartial Reader of both Parties to judge.]

Upon this the Synod came to a Resolution; the Defendant was called in, who took his place among the Bishops. The Bishop of Orleans upbraided him with the Favours he had received from the King, which he had return'd with Treachery. The Defendant alledg'd, that he had done nothing against the King; that he was always Loyal to him; that he had been taken by force in his City by the Enemy, the King not coming to his Assistance. The Bishop of Orleans oppos'd to him the Testimony of Adalger the Priest, who said he had deliver'd up the Gates of the City by his order. The Defendant reply'd, that the thing was false: The Priest maintain'd to his Face that his Evidence was true. Arnulphus of Rheims complain'd of the ill usage he had met with; the Bishop of Soissons ask'd him why he did not appear when he was cited by the King and Bishops; and upon the Answer he made, that he could not, being then retain'd in Custody; that Bishop reply'd, that he had offer'd to conduct him, and alledg'd several Circumstances to prove that he had behav'd himself very deceitfully. Afterwards another Witness was produc'd, who told him that he had said to him that he prefer'd Prince Charles to all the World; and if he had any kindness for him, he ought to endeavour to serve him. Whereas several Abbots declared that Arnulphus ought to be permitted to withdraw, and to ask advice what Answer to make, it was granted him; and he withdrew into a corner of the Chamber with the Archbishop of Sens, and the Bishop of Orleans, Langres, and Amiens. Whilst they consulted together, they read in the Synod the Canons of the Councils of Toledo against those who prov'd disloyal to their Prince. In the mean time Arnulphus acknowledg'd and confess'd his Crime before the Bishops who were retir'd aside with him, who call'd others to be present at his Declaration. He made it before them, and thirty Abbots or Clerks, which were call'd to be Witnesses. This Acknowledgment took off the Objection which might arise upon the Account of the Holy See; because Arnulphus having not appeal'd to it, chose his Judges, and acknowledg'd his Fault, there was no difficulty remaining; so that they might condemn him without encroaching upon the Rights of the Holy See. But to be inform'd what Ceremony they should use in his Deposition, several Canons were consulted, and a great many Instances were produc'd, which took up the remaining part of this Session.

The next day the Bishops meeting in the same place, after they had debated several Affairs both Ecclesiastical and Civil, resum'd that of the Archbishop of Rheims; and as they were debating after what manner he ought to be treated, King Hugh, and King Robert, entred with the Lords, and then thank'd the Bishops for the Zeal they had express'd for them, and ask'd them how the Case stood. The Bishop of Orleans return'd them this Answer, that there was no need of returning them Thanks for doing what was only their Duty: That they had not acted therein out of any Motive of Love to them, or of hatred to Arnulphus: They could heartily wish that he were able to clear himself; but that at last, after many Evasions, he had acknowledg'd his Crime, and consented to be degraded from his Priesthood, in the presence of several Abbots, and several Clerks who were Witnesses of that Declaration: That he thought it proper to have him there before him, that the King himself might be both Witness and Judge, and that by this means his Accusers, the Witnesses which had given in Evidence against him, and the Judges might be discharg'd. He was forthwith introduc'd, and the Bishop of Orleans having ask'd him, whether he were still of the same Mind, he reply'd, that he was. The Bishop ask'd him, whether he were willing to be deprived of the Sacerdotal Dignity, which he had hitherto abus'd: He reply'd, as you please for that. Count Brochard catching at that word, said, that he did not explain himself enough, and that he ought to acknowledge his Fault Publickly, that so he might not afterwards say, that the Bishops had impos'd upon him therein, and that he had not made any Acknowledgment of that Nature. He reply'd, That he had openly confess'd his Fault, and acknowledg'd that he had swerv'd from that Allegiance which he ow'd to his Prince: That he desired that they would credit what the Bishop of Orleans should say of him, and that he intreated him to make as fair a Report of his Case as he could. Thereupon this Bishop said, that Arnulphus of Rheims being naturally modest in speaking, and asham'd to acknowledge in publick, what he had confess'd to them in private, it was enough that he should acknowledge in general that he had not kept the Oath of Allegiance which he ow'd to his

V O L. II.

Prince. Count Brochard insisted that he ought to declare it publicly; but the Bishop of Orleans silenc'd him by saying, that the Bishops were the only Persons who could extract a Confession of that Nature; and that it was sufficient of France, that the Archbishop of Rheims had made his Confession to them in private, and declar'd himself unworthy of the Priesthood because of his Sins, as he had done by a Writing which was read, wherein he declar'd, that he had confess'd himself to Sigwin Archbishop of Sens, and to other Bishops; and had appointed them the Judges of his Offences, that he might receive from them such Penance as he deserv'd, and be remov'd from the Sacerdotal Dignity; and consented that another Archbishop should be put in his place, without pretending ever to return, contrary to this Declaration. Afterwards Adalger the Priest confess'd his Fault. He was ask'd, whether he had rather be degraded, or lye under a perpetual Excommunication. He prefer'd Degradation; which was perform'd with the usual Ceremony; for he was strip'd of all his Clerical Habits from his Priesthood to his Sub-deaconship; and each time he was order'd to forbear performing the Offices of the Order, and of the Habit he was strip'd of: After this he was enjoyn'd Penance, and receiv'd Absolution with leave to Communicate as a Laick. Lastly, They issued forth an Anathema against the other Rebels, who did not appear to make Satisfaction; and Arnulphus was sent Prisoner to Orleans.

Arnulphus being thus depos'd and depriv'd of the Archbishoprick of Rheims, the Bishops elected in his place one Gerbert or Gelbert. He came of a considerable Family of Auvergne; and applying himself to Study, he became a great Proficient in the Sciences and Philosophy. He was brought up in the Monastery of Aurillac, where he liv'd a Monastick Life; and from thence he went into Spain, where he learn'd the Mathematicks. He was afterwards Schoolmaster of the Church of Rheims, where Prince Robert, Son of Hugh Capet, Leoteric Archbishop of Sens, and Fulbert Bishop of Chartres were his Scholars; and he had afterwards the Honour of being Tutor to Otto III. Immediately after his Election he made a Profession of his Faith, and thereupon was Ordain'd, and Instituted and Inducted into the Archbishoprick of Rheims. In the Year 998. he held a Council, wherein he excommunicated Count Hebert and other Usurpers, who had unlawfully seiz'd upon the Revenues of the Church of Rheims. He wrote at the same time to Fulcus Bishop of Amiens, who had appropriated to his own use several Revenues of his Church.

King Hugh and the Bishops sent the Decrees of this Council to Pope John XV. by the Archdeacon of Rheims, and pray'd him to approve of their Election of Gerbert. But this Pope being persuaded that Arnulphus could not have been Depos'd without his Authority, very highly resented what the Bishops of France had done. King Hugh wrote him word that they had done nothing in this Affair that might be of any Prejudice to the Holy See; and that if he pleas'd to come to Grenoble, or into France, he would receive him with all the Tokens imaginable of Submission and Respect; and that if he pleas'd, they should try this Matter over again in his Presence. The Pope sent into France Abbot Leo, with orders to call a Council, and in the mean time forbid the Bishops who had assisted at the Council of Rheims to be there. Gerbert foreseeing the Storm that was coming on him, wrote to an Abbot, and Archbishop Sigwin, and endeavour'd to fortifie the latter, against the fearful apprehensions he had of the Thunderbolts of Rome, by telling him, that the Judgment of the Pope was not Superior to God's Decree: That if he (meaning the Pope) should fall into Error, he might be reprov'd: That he could not exclude Bishops from the Communion of Jesus Christ, for being unwilling to consent to a thing which they thought contrary to the Gospel: That they had no Power to debar him of the Communion, neither as a Guilty Person, since he was Innocent, nor as a Rebel, since he had not refus'd to go to any Council: That this Sentence, being unjust, ought not to be look'd upon as proceeding from the Holy See, according to St. Leo's Maxim. That the Rules whereby the Catholick Church ought to be regulated are the Gospel, the Apostles, the Prophets, the Canons made by the Spirit of God, and consecrated by that respect which all the World paid them, and the Decrees of the Holy Apostolical See which were conformable thereto. That those who out of Contempt swerv'd from these Rules, ought to be judg'd and condemn'd by these Rules: But that whoever observes and follows them, ought to enjoy perpetual Peace, without ever being separated from the Communion of the Church. In conclusion he declar'd to Sigwin, that he ought not to suspend the performing of his Functions because of the Prohibition of Rome, and that he ought to despise this irregular Judgment, for fear that whilst he endeavour'd to appear Innocent, he should declare himself Guilty.

In the mean time the Pope by his Legate very warmly press'd for the re-establishment of Arnulphus, and after he had appointed Councils to be held for this purpose at Aix-la-Chapelle, and at Rome, to which the Bishops of France would

The Council of Mouzon.

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would not go, he order'd one to be held at *Monzon* the second of *June*, in the Year 995. in which assisted *Luitolfe* Archbishop of *Treves*, *Amnon* Bishop of *Verdun*, and *Notger* of *Liege*, with *Sigefroy* Bishop of *Munster*. *Leo* Legate of Pope *John XV.* presented to them a Letter of that Pope, and after it had been read, *Gerbert* made an eloquent Speech in his own Defence, wherein after he had shewn the Reasonableness of his Conduct, he declar'd that he had not taken the Church of *Rheims* from its lawful Possessor; but that *Arnulphus*, who was unworthy thereof, having condemn'd himself, he had been elected and ordain'd Canonically in his place. He gave this Speech in writing to the Legate, who handed to him the Pope's Letter. After this the Council broke up, having first appointed to meet at *Rheims* the first of *July*, and deputed *John* a Monk of the Abbot *Leo* the Pope's Legate, to go to King *Hugh*. But as *Gerbert* was going away, *Leo* order'd two Bishops to remonstrate to him, that he ought to abstain from celebrating Divine Service, till the Convention of the Synod. After he had declar'd that their Denunciation signified nothing, he went himself to wait upon *Leo*, and told him that it was not in the Power of any Bishop, nor of any Patriarch, nor of the Pope himself to exclude any of the Faithful from the Communion of the Church, till such time as he had been either convicted of any Crime, or had acknowledg'd himself to be Criminal, or had refus'd to appear before a Synod, being cited thereto according to the Canon: That neither of these being his Case, he could not tell how to condemn himself. However *Luitolfe* Archbishop of *Treves*, having calmly, and like a Brother, admonish'd him not to give any occasion of Scandal, he prevail'd upon him so far, that for peace and quietness sake, he would only abstain from celebrating Mass till the first of *July* next, which was the time appointed for the Synod at *Rheims*. The Queen *Adelaid* wrote to *Gerbert*, ordering him to appear at that Synod; threatening him that if he did not, such Measures should be taken as should be thought most proper. *Gerbert* understanding that they would Absolve *Arnulphus*, and re-establish him, and all to gratify *Leo*, who had promis'd that the Pope should confirm the late Marriage of King *Robert*; and being inform'd that his Clergy and Laity had declar'd against him, return'd this Answer to that Princess, That he would not be there; and declar'd that he would patiently attend the Determination of the Synod: That ha-

ving receiv'd the Government of the Church of *Rheims* at the hands of the Bishops, he was not willing to quit it till the Bishops had so order'd it: But that he was not in any manner capable of opposing the Sentence which should be pass'd upon him, or of retaining his Diocese by force: That in attending the Judgment of the Synod, he suffer'd with grief an Exile, which many believe to be very happy for him.

The Synod appointed at *Rheims* was held there accordingly; of which we have not any Acts or Decrees. All that we can learn of it is, that they therein resolv'd to re-establish *Arnulphus*, and to turn out *Gerbert*. The latter, according to the Resolution he had taken, obey'd, and retir'd to *Orto III.* who soon after gave him the Archbishoprick of *Ravenna*, from whence he ascended the Papal Chair in the Year 999. As to *Arnulphus* (whatever some Authors may say) he was not set at liberty, and re-establish'd till three Years after, at the instance of Pope *Gregory V.* *John* the fifteenth's Successor. His re-establishment was likewise afterwards confirm'd by *Gerbert* himself when he was advanc'd to the Popedom. For that Pope very generously forgetting all that was past, sent him word, that as it was the Duty of the Holy Apostolical See to raise up those who were fall'n, and to restore to them the Dignity of which they had been depriv'd; so he thought it convenient to succour him, even him who had been turn'd out of the Archbishoprick of *Rheims* for some default: Because since his Deposition had not been ratified by the Pope, it was believ'd that he might be re-establish'd by the Clemency of the Holy See, *St. Peter* having such a Sovereign Authority as no other could stand in competition with. That therefore by restoring to him the Pastoral Rod and Ring, he grants him a power of performing all his Archi-Episcopal Functions; to retain the Dignity thereof; to enjoy all the Revenues belonging to the Church of *Rheims*; and to wear the Pall. That he prohibits all manner of Persons from upbraiding him with his Deposition; being willing that the Apostolical Authority should protect him, tho' his Conscience condemn him: That lastly, he confirms and grants to him *de novo*, the Archbishoprick of *Rheims* with all that belong'd to it. This is the Language of *Gerbert* when advanc'd to the Papal Chair; which seems to be in a different strain from what he formerly us'd.

### The Writings of Gerbert.

The Writings of  
Gerbert.

*Gerbert* was without Question the most learned Man of his Time, especially in Profane Learning: For he had to his Study of the Languages and Philosophy join'd that of the Mathematicks, wherein he was a great Proficient. He informs us himself that he had compos'd several Tracts of Rhetorick, Arithmetick, and Geometry. He speaks of a Sphere which he had made, and he compos'd a small Treatise of the manner of its Construction. He invented Clocks, and made one at *Magdeburgh*, which he regulated according to the Motion of the Polar Star, the which he view'd through a Telescope. They likewise attribute to him a Treatise concerning the *Astrolabe*, written Dialogue-wise, between him and *Leo* the Pope's Legate. This Art made him pass for a Magician, and gave rise to the Fable of his being promoted to the Papal Chair by a Contract which he made with the Devil. He had a great Hand in all the Affairs of the State, and especially in those which related to the Church of *Rheims*; and was in great repute with the Emperors, and the Kings of *France*. He behav'd himself so well in those difficult times, that he fell into disgrace with none. The Archbishop *Adalberon*, as well as the Princes and Princesses of his time, and several others made use of his Pen to write their Letters. He wrote likewise several Letters in his own name to several Persons about the Affairs of Church and State, or about particular Affairs, or else about some Points of Learning. There is a Collection made of an hundred and sixty of them, which are publish'd from the Manuscript in the Library of *Papyrus Mason*, and printed by the Care of his Brother in the Year 1611. at *Paris*,

with the Letters of *John* of *Salisbury*, and *Stephen* of *Tournay*. They are penn'd in a very pure Style, and such as is truly Epitolar, with a great deal of Beauty and Spirit, but they do not contain much of Ecclesiastical Affairs. He is likewise the Author of the History of the Acts made by the Council of *Rheims* against *Arnulphus*, writ with a great deal of Elegance and Energy; which shews that he was no less skill'd in Ecclesiastical, than he was in Profane Learning. His Speech to the Council of *Monzon* is a farther proof of both; as well as the Speech which he made, when Pope, for the instructing of Bishops, publish'd by Father *Mabillon* in the second Tome of his *Analec'ts*. In this last Piece he Remonstrates to the Bishops that the higher their Station and Dignity is, the greater Obligations they lie under of answering the height of their Post by their Sanctity and their Merits; and that their Fall is by so much the more deplorable, by how much the more the height is from which they fall: That God requires more of them than of the rest of the Clergy; and that their Faults shall meet with a severer Punishment than those of others. He explains to them the Qualifications which *St. Paul* requires of Bishops in his first Epistle to *Timothy*. Afterwards he declares against Simony, which was so common in his time, that Bishops gave Money to Archbishops for their Ordination; Priests, Deacons, and other Clergy-men to Bishops. He exclaims very highly against this abuse, and exhorts the Bishops to whom he directs his Discourse, not to drive such a dishonourable Trade, but to lead an unblameable Life.

### Flodoard Prebendary of Rheims.

Flodoard  
Prebendary of  
Rheims.

*Flodoard* or *Fradoard* is not one of the least Ornaments of the Church of *Rheims*. He was born at *Espernay* in the Year 894. He was Prebendary of the Church of *Rheims*, and the Scholar of *Rhemy* of *Auxerre*, whom *Fulbert* had invited to *Rheims*, to be President of the School of his Canons. In the Year 936. he took a Journey to *Rome*, and in the Year 940. he took up a Resolution of going to *St. Martin* of *Tours*, because he could not approve of the Promotion of *Hugh* to the Archbishoprick of *Rheims*. But Count *Hebert* caus'd him to be apprehended, and took from him the Revenues belonging to the Church of *Rheims*, which he was in possession of, and the Church of *Cornicy* which he govern'd. He was

for five Months confin'd to that City, till he was brought to *Soissons*, where he submitted to the Judgment of the Bishops, who confirm'd the Promotion of *Hugh*. Then he was restor'd to favour; the Revenues which he possess'd were restor'd to him, and the Church of *Coroy* given him, instead of *Cornicy*. He assist'd at the Council of *Verdun*, wherein *Arsaldus* was elected Archbishop of *Rheims*; and liv'd in the World to *Odoric's* time, into whose Hands he resign'd his Benefice, and withdrew into the Solitude of a Monastery, where he dyed in the Year 966.

This Author has written an History of the Church of *Rheims*, divided into four Books. He therein gives an Account of the Succession and Lives of the Archbishops, of

Flodoard  
Prebendary of  
Rheims.



what they had done or written, and what happened worth the taking Notice of under each of them in that Church. The first Book begins with the Apostles, and ends at the Death of St. Remy. The Account of the first Bishops is fabulous, and what he says of the following is very uncertain. The Life of St. Remy, the Conversion and Baptism of Clovis take up the greatest and best Part of that Book. The second Book contains the Succession and History of the Archbishops of Rheims from St. Remy down to Hincmarus. The third is wholly taken up with the Life of Hincmarus, and with the Abstract of his Writings. The fourth contains the History of Fulcus, and of those who succeeded him down to Odalric. This History was publish'd by Father Sirmond, and printed at Paris in the Year 1611. and afterwards by Colvenerius who got it to be printed at Daway in the Year 1617.

Besides this Piece, Flodoard did likewise compose a *Chronicon* (for Monsieur Pithon had no Grounds to question whether it were his or no.) It began at the Year 877. but the first Years are lost, and we have only by us the Year 919. and those which follow to the 966. where it ends. Bonderius observes, that at Treves there is a Manuscript, which contains several Pieces of Poetry of Flodoard; namely, five Books of the *Triumphs of the Italian Martyrs and Confessors*; three Books of the *Triumphs of Jesus Christ, and of the Saints of Palestine*; and two Books of the *Triumphs of Jesus Christ at Antioch*. But these Pieces have not as yet been publish'd, and no Body (as we hear of) has ever seen them since. The *Chronicon* was publish'd by Monsieur Pithon, and Monsieur Duchesne, in their Collections of the Writers of the History of France.

## An ADVERTISEMENT to the following Addition.

As soon as this Volume was printed off, I understood by Father Thierry Ruinard, a Learned, Religious Benedictine, of the Congregation of St. Maur, that the Treatise of Flodoard concerning the Triumph of the Martyrs, which Bonderius made Mention of, was in an ancient Manuscript in the Convent of the unshod Carmelites of that City; and this Father has been pleas'd to communicate the Abstract of that Manuscript to me, which I thought fit to publish.

## The ADDITION.

I Have examin'd that Manuscript, the Beginning of which is torn; the Work begins at the End of the first Chapter of the third Book. He therein treats of the Martyrs who suffer'd under Valerian's Persecution.

The fourth Book begins with Pope St. Felix, and treats of the Persecutions of Aurelian, Claudius, Numerian, and Dioclesian. He therein speaks of the Popes according to the Times wherein they liv'd.

The fifth and sixth Books are not there, tho' there seems to be nothing left out.

The seventh treats only of the Persecution under Dioclesian.

The eighth has this Title *De Persecutione Maximiani*, i. e. *Concerning the Persecution under Maximian*. It begins with the History of St. Marcel, and of all the Martyrs which are in his false Decretals: Afterwards he speaks of the martyr'd Saints which are worship'd in Italy. The fifteenth Chapter is concerning St. Asa of Augsburg. The sixteenth is concerning St. Eusebius the Pope.

The ninth Book makes mention of St. Valentine a Martyr at Rome, afterwards of the Martyrs thereabouts; and of the Decretals of St. Sylvester, Gallicanus, St. John, and St. Paul, and of several other Martyrs, who were at Rome in the Time of Julian the Apostate.

The tenth Book begins at St. Julius the Pope, and ends with Vitian and A-Deodate. He therein mentions several other Saints; as for instance, in the second Chapter he speaks of Eusebius, whom he calls Praeful, Prelate, who is said to have suffer'd at Rome under Constance, with Orosius and others; he speaks of St. Eusebius of Vercell, of Victorine the Rhetorician, and of St. Dennis of Milan; he makes mention of the Translation of the latter, made by St. Basil, who sent his Body to St. Ambrose. (I have the Letter of St. Basil by me, directed to St. Ambrose, taken out of an ancient Manuscript, which makes mention of this Translation.) In the third Chapter, where he treats of St. Damasus the Pope, he likewise speaks of St. Jerome. In the eighth Chapter he treats of the Schism of Lawrence, of Pafiasius the Deacon—In the nineteenth of Hormisdas the Pope, of the Peace in

the East, of St. Germain of Capua, of the Resitution of Africa, of St. Remy, of the Conversion of Clovis, of the Crown which he sent to Rome, of the Consular Habits which he receiv'd from the Emperor. In the tenth Chapter he speaks of St. John the Pope, of Symmachus, and of Boetius, whom Theodoric caus'd to be put to death. In the twelfth Chapter of Cassiodorus, of what Belisarius did against the Goths in Italy and Africa. Lastly he treats at large of St. Gregory, and of what happened in his Monastery.

The eleventh Book comprehends the History of the Popes from Agatho down to Christophorus. In the fifth Chapter he speaks at large of Boniface of Germany, whom he styles Doctor and Martyr. In the sixth Chapter of Charlemagne Prince of France, who turn'd a Religious. In the seventh Chapter of Pope Stephen II. of his Progress into France, of the miraculous Cure he wrought in the Abby of St. Dennis, &c.

The twelfth Book contains the History from Leo IV. to Leo VII. In the first Chapter he speaks of the Falls of Hincmarus, of the Settling the Octave of the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady. In the second Chapter, of John Bishop of Ravenna. In the third Chapter of Hincmarus, and of Charles the Bald. In the fourth Chapter of Fulcus Archbishop of Rheims, and of the several Commissions which the Popes granted him. In the fifth Chapter of the Translation of St. Calixtus the Pope to Rheims, which he calls *Urbeni Nostram*, Our City. He treats at large of the Actions of Formosus, whom, he says, Charles King of France desir'd to send him *Panem Benedictum*, i. e. *some Consecrated Bread*.

The thirteenth Book is about the Saints which St. Gregory treats of in his Dialogues, and of other Saints of Italy.

The fourteenth Book is about the Guardian Saints, Martyrs, and others of the Cities of Italy. He ends all by St. Columban and his Disciples.

At the End is an Epitaph of Flodoard himself.

This Manuscript is almost as ancient as Flodoard.

Flodoard's Style is very plain, without any Ornament, and without the least Affectation. He makes a great many Extracts, and relates a vast Number of Miracles.

## Aurelian Clerk of the Church of Rheims.

Aurelian makes mention of another Clerk of the Church of Rheims, call'd Aurelian, who, he says, was very well skill'd in the Knowledge of the Scriptures, and in good Literature; but above all a good Musician. He makes him the Author of a Tract concerning the Rules of Singing, and of Notes, which he

says was a very remarkable Volume, intitled, *The Compleat Musick Master*. He adds, that he likewise compos'd several other Pieces, and that he flourish'd in the Reign of Arnulphus, about the Year 900. We have nothing of this Author left us.

## Bernerus Monk of St. Remy of Rheims.

We ought likewise to reckon among those who were an Ornament to the Church of Rheims, Bernerus Monk of St. Remy of Rheims, who was sent in the Year 948; with several Monks to establish a Monastical Discipline in the Monastery of Hamblers in Vermandois. He wrote the Life of St. Hune-gonda Abbess of Hamblers, published by Father Mabillon, in the second Benedictine Century; and the Account of the Translation of her Body, which is to be met with in the

fifth Century. He sent several Monks to St. Quentin to be put in the room of those Clerks of the Church of that Place who did not lead regular Lives. He relates in the Account of the Translation of the Relicks of St. Hune-gonda, several Miracles which were wrought till the Year 965, which shews that he wrote and liv'd beyond that Year. But thus much may suffice to speak concerning the Church of Rheims. We proceed to the other Churches of France.



## Gautier Archbishop of Sens.

Gautier  
Archbishop  
of Sens.

Gautier  
Archbishop  
of Sens.

THE Beginning of this Century *Gautier* was Archbishop of *Sens*, who was ordain'd in the Year 887. and liv'd to the Year 923. He made Constitutions, which remain still among us. They are comprehended in fourteen Articles.

The first prohibits such Abbots and Conventual Priors, who would not appear at the Synod, and were not excus'd; from being admitted into the Church for eight Days.

The second prohibits the Religious from receiving any *Depositem* into their Convents without the Permission of the Bishop.

The third orders that they should all eat together in the same *Refectory*, and all lye together in the same *Dormitory*.

The fourth imports, that all the separate Apartments of *Nummeries* shall be pull'd down, except such as were requisite to entertain the Bishop; or proper for the sick; or for any other Cause which the Bishop shall adjudge to be just and necessary.

The fifth, that none of the Religious shall be permitted to go abroad, or to lye out of the Monastery, unless it be but seldom, and upon some lawful Occasions.

The sixth, that all the suspicious and unnecessary Doors of these Monasteries shall be shut up.

The seventh prohibits the Ecclesiastical Judges from issuing forth general Excommunications, and from excommunicating all those who shall communicate with an excom-

municate Person, unless it be upon some great important Occasion, and in such Cases as are enormous.

The eighth enjoyns the Canons or Prebendaries to regulate their Offices, and to behave themselves in them with Care and Exactness.

The ninth enjoyns them to observe the Rules prescrib'd by the General Council.

The tenth and eleventh order, that the Communities of the Monks or Regular Canons be re-establish'd in those Priories where they were us'd to be, if they have but wherewithal to subsist.

The twelfth, that the Abbots and Conventual Priors shall have in their respective Abbies and Priories, a sufficient Number of Religious, from whom they shall not exact any Pension.

The thirteenth, that the Clerks who lead loose Lives shall be shaven by the Order of the Bishops, Archdeacons, or other Officers, so that no Mark or Token of their *Clerical Tonsure* shall be left them.

The fourteenth imports, that when any Country shall be interdicted for the Offence of the Lord or his Bailiffs, that Interdiction shall not be taken off, till such Time as Satisfaction be made for the Damages which the Parochial Churches shall suffer by Reason thereof.

'Tis question'd whether these Constitutions belong'd to this *Gautier*, or to some other of a more modern Date. And indeed they relate more to the Discipline of the succeeding Centuries, than to the Discipline of the Tenth.

## Of the other Bishops of France.

Of the  
other Bi-  
shops of  
France.

The Reso-  
lutions of  
the Bishops  
of France  
concerning  
the Dedic-  
ation of a  
Church.

Of the  
other Bi-  
shops of  
France.

The Coun-  
cil of Poi-  
tiers in the  
year 997.

THE other Bishops of France shew'd themselves no less zealous for the keeping up of Discipline and maintaining their Rights, than those we have already mention'd. We have one famous Instance

of it related by *Glaber* Monk of *Cluny*, who liv'd in the following Century. *Fulcus* Count of *Anjou*, upon his Return from a Journey he made to *Jerusalem*, being willing to discharge himself of a Vow he had made, caus'd a Monastery to be built in the Territory of *Tours*, over against the Castle of *Loches*, which he dedicated according to the Advice of his Wife to the Memory of the *Cherubims* and *Seraphims*, and not to the Memory of any Martyr. *Hugh* Archbishop of *Tours* was intreated to perform the Dedication of that Monastery; but he refus'd it till such Time as *Fulcus* should restore to his Church the Revenues which he had contrary to all Justice taken from it. *Fulcus* stomach'd this Refusal, went to *Rome*, and after he had made several Presents to Pope *John*, he return'd with Cardinal *Peter*, who afterwards dedicated the Monastery, having a Commission granted by the Pope for that Purpose. As soon as the Bishops of France understood this, 'They knew (says *Glaber*) that it was the Effect of blind Avarice, which having inclin'd *Fulcus* to rob the Church, had likewise prevail'd upon the Pope to accept of these Presents which *Fulcus* had made him of the Revenues which he had unlawfully seiz'd upon; and that by this Means he had given Rise to a fresh Schism in the Church of *Rome*. They all abominated this Proceeding, looking upon it as an unworthy Action, that he who govern'd the Holy Apostolical See should violate the first Order establish'd by the Apostles and by the Canons; the Custom of the Church, founded on a great many Authorities of Antiquity, which forbids Bishops to exercise any Jurisdiction in another's Diocese, unless the Bishop of that Diocese intreat him, or permit him to do it. For tho' the Pope of *Rome* be most rever'd upon the Account of the Dignity of the Holy Apostolical See, yet he is not permitted in any Case whatsoever to violate the Rules prescrib'd by the Canons. And as each Bishop of the Catholic Church is the Husband of his own Church, and the Representative of our Lord: So it is not allowable to any Man to undertake any Thing in another's Diocese.' *Glaber* adds, that *Fulcus* notwithstanding these Remonstrances, having caus'd this Church to be dedicated, had no Bishops present but those of his own Dominions, who assist'd at it much against their Wills; and that it was no sooner finish'd, but the k'abrick was blown down by a Storm; which is attributed to the Rashness of this Proceeding.

In the Year 989. a Council was held in the Abby of *St. Saviour* of *Charronx*, in the Diocese of *Poitiers*, at which assist'd the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, and the Bishops of *Poitiers*, *Limoges*, *Perigueux*, *Saintes*, and *Angoulême*. There was nothing else done there but issuing out *Anathemas* against those who should rob the Churches of their Revenues, defraud the Poor of their Dues, or should by Force apprehend or abuse a Clerk, not bearing Arms, before he were try'd by his Bishop.

The Coun-  
cil of Char-  
ronx, in  
the year  
989.

Ten Years after there was another Council held in the City of *Poitiers*, which was called by *William* Count of *Poitiers*, and consisted of the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, and the Bishops of *Poitiers*, *Limoges*, *Angoulême*, and *Saintes*.

They therein confirm'd the Order made in the Council of *Charronx* against the Usurpators of the Revenue of Churches and of private Persons. And for the putting it in Execution, it was order'd that all the Grandees and Judges should cause full Restitution to be made to every one, who had any Thing taken from them; and that those who would not submit to their Determinations, should be constrain'd to do it by Force. They therein likewise forbade Bishops the exacting any Thing for the Administration of Penance and Confirmation; and renew'd the Prohibition made so often against Ecclesiasticks keeping Company with Women.

We shall reckon among the Councils of France the Synod held at *Ravenna* under *Gerbert*; because we look upon that Archbishop as a *Frenchman*; and because it was he alone who made the following Institutions in an Assembly of his Clergy, held the first of *May*, in the Year 997.

The first is a Prohibition of a great Abuse which prevail'd in the Church of *Ravenna*, according to which they sold to Bishops, at the Time of their Consecration, the Body of Jesus Christ, and the Holy Chrism to the Archpriests of the Diocese. The Eucharist which he speaks of in this Place, was a Consecrated Loaf, which was given whole to the Bishop on the Day of his Consecration, and which he kept by him to Communicate thereof for forty Days together, as 'tis observ'd in the *Roman* Decretal.

The second imports, that all the Archpriests shall pay to the Subdeacons of *Ravenna*, as an Acknowledgment of that Church, an yearly Pension of Two Pence.

The third renews the ancient Canons concerning the necessary Qualifications of those who are to be admitted into Holy Orders, and prohibits Bishops from consecrating Churches out of their own Diocese, without Leave from the Bishop of the Place; and from entertaining or keeping those who belong to another's Diocese, till they have Letters Demissory from their Bishop. He likewise forbids the receiving any Thing for the Burial of the Dead, unless their Friends or Relations should give any Thing voluntarily.

Lastly we shall refer to this Place that which happen'd in France and at *Rome* about the Marriage and Divorce of King *Robert* and Queen *Bertha*.

About the End of this Century; that Prince being a Widow by the Death of Queen *Lutgarde* his first Wife, had marry'd *Bertha*, Sister to *Radulphus the Simple*, King of *Burgundy*, who was the Widow of *Eudes* the first, Count of *Chartres*. But forasmuch as she was his Kinswoman, and *Bertha* he had formerly stood Godfather to one of her Children, tho' he had taken the Advice of several Bishops of his Kingdom about it, yet the Pope oppos'd this Marriage as being null, and contracted between Persons, who according to Law could not marry together, *Robert* did what he could to

The Mar-  
riage of  
King Ro-  
bert with  
*Bertha*.



to confirm this Marriage, and spoke about it to *Leo Pope Gregory the Fifth's* Legate in France, who made him believe that he should obtain of the Pope what he desir'd, provided he would cause *Arnulphus* to be re-establish'd in the Archbishoprick of *Rheims*. In the mean Time, notwithstanding the Judgment which was pass'd in Favour of that Archbishop, Pope *Gregory V.* held a Council at *Rome* in the Year 998. in the Presence of the Emperor *Otho III.* at which assisted *Gerbert*, at that Time Archbishop of *Ravenna*, and seven and twenty Bishops of *Italy*. In this Council he declar'd that King *Robert* ought to part from his Kinswoman *Bertha*, whom he had marry'd contrary to the Laws, and do Penance for seven Years together, according to the Degrees set down by the Canons; and if he would not, he should be anathematiz'd: That *Bertha* should submit to the same Penalty; and he excommunicated *Archembold* Archbishop of *Tours*, who had celebrated that Marriage, and the Bishops of *France*, who had either assisted or consented thereto, till such Time as they should come and give the Holy See Satisfaction. This Sentence of the Pope made such an Impression on the Minds of Men (if we will believe *Pater Damien* in the Case,) that all the King's Domesticks, except two or three, abandon'd him, and would no longer have any Conversation with him; and even caus'd the Vessels out of which he had either eat or drunk to be burnt. Let the Case be how it will, King *Robert* at last giving ear to the Admonitions of *Abbo* the Abbot, parted with *Bertha* within two or three Years after; and *Leo IX.* (according as *Ives of Chartres* relates it) says that they came to *Rome* with the Bishops, to obtain their Absolution, and to get their Penance mitigated. The Author of the Life of *Abbo* does not say that *Roberts* went to *Rome*; but that he confessed his Fault both publicly and privately; that he asked Pardon, and did Penance for it. That which is most evident is, that the Marriage was of no longer Force.

In the same Council, the Pope pass'd several other Sentences. The first in Favour of the Church of *Mersburgh*, which had been rais'd to a Bishoprick by the Holy See, and by the Councils held under *Otho*, and afterwards destroy'd out of Council by *Otho II.* He restores to it its Dignity of being an Episcopal See.

The second relates to the Person of the Bishop of *Mersburgh*, call'd *Gislair*, who had quitted that Church to be Archbishop of *Magdeburgh*. It was order'd, that if he had been requir'd by the Clergy and Laity of *Magdeburgh* to take upon him that Archbishoprick, he should still hold it: That if that had not been done, and he could prove that neither Ambition nor Avarice moved him to take upon him that Archbishoprick, he should return to his first Church without being depos'd. But if he could not deny but that he was induced to it by some one or other of these Motives, he should be depriv'd of both Churches. This *Gislair* did not submit to the Sentence of *Gregory*, but held both these Churches. Whereupon he was accus'd in a Council at *Rome*, held under *Sylvester II.* Successor to *Gregory V.* who suspended him for some Time, and ordered his Nuncios in *Germany* to cite him. But that Bishop prevail'd upon them by Bribery to put it off, and afterwards pleaded for his Excuse, his being sick of the Palsy. At last he appear'd before a Council held at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he demanded an Appeal to a General Council. Lastly, The Emperor *Henry* having sent for him to *Dronburgh*, and remonstrated to him that he ought to return to his Church of *Mersburgh*, he desired a few Days to consider on it, and dy'd in the Interim.

The third relates to the Church of *Puy in Velay*. *Guy* Bishop of that City, had elected for his Successor his Nephew *Stephen*, without the Consent of Clergy and Laity: However, after the Death of *Guy*, the Archbishop of *Bourges*, and the Bishop of *Nevers* had ordain'd *Stephen*. The Council declares this Ordination to be null and void; deposes *Stephen*; excommunicates the Prelates who had ordain'd him, till such Time as they should come and give the Holy See Satisfaction; grants Leave to the Clergy and Laity of *Velay* to elect a Bishop; desires the Pope might con-

secrate him whom they should elect; and exhorts King *Robert* not to support *Stephen*, but to stand by him who should be elected by the Clergy and Laity. This Sentence was put in Execution; *Theodardus* was elected by the Clergy and Laity, and ordain'd by *Sylvester II.* Successor to *Gregory V.* as we learn by the Fragment of a Letter of that Pope, related by *Father Dachery* in the Advertisement to the Reader before the ninth Tome of *Spicilegium*, wherein he has given us the Acts of that Council more compleat than they are in the Edition of the Councils by *Father Labbe*. He takes Notice in the same Place that *Gregory V.* held a Council at *Rome*, wherein *Gualdalde*, who had seiz'd upon the Episcopal See of the Church of *Osona* or *Vich*, in the Province of *Catalonia*, had been depos'd, as appears by a Letter of *Gregory V.* which *Father Dachery* tells us is in the Hands of *Monsieur Baluzius*. 'Tis very probable that this was done in the same Council, where *Otho III.* publish'd an Edict, directed to the Archbishops, Abbots, Marquisses, Counts, and to all the Judges of *Italy*; whereby he declares that all the Deeds of Alienation of the Church Revenues, even tho' leas'd out for 99 years, shall not be of Force any longer than the Life-time of him who shall make them; and that there shall be no such Deeds made, but for the Advantage of those Churches who are to be maintain'd out of them. This Edict is dated *October 17.* in the year 998. and 'tis observ'd that it was publish'd by *Gerbert* in the Synod which turn'd *Arnulphus* out of the Archbishoprick of *Milan*.

In this Century there was no less Care taken of settling the Monastical Discipline of *France*, than of the Ecclesiastical Discipline; and as the Bishops were diligent in reforming the Clergy and Laity; so there were some holy Abbots, who set themselves, and that with a great deal more Success, upon reforming the Monastical Order, which was, the Beginning of that Century, in a very lamentable Condition. Most of the Monasteries having been ruin'd by the *Normans*, were abandon'd, their Revenues were in Possession of Laicks, and the Abbots were Seculars. If there were any Monks still left in the Monasteries, they were such as observ'd no Order; and were so far from living according to their Rule, that they did not so much as know it.

In this Condition was the Monastical Order, when God rais'd up *Berno*, Monk of *Autun*, to be the Restorer of it. He began his Reformation in the Monasteries of *Joigny* and *Baume*, and in several others of which he was Abbot. For a Custom was then in Use, that one and the same Abbot held several Abbies, or at least several Monasteries which depended upon him. He had for his Companions and Disciples *Odo* and *Adegrin*. In the year 910. *William* Count of *Auvergne* and Duke of *Aquitain*; having founded the Abby of *Cluny*, committed it to the Government of *Berno*, who put twelve Monks into it, and took likewise Care of the Monasteries of *Hols*, *Massay*, and *Souigny*, who were all under under his Conduct, and imbrac'd the same Way of Living. *Berno* dying in the year 927. had for his Successor *Odo*, the Son of *Abbo*, born at *Tour* in the year 879. He had been educated by *Fulcus* Count of *Anjou*, and made Canon of *St. Martin* of *Tours* at nineteen years of Age. Some time after, being come to *Paris*, he became a Disciple of *Remy* of *Auxerre*; and afterwards resolv'd to dedicate himself to God, he imbrac'd the Monastical Life in the year 909. in the Monastery of *Baume*, under the Conduct of *Berno*. *Odo* extended the Reformation of *Cluny* to a great many other Monasteries, and carried it as far as *Rome* it self, to which he made three Journeys: The first in the year 937. the second in the year 938. and the last in the year 942. being call'd thither by the Popes to be the Mediator of Peace between the Princes of *Italy*. He dy'd at *Tours* in the year 942. at his Return from his last Journey to *Rome*.

He had for his Successor *Ademar*, or *Aymar*; next him was *St. Maiol*, who was employ'd by *Hugh Capet* in the Reformation of almost all the Monasteries of *France*. He dy'd in the year 994. leaving for his Successor *Odilo*, who had been elected three years before his Death. This last was Abbot of *Cluny* for the space of fifty six years.

## Odo Abbot of Cluny.

*Berno* apply'd himself more to the settling of his Order, than to Study: But *Odo* apply'd himself to both, and compos'd several Pieces at different Times, and in all the Conditions of his Life. When he was Canon, he made an Abridgment of the Morals of *St. Gregory*, and of the Hymns and Anthems in Honour of *St. Martin*. When he was only Monk, he made three Books concerning Priesthood, upon the Prophecy of *Jeremy*, dedicated to *Turpio* Bishop of *Limoges*; they are intitled *Collationes sive Colloquia*; and others call them by the Title of *Occupationes*. When he was Abbot, he wrote the Life of *St. Gerard* or *Gerard*, Count of *Aurillac*, in four Books; dedicated to *Aimon* Abbot of *Tulle*; and the Life of *St. Martial* of *Limoges*; an Account of the Translation of the Body of *St. Martin*; a Piece wherein *St. Martin* is equaliz'd to the Apostles; several Sermons, and a Panegyrick of *St. Benedict*.  
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These Tracts are printed in the Library of *Cluny*, with Hymns upon the Holy Sacrament and *St. Magdalene*. An ancient Author of his Life takes Notice, that being at *Rome*, he corrected the Life of *St. Martin*; and speaks of a Book about the Coming of *St. Benedict* into a Village near *Orleans*. They likewise attribute to *Odo* the Life of *St. Gregory* of *Tours*, related by *Sirius*. *Father Mabillon* takes Notice, that in the Library of the Reform'd *Carmelites* of *Paris*, there is a Manuscript which formerly belong'd to the Monastery of *St. Julian* of *Tours*, wherein there is a large Treatise in Verse, intitled, *Occupationes Odonis Abbatis*. He adds, that this Piece is divided into four Books; the first concerning the Creation of the World; the second concerning the Formation of Mankind; the third concerning his Fall; and the fourth concerning the Corruption of Nature. 'Tis by a Mistake that they attribute to this *Odo* the Life of *St. Martin*.



*Maurus*, which belongs to *Odo* Abbot of *St. Maurus* of the *Fosse*. They likewise falsely attribute to him several *Chronicons* which *Thomas* of *Lucca* compos'd under the Name of *Odo*, as it has been observ'd by the Author of the Hi-

story of the Counts of *Angres*, related in the tenth Tome of the *Spicilegium*. *Sigebert* gives *Odo* the Title of *Musician*, and says that he was a very proper Person to compose and pronounce Sermons, and to make Hymns upon the Saints of France.

## John Monk of Cluny.

THE Life of *Odo* was written by one of his Disciples, called *John*, whom he had met in *Italy*, in his Journey, in the year 938. and brought along with him to *Pavia*, where he caus'd him to take upon him the Monastick Life. It is divided into three Books, and printed in

the Library of *Cluny*, and in the fifth *Benedictine* Century by Father *Mabillon*, who has likewise given us another Life of *Odo*, written by *Nalgodus*, who liv'd about two hundred years after the Death of that Abbot.

## Odilo Abbot of Cluny.

*Odilo* has left us but a few Pieces ; which are, the Life of *St. Maiol* his Predecessor ; four Hymns in his Praise ; several Letters to *St. Fulbert* Bishop of *Chartres* ; the Life of *St. Adelaide* the Empress, *Osbo* the First's Wife ; fourteen Sermons upon the Festivals of *Jesus Christ* and the Blessed *Virgin* ; a Decree concerning

the Prayers for the Dead ; and three Letters related by Father *Luke Dachery* in the second Tome of the *Spicilegium*, with a Letter of Pope *John XIX.* who reprov'd him for refusing the Archbishoprick of *Lyons*. He is look'd upon as the first Founder of the Feasts of All-Saints, and of the Commemoration of the Dead. He liv'd to the year 1048.

## Abbo Abbot of Fleury.

*Abbo* or *Albo*, Monk of *Fleury* or *St. Benedict* upon the *Loire*, was born at *Orleans*, and instructed and educated in the Schools belonging to the Monastery of *Fleury*, where he studied under *Wulfaldus* the Abbot ; and for several years together had the Government of the Schools of that Monastery. He went afterwards to *Paris* and *Rheims*, to study Philosophy and Astronomy ; but making no great Progress in them, he return'd to *Orleans*, where he learn'd Musick. From thence he was invited over to *England*, where he taught publicly for the Space of two years, after which he return'd to the Monastery of *Fleury*, of which he was made Abbot. This did not hinder him from prosecuting his Studies. He had some Differences to adjust with *Arnulphus* Bishop of *Orleans*, which occasion'd him to write an Apology directed to the Kings *Hugh* and *Robert*, wherein he exhorts them to turn out Hereticks ; among whom he reckons such as believ'd that the Revenues of the Church belong'd to them, and who had made an unlawful Seizure upon them. He would have the same Thing done to those Bishops who assert that the Churches and Altars belong to them. He observes that *Jesus Christ* does not say that

[How much this Abbot is mistaken in the latter Part of his Remark (which says, That our Saviour says his Church was built upon *St. Peter*.) will appear to any who consult our Lord's Words in the Original, Mat. 16. 18. *Καὶ ἐγὼ σοὶ πῖττα, ἐν τῷ ὅτι ἐσὶς Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ Πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν* : Which Words in our Version run thus, And I say unto thee, That thou art *Peter*, and upon this Rock will I build my Church. Where we may observe, that he does not say, *ἐπὶ σοὶ*, or *ἐπὶ τῇ Πέτρᾳ* but *ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ Πέτρᾳ* &c. from whence it must be concluded, that he does not mean the Person, but the Faith of *St. Peter*, the Rock upon which he would build his Church. This Remark seems pertinent, since the Romanists from this Text, and that of *St. John*, Chap. 21. V. 15, 16, &c. pretend to prove the Infallibility and Universality of the Pope.]

his Successors cannot say that the Churches which they govern, are theirs, much less can they make a Gain of them, as he says they then did every Day. He likewise in his Apology gives an Account of what passed in the Council of *St. Dennis* about the year 995. where he himself was present, wherein having maintain'd against the Bishops, the Right which the Monks and Laicks had of possessing several Tithes, the People rose up in Arms against the Bishops, who were forc'd to fly for it ; and forasmuch as *Sigwin* Archbishop of *Sens*, who was at the Head of them, had been wounded in the Flight, *Abbo* was accused of being the Author of this Sedition. He made his Defence in this Epistle. He wrote a Letter to *Bernard* Abbot of *Beaulieu* in the Diocese of *Limoges*, to dissuade him from giving a Sum of Money which the Count of *Thoulouse* and the Archbishop of *Bourges* would exact from him, for the making him Bishop of *Cahors*. That Abbot having resolv'd upon taking a Journey to *Jerusalem*, was dissuaded from it by *Abbo*, who advis'd him rather to go to *Rome*, whither he retir'd upon Mount *Gargan* ; and being afterwards intreated to return into the World, to relieve his Relations, he again consulted *Abbo* about what he ought to do in the Case, who in a very elegant Letter return'd him this Answer, That he ought not to think of quitting his Solitude to involve himself in the Affairs of this World. As to the Question which *Bernard* propos'd, Whether he ought to keep or leave his Abby ? he return'd him this Answer, That Circumstances would direct

him what to do ; and recommends to him the using his utmost Discretion to examine in his own Conscience, which of the two was the most honourable for him, and most beneficial to others : Because on one side 'tis a great Duty to discharge the Functions of an Abbot, when one can conduct Souls to God : But that on the other side, when there is no hopes of being able to do any Good, by Reason of the Wickedness of those one has to govern, 'tis more convenient to retire, to provide for ones own Salvation. Sometime after *Abbo* went to *Rome*, to obtain a Confirmation of the Privileges of his Church. He there met with Pope *John XV.* upon the Holy See, who was not (says *Aimoin* the Author of his Life) such an one as he wish'd him, or as he ought to be. Having this Pope in Detestation, he return'd after he had offer'd up his Prayers in the Holy Places of God's Worship. Upon his Return from this Journey, he wrote a Letter to the Abbot of *Fulda*, publish'd by *Monsieur Baluzius* in the first Tome of his Collection of Miscellanies. He was afterwards sent a second Time by King *Robert* to Pope *Gregory V.* Successor to *John*, who threatned to lay the Kingdom under an Interdiction upon the Account of *Arnulphus* Archbishop of *Rheims*. He met this Pope at *Spoleto*, was very kindly receiv'd by him, and obtain'd of him a Privilege for his Abby, by which the Bishop of *Orleans* was prohibited entering into that Monastery, unless he were invited thither ; and the Monks were permitted to celebrate Divine Service in their Monastery always, even tho' the whole Kingdom were laid under an Interdiction by the Pope. He adjusted the Business of *Arnulphus* ; and having engag'd his Word to the Pope, That that Archbishop should be releas'd out of Prison and re-establish'd, he was intrusted to carry the Pall to him. Upon his Return to France, what he had promis'd was accordingly done, and he gave the Pope Notice of it. About the End of his Life, he re-establish'd the Monastery of *Squires* in *Gascony*, which was call'd the Monastery of the Rule, and in the Country Language *la Reoule*, where he was kill'd in the year 1004. in an Insurrection which the Monks or Women of that Country rais'd against him. *Monsieur Baluzius* has publish'd a Circular Letter written by the Monks of *Fleury*, upon his Death.

Besides the Apology and the Letters of *Abbo* which we have already mention'd, the Author of his Life makes likewise mention of the following Tracts. Of a Letter in Hexameter Verse, in Praise of the Emperor *Osbo* : The Verses begin and end with the same Letter, and may be read six Manner of Ways, which make so many different Senses. Of a Treatise directed to *Odilo* Abbot of *Cluny*, about the Harmony of the Gospel : And of another Tract concerning the Cycles of all the Years, from the Birth of *Jesus Christ* down to his Time, which *Sigebert* says is a Commentary on the Treatise of *Victorius*. They likewise attribute to him the Abstract of the Lives of the Popes, taken out of the History of *Anastasius* the Librarian, printed at *Mayence* in the year 1603. The Life of *St. Edmond* King of *England* and Martyr. Father *Mabillon* has given us an excellent Collection of Canons compos'd by *Abbo*, and dedicated to the Kings *Hugh* and *Robert*, in the second Tome of his *Analec*ts.

*Abbo's* Style is very pure and elegant, and his Conceptions are accurate : He was very well vers'd in the Rules of Discipline and Morality. His Zeal for the Monastical Order, and the Interest of the Monks, created him a great many Enemies : Because, as he says himself, he had always in his Thoughts the Protection of the Monks ; and had consulted their Interest upon all Occasions, and oppos'd all who annoy'd them.



## Aimoin Monk of Fleury.

**T**HE Life of *Abbo* was written by *Aimoin* Monk of the same Monastery. He was of *Aquisaine*, the Son of *Anetrude*, the Kinswoman of *Gerald*, Lord of *Amberre*. He embrac'd the Monastick Life in the Year 970. under *Osbold* Abbot of *St. Benedict* upon the *Loire*; and flourish'd under his Successor *Abbo*, whose intimate Friend he was. He attended him in his Journey to *Gascoigne*, and after his death return'd to his Monastery. The principal Piece of this *Aimoin* is his History of *France* dedicated to *Abbo*. It was printed at *Paris* by *Badius Ascensius* in the Year 1514. under the Name of *Aimonius*. Fifty years after *Monsieur Pitboui* or *Plibent*, caus'd it to be re-printed from a Manuscript, under the true Name of *Aimoin*. It was publish'd in the Year 1567. at the Printing House of *Vexel*. In the year 1603. *James* of *Brenil*, Monk of *St. Germain des Prez*, caus'd it to be printed, and pretended that it was writ by *Aimoin*, a Monk of *St. Germain*. Ten years after *Freherus* inserted it in the Body of the History of *France*, which he caus'd to be printed at *Hanover*. Lastly, The *Messieurs Duchesne* inserted it in the third Tome of their Collections, printed in the Year 1641. This History is divided into five Books; But of *Aimoin's* there are only the three first Books, and one and

forty Chapters of the fourth, which ends at the founding of the Monastery of *Fleury*. The rest is compil'd by a Monk of very late standing.

*Aimoin* is likewise the Author of two Books of the Miracles of *St. Benedict*, which are the second and third Books of these four, which are in the Library of *Fleury*; of the Life of *St. Abbo*, mention'd before; of a Sermon upon the Festival of *St. Benedict*; and of several Verses upon the first founding of the Monastery of *Fleury*, printed in the third Tome of the Collection of *Duchesne*; together with another Treatise in Verse concerning the Translation of the Relicks of *St. Benedict*. He is not altogether so elegant as his Master *Abbo*; But he wrote with great accuracy, and his Narration is plain and pleasant, without having any thing of that flatness of Style, which several other Authors of that time had.

The Abby of *Lobes*, in the Diocess of *Cambray* and Principality of *Liege*, founded in the seventh Century by *St. Ursmar*, preserv'd the Monastical Discipline till the tenth Century, at which time its reputation was farther increas'd by several Abbots, who for their Piety were deservedly advanc'd to the Bishoprick of *Liege*, and recommended themselves to the World by their Writings.

## Stephen Abbot of Lobes.

**T**HE first is *Stephen*, whom *Fulcuin* calls a learned Man, and of whom he says, that he observ'd the Rule of the Canons: Which made People believe that he was a Secular Abbot. The same Author adds, that he has cast into a more polish'd Stile the ancient Life of *St. Lambert*, which was written in a course dress, and he made a very famous piece of Prose out of it: That he likewise made another small Treatise, compos'd of several fine Thoughts extracted out of Holy Writ; in which he has inserted the Chapters and Collects of each Festival in the Year: And that in the Preface he observes that he had been advanc'd to *Metz*, by dedicating his Treatise to *Robert* Bishop of that City. *Siebert* says likewise, that he made a piece of Prose upon the Trinity, and upon the Invention of *St. Stephen* the Proto-Martyr. Others say, that they are certain Offices appointed for these Festivals. The Life of *St. Lambert* was publish'd in the

History of the Bishops of *Liege*, by *Chapeauville*. This *Stephen* was ordain'd Bishop of *Liege* in the Year 903.

After his death the Bishoprick of *Liege* was contested, as was formerly hinted, between *Hilduin* and *Riquier*; but the latter being Abbot of *Lobes*, carried it from the other. In his time the Study of the Liberal Arts and Sciences (says *Fulcuin*) began to flourish in the Abby of *Lobes*, and the most famous Professors of them were *Scamin*, *Theoduin*, and *Ratbertus*. We have already given a particular Account of the Transactions and Writings of the last of these Persons. *Trithemius* likewise attributes to *Hilduin*, who was Competitor with *Riquier* for the Bishoprick of *Liege*, the Title of Abbot of *Lobes*, and assures us that he wrote the History of the Abbots of that Monastery, and several Sermons; but 'tis probable that he was mistaken, and that he took *Hilduin* for *Fulcuin*.

## Fulcuin Abbot of Lobes.

**I**N the end of this Century *Fulcuin* or *Folcuin* was chosen Abbot of *Lobes*. He left a well penn'd History of that Abby, from its first founding by *Landelin* and *St. Ursmar* to his time, which was publish'd by Father *D. Luke Dachery* in the sixth Tome of his *Spicilegium*. He

has likewise compos'd a Treatise of the Miracles of *St. Ursmar*, referr'd by *Henschenius* to April 18. and the Life of *St. Fulcuin* Bishop, and is contain'd in the first Part of the fourth *Benedictine* Century by Father *Mabillon*. *Fulcuin* was chosen Abbot in the Year 975. and dy'd in 990.

## Heriger Abbot of Lobes.

**H**E had for his Successor *Heriger*, the Friend of *Notger* Bishop of *Liege*, whose Works are compil'd in the following Catalogue, collected by the Author of the Continuation of *Fulcuin's* History, viz. The History of the Bishops of *Liege*: The Life of *St. Ursmar* in Verse: A Letter to *Hugh* about several Questions, and two other Tracts, which were never publish'd: A Treatise by way of Dialogue between him and *Aldebold* Clerk of the Church of *Liege*, and afterward Bishop of *Utrecht*, concerning the Dissensions of the Church, and the Coming of our Saviour: And another Treatise containing a Collection of several Passages of the Fathers

touching the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ* against *Paschasius Ratbertus*. The History of the Bishops of *Liege* was publish'd by *Chapeauville*; and his Treatise of our Saviour's Body and Blood is that Anonymous Piece set forth by Father *Cellet*. The Life of *St. Ursmar* is in *Henschenius* referr'd to April 18. and the other Works are only in Manuscript. Some other Pieces are also attributed to him, viz. the Life of *St. Berlanda* referr'd by *Bollandus* to Febr. 3. and by Father *Mabillon* to the third *Benedictine* Century, and that of *St. Landoalde*, which is inserted under the Name of *Norger* by *Surius* to March 19. This Abbot died in the Year 1007.

## Aldebold Bishop of Utrecht.

**A**ldebold Clerk of the Church of *Liege*, and afterwards chosen Bishop of *Utrecht* about the Year 1009. wrote the History of the Emperor *Henry II.* which is contain'd in the Lives of the Saints writ by *Surius* in July 14. and in the fifth Tome of *Canisius's* Antiquities. *Trithemius* likewise makes mention of a Hymn in Commendation of the Cross; of another in

praise of the Virgin *Mary*; and of some other Works of the same Author, as well in Prose as Verse. He died A.D. 1027.

[\* After having left his Employment in the Court of the Emperor *Henry II.* whom he serv'd in quality of a Privy Counsellor and General of his Armies, he became a Monk of *Lobes*.]

## Albert Abbot of Gemblours.

**A**lbert or Olbert Abbot of *Gemblours*, is likewise one of the Writers who proceeded from the Abby of *Lobes*. *Siebert* informs us, that he was a Person illustrious for his profound Skill in Humane Literature and Ecclesiastical Affairs, as also by rea-

son of his great Zeal for Religion; and that he render'd his Name immortal by writing the Lives of the Fathers and composing Hymns in Honour of the Saints; but more especially in regard that he was Tutor to *Burchard* Bishop of *Wormes*, and incited him to the study of Divinity, and caus'd



caus'd him to publish his Volume of Canons so useful to the whole World, which was written and dictated by him, and compil'd by the diligence of that *Albert*. *Sigebert* does

not say that he compos'd those Lives of the Fathers, but only that he wrote them with his Hand; nevertheless *Trithemius* makes him the Author of them.

### Odilo Monk of St. Medard at Soissons.

**O**dilo Monk of St. Medard at Soissons flourish'd about the Year 920. and wrote a Book concerning the Translation of the Relicks of St. *Sebastian* Martyr, and St. *Gregory* Pope, to the Monastery of St. Medard, dedicated to *Ingram* Dean of that Abbey, who was ordain'd Bishop of *Laon*, A.D. 932. Therefore *Odilo's* Piece precedes that Year. It is referr'd by *Bol-*

landus to January 20. and to the fourth *Benedictine* Century by Father *Mabillon*, who has likewise given us in the same Volume, the History of the Translation of the Relicks of St. *Tiburtius*, of St. *Marcellinus*, and of St. *Peter* and his Companions, made in the same Monastery A. D. 828. and written by the same Author.

### Gerard Abbot of St. Medard at Soissons.

**G**erard Abbot, or rather Dean of St. Medard at Soissons, flourish'd in the middle of the tenth Century, having found an ancient Manuscript of the Life of St. *Romanus*, he cast it into a more polite Style, and made another of it in Verse; which he presen-

ted to *Hugh* Archbishop of *Roan*, as it appears by the Epistle Dedicatory, publish'd by Father *Mabillon* in the first Tome of his *Analec*s. Of these Works there is only extant the Ancient Life of *Romanus*, that he corrected, and which was set forth by Monsieur *Rigaud*, or *Rigulius*.

### John Abbot of Arnulphus at Metz.

**J**ohn Monk of Gorze, and afterwards Abbot of St. Arnoul or Arnulphus at Metz, flourish'd there in the time of *Adalberon*, who was Bishop of that City. He wrote the Life of St. *Glodesinda* Abbess of Metz,

and the History of her Translation, with the Life of St. John Abbot of Gorze his Patron, dedicated to *Thierry* Bishop of Metz. Father *Mabillon* has inserted these Works in different Tomes of his *Benedictine* Centuries.

### Helperic or Chilperic Monk of St. Gal.

**H**elperic or Chilperic Monk of St. Gal, compos'd in the Year 980. a Treatise of the Calendar, the Preface to which was publish'd by Father *Mabil-*

lon, in the first Tome of his *Analec*s, and which is entirely preserv'd in Manuscript in the Library of St. *Germain des Prez*.

### Berthier Priest of Verdun.

**B**erthier Priest of Verdun wrote a Compendious History of the Bishops of that Church, and dedicated it to *Dado*, who was then Governor of that Country. It was publish'd by Father *Dachery* in the twelfth Tome of the *Spicilegium*. He flourish'd about the Year 957.

This Work of *Berthier* was continu'd by an Anonymous Monk of St. *Viton* at Verdun down to *Thierry* the four-

teenth Bishop of that City. Afterward *Lawrence* Monk of *Liege*, and at last of the same Monastery of St. *Viton* at Verdun, made a Supplement and Continuation of that History to the time of *Alberon*, that is to say, to the middle of the twelfth Century. These Works are follow'd by another Continuation in the same Tome of Father *Dachery's* *Spicilegium*.

### Adso Abbot of Luxeuil.

**T**here were two Monks in the tenth Century who bore the Name of *Adso*: The first of these, the Abbot of *Luxeuil*, wrote about the Year 960. a Treatise of the Miracles of St. *Wandalbert*, the third Abbot of *Luxeuil*, which is contain'd in the first Tome of the *Benedictine* Centuries. The second Abbot of *Deuvres* in the Diocese of *Bourges*, is the Author of the Life of St. *Bercaire*; of that of St. *Basile* Confessor; of

the History of the Translation and Miracles of the latter; of the Life of St. *Frobert* Abbot of *Celles*; of the History of the Translation of his Relicks; and lastly, of the Life of St. *Manfret* the first Bishop of *Toul*. All these Works, except the last, are in the second and fourth *Benedictine* Centuries of Father *Mabillon*; the last was publish'd by Monsieur *Bosquet*. This Author flourish'd about the Year 980, and died in 992.

### Letaldus Monk of St. Memin.

**L**etaldus Monk of the Abby of *Micy* or St. *Memin* in the Diocese of *Orleans*, flourish'd about the end of the tenth Century. He wrote the History of the Miracles of St. *Maximin* or *Memin*, the first Foun-

der of that Monastery, publish'd by Father *Mabillon* in the first Tome of his *Benedictine* Centuries; and it is probable that he is the same with the Author of the Life of St. *Julian* Bishop of *Mans*.

## CHAP. IV.

### The History of the Churches of Germany.

**T**HE Emperor *Arnulphus* the last of the Branch of the *Carlian* Stock, who obtain'd Germany for his Inheritance, dying in the Year 899. left but one lawful Son nam'd *Lewis*, who being only eight years Old, was committed to the Care of *Otho* Duke of Saxony, who married his Sister; and of *Hatto* Archbishop of *Mayence*: Soon after he became Heir of *Lorraine*, of which *Zuentibold* his Bastard Brother was in possession. But he was not able to subdue *Italy*, nor to cause himself to be crown'd Emperor; neither did he live long, but dyed between eighteen and twenty years Old, A.C. 911. leaving only two Daughters, named *Placidia* and *Matilda*. The first was married to *Conrade* Duke of *Franconia*, and the other to *Henry* the Fowler, Duke of Saxony, and Son of Duke *Otho*. The Estates of the Realm designing to con-

fer the Crown upon that *Otho*, he desired to be excus'd by Reason of his old Age, and advis'd him to chuse *Conrade* Duke of *Franconia*, but his Son *Henry* Duke of Saxony, whose Moderation was not so great, claim'd a Right to part of the Kingdom; as having married one of the Heiresses, revolted against *Conrade*, wag'd War with him, and gain'd the Battle: However this Advantage prov'd ineffectual, and *Conrade* always remain'd in possession of the Throne, till his death; which happen'd in the Year 918. When he left *Henry* Duke of Saxony his Heir, and order'd the Lords to wait upon him with the Crown and the Royal Ornaments. They perform'd his last Will, and acknowledg'd *Henry* Duke of Saxony, surnam'd the Fowler, as King of Germany. This valiant and prudent Prince kept in awe *Arnulphus* Duke of *Bavaria*; defeated the *Hungarians* who ravag'd



ravag'd Germany; overcame the Vandals; subdu'd Bohemia; and after having reign'd seventeen years, dyed A. C. 936. The Lords substituted in his place his eldest Son *Otho*, afterwards surnam'd the Great; against whom his Brother *Henry* made War, but was defeated; and mortally wounded in a Fight. The Dukes *Gilbert* and *Everard*; who were Authors of this Revolt, perish'd in another Engagement near *Andernac*; and left *Otho* in the quiet possession of his Dominions; which he enlarg'd considerably; and joyn'd to them the Kingdom of *Italy*, with the Imperial Dignity,

which pass'd to his Son *Otho*, and to his Grandson of the same Name, as it has been already related.

Under these Emperors, who were no less Religious than Valiant, the Churches of Germany were in a flourishing Condition, by the means of a great number of Reverend Bishops, the Writings of several Authors, and the propagation of the Gospel among the Northern People. This is what we shall proceed to shew in giving an Account of such Persons illustrious for their Learning and Sanctity, as Germany has produc'd in this Century.

## St. Ulrich Bishop of Augsburg.

WE shall begin with St. *Ulric* Bishop of *Augsburgh*. He was descended from an ancient Family in Germany, the Son of *Hugpant* and *Thepurga*; He began to Study in the Monastery of *St. Gall*, and was taken from thence to be put under the Tuition of *Adalbero* Bishop of *Augsburgh*, in the Year 909. He made a Journey to *Rome*, and during his residence there *Adalbero* died; and left *Hilwin* his Successor, after whose death *Ulric* was nominated Bishop of *Augsburgh* by King *Henry*, A. C. 924. He was highly esteem'd by that Prince, and the Emperor *Otho* had a particular respect for him. This Prelate, in like manner, made two other Journeys to *Rome*; one about the Year 956. and the other near the end of his Life. He dyed A. C. 973. in the 83d. Year of his Age, after having governed the Church of *Augsburgh* during fifty Years.

His Life, which was written by an Author of thosetimes named *Gerard*, who was Contemporary with him, contains many remarkable Passages. It is there related, that besides the Divine Office, which he sung every day with his Canons in the Choir of his Church; He was wont to recite in particular the Offices of the Blessed Virgin, of the Holy Cross, and of All the Saints, with the entire Psalter; and that he was accusom'd to say one, two, or three Masses accordingly, as the time would permit: That in Lent, after having said Mattins at Night, he continu'd his Prayers till the Hour that the Bell rung to the Vigils for the dead, which he sung with the Choir, and afterwards the \* *Prime*; That he continued in the Church at Prayer till the Canons return'd with the Cross to celebrate Mass, at which he assisted, and kissed the Hand of the Priest that officiated: That after Mass he sung *Tierce* with the Canons, and that he remain'd in the Church till the *Sexte*; when he visited the Altars, and kneel'd before them, singing a *Miserere* and a *De Profundis*: That then he return'd to his Chamber, to wash his Face; and to prepare for saying Mass: That when it was said, and Vespers after it, he was wont to visit the Poor of the Hospital, to wash the Feet of twelve amongst them; and to give every one a Penny: That at his departure from thence, he sat down at Table; that after having eat, he said his Compline, and retir'd; That he spent all the days of Lent after this manner, till that of the Indulgence, commonly call'd *Palm-Sunday*: That on that day, he went early in the Morning to the Church of *St. Afer*, where he sung a Trinity-Mass, and made a Benediction of the Palm-Tree Branches, which he carried about in Procession, accompanied with the Clergy and People, with the Gospel, the Cross, the Banners, and an Image representing our Saviour sitting on an Ass, as far as Mount *Perlisch*, where he was met by the Choir of Canons, and part of the People; who cover'd the way with Palm-Tree Branches or Garments: That he made an Exhortation to them upon our Saviour's Passion, and that they return'd together to sing Mass in the Cathedral Church: That during the three following days, he held a Synodical Assembly: That on *Holy-Thursday* he celebrated Divine Service, Consecrated the Holy Chrism and other Oyls, and distributed them among his Clergy: That afterwards he went, according to his usual Custom, to visit the Hospital, from whence he return'd to the Church; Clothed twelve poor Men in the Vestry, and wash'd their feet: That on *Good-Friday* he assisted at the whole Office; That after having Administred the Holy Sacrament to the People as on the preceding day, he laid up the rest of the Eucharist, in order to bury it, according to the Custom of those times; and at Night he eat Bread and drank Beer, without sitting down at Table; That on *Holy Saturday*, after the Nocturnal Office, the Repetition of the Psalter, the Singing of the three Litanies, the Blessing of the Tapers, and the Reading of the Lessons, he went in Procession to *St. John's Church*, where he baptiz'd three Infants, and then return'd to Celebrate Mass, to Administer the Holy Sacrament to the People, and to say Vespers: That afterwards he distributed Victuals to a great many Persons: That on *Easter-Day*, after the *Prime* Office, he usually went to *St. Ambrose's Church*, where he celebrated the Trinity Mass, and return'd from thence in Procession, carrying the Image of our Saviour with the Gospel; the lighted Tapers and the Incense to *St. John Baptist's Church*, where he Sung *Tierce*, and

from thence to the Cathedral, where he sung Mass and administred the Sacrament to all the Assistants: Afterwards he gave Provisions to the Canons of his Cathedral, and to the Clergy of *St. Afer's Church* distributing to them Lambs, Fleth and pieces of Bacon, which had been blessed at Mass, and gave them a very splendid Entertainment. It is also observable, that he was wont to visit his Diocess every four Years; to instruct the People; to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation, and to reform his Clergy.

I shall take no notice of a great number of Miracles that are related in this Life of *St. Ulric*, nor of those that were written by *Gebeard* his fourth Successor, and by *Berno* Abbot of *St. Afer*: But I cannot omit the History of *Adalbero* Nephew to this Reverend Bishop. He had caus'd him to be carefully educared; gave him any Abby, design'd him for his Successor, and made use of his Service in the Management of all his Affairs, as well at Court, as in his own Diocess. To gain him greater Authority, he intreated the Emperor, in the last Journey he made to *Rome*, to vouchsafe to entrust him with the sole Administration of the Affairs of his Diocess, and to nominate him for his Successor. *Adalbero* upon his return from *Augsburgh*, not only caus'd an Oath of Fidelity to be taken to him, by the Clergy and People of the City, but also presum'd to use the Crozier Staff. This Attempt gave offence to the Bishops of Germany, inasmuch, that in a Council held at *Ingelheim* in the Year 972. in the presence of the Emperor *Otho*, and of his Son, to which *St. Ulric* and *Adalbero* were summon'd; a Process was drawn up against the latter, for presuming to bear the Marks of the Episcopal Dignity, and upon that account they proceeded so far, as to declare him incapable of succeeding his Uncle in the Bishoprick of *Augsburgh*. Whereupon the good old Man, not being able sufficiently to explain the Case, by reason of his great Age, sent word by one of his Clerks, that he design'd to retire, and embrace the Monastick Life, according to the Rule of *St. Benedict*, whose habit he had assum'd. The Bishops of the Council having made a Remonstrance; that he ought not thus to leave his Bishoprick, and that this Example would be of very dangerous Consequence, oblig'd him to return to the Government of his Church; promising him at the same time, that after his death no other Bishop should succeed in the Diocess of *Augsburgh*, but *Adalbero*; of whom they exacted an Oath, that he knew not that it was unlawful, or that it was an Heretical Practice, to assume the Ensigns of the Episcopal Dignity, and to Exercise the Authority of a Bishop without due Ordination.

This Promise signified nothing with respect to *Adalbero*, because he died suddenly in a short time after, even before his Uncle; who had for his Successor *Henry* the Son of Count *Burchard*, who caus'd himself to be chosen by force. The latter dy'd as he had liv'd, that is to say, rather like a Soldier than a Bishop; for in his time he rais'd a Rebellion against his Sovereign Prince, and was kill'd in a Battle fought against the *Sarazens* in the Year 983. After his death, the Emperor *Otho* the second, was desirous to confer that Bishoprick upon *Werenharius*, whom *St. Ulric* had design'd for his Successor; but upon his refusal of it, *Euzychus* Count of *Altorf* was elected. *Luitolphus*, who succeeded in the Year 988. made a Journey to *Rome* to procure of Pope *John* the XV. the Canonization of *St. Ulric*, which he obtain'd in a Council at *Rome*, upon the reading of the Life and Miracles of that Saint, who edified the Church rather by his Life and Conversation, than by his Writings; for few are attributed to him, and those too are very dubious. We have already observed that some make him the Author of a Discourse, concerning the Ecclesiastical Functions ascrib'd to Pope *Leo* the Fourth, and inserted in the Synodical Letter of *Ratherius*, which seems to be really so; because he returns an Answer to certain Questions which the Writer of his Life says he propos'd to his Clergy, during the time of his Visitation.

The same Author cites a Sermon of *St. Ulric* upon the eight Mortal Sins, and the eight Beatitudes. But it is probable that he compos'd it out of the ordinary Discourses that he had heard from the Mouth of that Saint: In the preceding Century was likewise publish'd in Germany, a Letter bearing the Name of *St. Ulric*, and directed to Pope *Nicolas*; in which he adviseth that Pope, for putting an end,



to the Irregularities of the Clergy, to permit them to marry: Mention is made of this Letter, in an Addition of the *Bartholom Priest of Constance*, to the *Chronicon of Hermannus Contractus*; and its affirm'd to be mention'd by *Aeneas Sylvius* in his Treatise of the Manners of the Germans; where he says, that *St. Ulric* reprov'd the Pope for keeping Concubines. But this Letter is apparently Supposititious, by reason that in *St. Ulric's* time there was no Pope nam'd *Nicholas*, neither did *St. Ulric* Bishop of *Augsburgh* live in the time of those Popes who bore that Name. The Authority of the *Chronicon* is of little moment, and

*Aeneas Sylvius* does not distinctly make mention of that Letter; but only says, that *St. Ulric* reprov'd the Pope, upon account of his Concubines; which may agree with *John the XII.* Besides that; this Passage is not found in some Manuscripts of *Sylvius's* History, nor in the *Roman Edition*. But altho' it were true, that this Author alludes to that counterfeit Letter, it would only prove that it was already forged in his time; and that it is more ancient than the Councils of *Basil* and *Constance*, which, as I presume, cannot be call'd in Question.

## Adalbero Bishop of Augsburgh.

Adalbero  
Bishop of  
Augs-  
burgh.

Adalbero the Predecessor of *St. Ulric* is Author of the Life of *St. Hariolphus* the first Abbot of *Elwangen*.

### The two Adalberts, who were Saints.

Two Adal-  
berts  
Saints.

Adalbero  
Bishop of  
Augs-  
burgh.

Two Adal-  
berts  
Saints.

THE two Saints nam'd *Adalbert* not only illuminated Germany with the Light of their Doctrine, but also propagated that of the Gospel amongst the Barbarous Nations: The former, after having preach'd it to the People, who inhabit a long the Coasts of the *Baltick Sea*, and having taken much pains in Converting the *Sclavonians*, was ordain'd the first Archbishop of *Magdeburgh* in the Year 968. and dyed in 981. The second, who was Bishop of *Prague*, in like manner preach'd the Gospel to the *Bohemians*, *Polanders*, and *Hungarians*. The latter left his Bishoprick, by reason of the excessive Enormities of the People of *Bohemia*, and departing to

*Rome*, there embrac'd the Monastick Life in the Convent of *St. Boniface*. After having spent five years there, he return'd to *Bohemia*, and pass'd from thence into *Hungary*; from whence he return'd the second time to *Rome*, and presid'd five years more in the same Monastery. He was also remov'd again by the Solicitation of the Archbishop of *Mentz*, who oblig'd Pope *Gregory* the fifth to send him back. *Boleslaus* King of *Bohemia* having forbidden him to enter his Dominions, he went into *Prussia*, and from thence into *Lithuania*, where having suffer'd much in propagating the Christian Faith, he at last receiv'd the Crown of Martyrdom.

## Bruno Archbishop of Cologne.

Bruno  
Archbishop  
of Cologne.

Bruno Archbishop of *Cologne*, the Son of the Emperor *Henry the Fowler*, and Brother of *Otho the Great*, is none of the least Ornaments of the Church of *Germany*, both with respect to his profound Learning and singular Piety. We are inform'd by a Writer of that time, that he had acquired a perfect Knowledge of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues; that he had perus'd all the Ancient Authors; that he had a very fine Library; and that he took a particular Care of his Diocess and Clergy; re-

trenching all their superfluous Habits, and obliging them to a constant attendance on the Duties of their Functions, as also instructing them by frequent Conferences, reiterated Exhortations, and his own Example. *Sixtus Senensis* says, that he compos'd a Commentary on the *Pentateuch*, the Manuscript of which is kept in the Library of the *Dominicans* at *Boulogne*. It's also reported that he wrote the Lives of certain Saints. He was chosen Archbishop of *Cologne* in the Year 953. and dy'd in 965.

Bruno  
Archbishop  
of Cologne.

## Roger Monk of St. Pantaleon.

Roger  
Monk of  
St. Pantaleon.

THE Life of this great Archbishop was written by Roger a Monk of *St. Pantaleon* at *Cologne*, who dedicated it to *Folmar* his Successor in the Year 970. It is referr'd by *Surius* to *Octob. 12.* and is written very elegantly with respect to the Style of those times. We also may reckon up a great number of Ger-

man Prelates illustrious for their Learning and Piety, among whom are *Henry* Archbishop of *Trier*, *Wolfgang* Bishop of *Ratisbon*, *Sigismund* of *Halberstadt*, and many others whom we shall not now mention. We shall therefore proceed to give a particular Account of those who have left us any considerable Writings.

Roger  
Monk of  
St. Pantaleon.

## Ratboldus Bishop of Utrecht.

Ratboldus  
Bishop  
of Utrecht.

Ratboldus or Ratboldus a German by Nation, descended from the Princes of *Friesland*, apply'd himself to Study under *Nanno* or *Manno*, in the Court of *Charles the Bald*, and of his Son *Lewis*, where those Princes caus'd the Liberal Sciences to be taught publicly. He was chosen Bishop of *Utrecht* in the Year 899. *Trithemius* says, that he was well vers'd in the Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and that he was no Novice in Humane Literature; that he was of a quick Apprehension, and much esteem'd for his Eloquence, leading a very Circumspect Life and Conversation; that he govern'd the Church of *Utrecht* during seventeen Years, and wrote

several Tracts; among others, a Treatise of the Commendation of *St. Martin*; another of that of *St. Boniface*; The Life of *St. Amalberga*; a Book of Homilies and Sermons; certain florid Discourses on *St. Willebrord*; an Office of the Translation of *St. Martin*; with divers Hymns in Honour of the Saints; and lastly that he dy'd in the Year 917. or rather in 918. Another Writer nam'd *William* of *Hedin*, attributes to him certain Poetical Pieces, and a Compendious Chronicon. *Surius* likewise ascribes to him an Eclogue concerning *St. Lebuin*. Father *Mabillon* has publish'd a Discourse of the same Author on the Life of *St. Amalberga*, and another on that of *St. Willebrord*.

Ratboldus  
Bishop  
of Utrecht.

## Hildebert Archbishop of Mentz.

Hildebert  
Archbishop  
of Metz.

Hildebert Brother to the Emperor *Conrad*, the thirteenth Archbishop of *Metz*, Crown'd *Otho the Great* in the year 938. But afterward's having combin'd with *Richard* Bishop of *Strasburgh*, to

foment the Division between *Otho* and his Brother *Henry*, he was banish'd to *Hamburgh*. Some make him the Author of the Lives of certain Saints.

Hildebert  
Archbishop  
of Metz.

## William Archbishop of Mentz.

William  
Archbishop  
of Metz.

William the fifteenth Archbishop of *Mentz*, Prince of *Saxony* and the Son of *Otho the Great*, was chosen

Archbishop in the year 954. and dy'd in 968. He compos'd a Chronicon of the Archbishops his Predecessors.

William  
Archbishop  
of Metz.

## Bonno Abbot of Corbey in Saxony.

Bonno Ab-  
bot of Cor-  
bey in  
Saxony.

Bonno or Bavo Abbot of *Corbey* in *Saxony*, flourish'd under *Arnulphus* and *Lewis* the fourth, Kings of *Germany*. He wrote a Treatise of the memorable Actions of his time, mention'd in the History of

*Adam* of *Breme*, who cites a Passage of it concerning a Miracle of *St. Rembert*. We have at present no other knowledge of that Work.

Bonno Ab-  
bot of Cor-  
bey in  
Saxony.

Waltram-



## Waltramnus Bishop of Strasburg.

Waltram-  
nus Bishop  
of Stras-  
burg.

**W**altramnus or Waldramnus Bishop of Strasburg, who assisted at the Council of Tribur in the year 805, and did not dye till 905, is the Author of certain Poetical

Pieces which are inserted in the second Tome of *Canisius's* Antiquities.

Waltram-  
nus Bishop  
of Stras-  
burg.

## Solomon Bishop of Constance.

Solomon  
Bishop of  
Constance

**S**olomon Bishop of Constance liv'd almost at the same Time, for he entred upon the Episcopal Function in the year 891, and dy'd in 919. He likewise compos'd certain Poems

dedicated to Bishop *Dado*, which are in the first Tome of the same Antiquities by *Canisius*. He had been Monk of St. *Gal*, and Chaplain to King *Lewis*.

Solomon  
Bishop of  
Constance

## Utho Bishop of Strasburg.

Utho  
Bishop of  
Strasbourg.

**R**utarius Bishop of Strasburg had for his Successor in the year 950. *Utho* Nephew to *Henry* the second Duke of *Schwaben*. This *Utho* wrote the Lives of St. *Arbogastus*,

and St. *Amanda*, and dy'd in 975, leaving *Echembaldus* his Successor.

Utho  
Bishop of  
Strasbourg.

## Notger the Stammerer.

Notger  
the Stam-  
merer.

**T**here were several *Notgers* in the Tenth Century, but the first and most famous was of the *Carlian* Race, and surnam'd *Stammerer*, by reason of the Impediment in his Speech. He enter'd very young into the Monastery of St. *Gal*, where he studied under *Marcellus* and *Ifo*, with *Raspertus* and *Tutilo*. These three Monks studying together, promoting Learning in that Abby, where they had frequent Conferences with one another, applying themselves more especially to the Study of the Liberal Arts and Sciences, and to that of Musick in particular: But their chief Employment was the making of *Proses*. *Notger* compos'd many, and translated the *Psalter* into *High-Dutch* for the Use of King *Arnulphus*: He wrote the Life of St. *Gal* in Verse, as also a Treatise of the Letters of the Alphabet, that are us'd in Musick and some other Works of the like Nature; but the principal of them is his *Martyrologia*, publish'd by *Canisius* in the sixth Tome of his Antiquities. The same *Canisius* has set forth some of the *Proses* and Hymns of this Author, with a Fragment of the Life of St. *Gall*, in the fifth Tome of the same Work, in which is also found the Treatise of Musick before-mention'd. Besides these Works, *Goldastus* attributes to *Notger the Stammerer* the two Books of the History of *Charlemagn*, that are

dedicated to *Charles the Bald*, and written by a nameless Monk of St. *Gal*: And indeed he seems to discover himself in the 26th. Chapter of the second Book, where he declares that he is subject to Stammering, and wants Teeth. The same Author observes, that he has seen a Manuscript of the Life of St. *Gal*, written by Way of Dialogue, which bears the Name of *Notger*. To him likewise is attributed the Life of St. *Landoald* referr'd by *Surius* to March 19. That of St. *Remachus* Bishop of *Utrecht*, referr'd by the same Historian, to Sept. 3. and two Books of the Miracles of that Saint: But 'tis not certain that these Works are his; neither do they appear to be of the same Style. *Notger* spent the greatest Part of his Life in the Ninth Century, and dy'd in the Month of April, A. C. 912. His Martyrology was compos'd in the End of the Ninth Century, or in the Beginning of the Tenth.

Notger  
the Stam-  
merer.

The second *Notger* liv'd in the Tenth Century, and was not made Abbot of St. *Gal* till the year 973, he dy'd in 981, but there are not any of his Pieces now extant.

The third *Notger* was chosen Bishop of *Leige* in the year 972. Neither has he left any Works, unless we attribute to him the above-mention'd Lives of the Saints.

## Witichindus Monk of St. Corbey in Westphalia.

Witichin-  
dus Monk  
of St. Cor-  
bey in  
Westpha-  
lia.

**W**itichindus, *Winduchindus* or *Windichinus* a Monk of Corbey a Monastery in Westphalia, of the Order of St. *Benedict*, flourish'd under *Otho* I. and II. He wrote three Books of the History of the Saxons, in which are comprehended the Actions of *Henry* and *Otho* the First, and which ends at the Death of the latter, that is to say, in the year 973. They are dedicated to Queen *Mathilda*, Daughter of the Emperor *Otho*, and were printed at

*Basil*, A. D. 1532. at *Francfort* in 1577. Among the German Historians printed in 1580. and at the End of a particular Edition by *Meibonius* at *Francfort* in 1621. *Sigebert* says also, that he wrote in Verse a Relation of St. *Thecla's* Passion, and the Life of St. *Paul* the first Hermit. These Works are lost; altho' in the last Edition by *Meibonius*, there are certain Verses which are attributed to this Monk.

Witichin-  
dus Monk  
of St. Cor-  
bey in  
Westpha-  
lia.

## Roswida a Nun.

Roswida  
a Nun.

**R**oswida, a Nun of the Monastery of *Gandersheim*, famous for her Quality, Learning and Piety, flourish'd under the Emperor *Otho* II. by whose Order she compos'd in Heroick Verse a Panegyrick upon the Actions of *Otho* the First. She likewise wrote in Verse the Passion of St. *Dennis* Bishop and Martyr, and that of St. *Pelagius* who suffer'd Martyrdom in Spain; and some other Poems in Commendation of the Virgin *Mary* and St. *Anne*; as also on St. *Gandolphus* and some other Saints. To her likewise is attributed the Life of St. *Wilblad* Bishop of

*Eichstadt*, and that of St. *Unnebald* the first Abbot of *Heil-desheim*, related by *Surius*, *Canisius*, and Father *Maillon*. This Nun wrote in a finer Style than most Part of the Authors of her Time, and was well vers'd in the Knowledge of the Greek and Latin Tongues: Her Poem of the Life of *Otho*, was printed with *Witichind's* Works at *Francfort* in 1621. and in the Collection of the German Writers by *Ruberus*; and her Poetical Pieces were printed together at *Nuremberg* in 1501. by *Conradus Gelta*.

Roswida  
a Nun.

## Reginaldus Bishop of Eichstadt.

Reginal-  
dus Bishop  
of Eich-  
stadt.

**R**eginaldus, who in the year 975, succeeded *Starband* kill'd by the Hungarians at *Augsburgh*, in the Bishoprick of *Eichstadt*, pass'd in his Time for a very learned Man, as having attained to a considerable Knowledge in the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew Tongues, and more especially in the Art of Musick. He wrote the Lives of St. *Wilbald* and *Unnebald*, with those of St. *Nicholas*, and

St. *Blasius*. He was Bishop for the Space of twenty four years.

Another German Bishop of the same Time, has given us the Life of St. *Hunegonda* referr'd by *Surius* to Aug. 25. and a nameless Writer made a Narrative of the Translation of St. *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Pavia* into *Saxony*.

Reginal-  
dus Bishop  
of Eich-  
stadt.

## Thierry Archbishop of Triers.

Thierry  
Archbishop  
of Triers.

**T**hierry Provost of the Church of *Mentz*, and afterwards Archbishop of *Trier*, wrote sometime before the pre-

ceding Authors (for he dy'd in the year 970.) the Life of St. *Lutrud*, referr'd by *Surius* to Sept. 22.

Thierry  
Archbishop  
of Triers.



## Othlo Bishop of Metz.

**O**thlo Monk of *Fulda* wrote the Life of St. *Pyrrain*, who is suppos'd to have been Bishop of *Meaux*, or rather *Metz*. This Life is dedicated to *Lindolphus* Archbishop of *Trier*, and was publish'd by *Brouverus*, who caus'd it to be printed *A. D.* 1616. at *Metz*, with other Lives of the illustrious Personages of *Germany*.

*Lindolphus* was made Archbishop of *Trier* in 999. and dy'd in 1008. Therefore *Othlo* compos'd his Work in the Ninth Century, or in the Beginning of the Tenth. *Canisius* and *Serrarius* likewise attribute to him the Life of St. *Boniface*. But *Brouverus* observes, that it is of a different Style.

## Uffing or Uffo Monk of Werthin.

**A**t the same Time *Uffing*, or rather *Uffo* of *Friefland*, Monk of *Werthin*, wrote the Life of St. *Luiger* Bishop of *Maastricht*, which was printed at *Cologne* the last Century, with a Poem of the same Author; some attribute to him the Life of St. *Ida* refer'd by *Sirius* to *Sept. 4*. *Suffridus* says, that he likewise left the Life of St. *Lucius* King of *England*, which he affirms to be extant in Manuscript.

We have the Acts only of very few Councils of *Germany* in the Tenth Century, altho' we have just Grounds to suppose that many more were held. The first, of which any Monument remaining, is a Council held at *Coelentz*, in the Year 922. by the Order of *Charles* King of *France*, and *Henry* King of *Germany*. It was compos'd of eight Prelates, viz. *Herman* Archbishop of *Metz*, *Heriger* Archbishop of *Cologne*, and six other *German* Bishops, and made eight Canons, of which only the first, fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth remain in our Possession. The first forbids Marriage between Relations to the sixth Generation. The fifth prohibits Laymen, who have Chappels, from receiving the Tythes of them with their own Hands on purpose to put them to profane Uses, and ordains that the Priests shall receive and use them to the Advantage of the Churches, and for the Maintenance of Hospitals and poor People. The sixth brings the Monks under Subjection to the Jurisdiction and Government of the Bishop. The seventh condemns a Person who sells a Christian for a Slave, as guilty of Murder. The eighth forbids those who give any Goods or Revenues to a particular Church, to take away the Tithes due upon Account of such Revenues, to the Church to which they belong'd before.

The Canons of a Council held at *Erfurt* in the year 932. in like Manner are still extant, with a Preface which shews, that it was conven'd by the Order of King *Henry* the first, in the fourteenth year of his Reign, and that it was compos'd of the Archbishop of *Trier* and twelve Bishops. The first of these Canons imports, that the Festivals of the Twelve Apostles shall be solemniz'd, and that the Fast of the Vigils shall be observ'd according to the ancient Constitutions. The second, that no Pleas shall be held in the Courts of Judicature on *Sundays*, Holy-days, or Fasting-days: It is also added, that King *Henry* prohibited the Judges to cite any Person before them in the Week preceding the Festival of *Christmas*, that of St. *John Baptist*, and during the whole Time of *Lent*, till the eighth Day after *Easter*.

In the third it is forbidden to deliver a Summons or Warrant to those Persons who are going to Church, or are there already, that they may not be disturb'd in their Devotions. The fourth imports, that if a Priest be suspected of any Crime, and accused before his Bishop, he shall be thrice admonish'd to acknowledge his Fault, and shall undergo condign Punishment, if he be found guilty, unless he prove his Innocence by clearing himself by his own Oath, or by that of his Colleagues. The fifth forbids private Persons to impose Fasts without the Consent of the Bishop or his Vicar, because many do it to carry on superstitious Divinations, or for other sinister Ends, rather than out of a Principle of Devotion.

We have already made mention of the Council of *Ingelheim* held in the year 948. in treating of the Contests of *Artaldus* for obtaining the Archbishoprick of *Rheims*, in regard it was chiefly assembled upon that Account.

In the year 952. the Emperor *Otho I.* held at *Augsburgh* an Assembly of the Bishops of *Germany*, *France*, and *Italy*; where the Archbishop of *Metz* presided, and publish'd eleven Canons, which were approv'd by the other Prelates.

The first ordains that the Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons that marry, shall be depos'd according to Chap. 25. of the Council of *Carthage*. The second is against Clergymen, who keep Dogs and Birds for Hunting, and are addicted to that Exercise; they are to be suspended from their Functions as long as they persist in such Practices. The third ordains, that Bishops, Priests and Deacons, who spend their Time in playing at Games of Chance, shall incur the Penalty of being depos'd, unless they renounce such Sort of Games. The fourth is against those Clergymen who keep suspicious Women in their Houses. The fifth prohibits Monks from going out of their Cloisters, without the Permission of their Abbot. The Sixth enjoyns Bishops to take Care of the Monasteries of their respective Diocesses, and speedily to reform the Disorders that are committed in them. The seventh and eighth forbid them to hinder Clergymen and Canonesses from embracing the Monastical Life. The ninth prohibits Laymen from turning out of Churches those Persons, to whom the Bishops have committed the Care of them. The tenth attributes to the Bishop the Right of taking Cognizance of the Distribution of Tythes. And the eleventh imports, that not only the Bishops, Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons shall lead a single Life, but also that the other Clergy shall be oblig'd to live continently when they come to years of Maturity.

## C H A P. V.

## An Account of the Churches of England.

**I**N the Beginning of the Ninth Century, King *Alfred* re-establish'd the Universities, and caus'd the Liberal Arts and Sciences to flourish in *England*, inviting over the Abbot *Grimbaldus*, and several other learned Men from *France*; but the Kings his Successors were chiefly employ'd in reforming the Corruptions of Manners and Discipline. In the beginning of this Century King *Edward*, upon the Remonstrances and Threats of the Pope, who complain'd that for seven Years the whole Country of the *West-Saxons* was destitute of Bishops, caus'd a Council to be assembled at *Canterbury*, in which Archbishop *Phelegmon* presided, and where several Persons were chosen to be Bishops in that Province, and elsewhere, who were ordain'd by *Phelegmon* after his Return from *Rome*, whither he went on Purpose to give an Account to the Pope of the Proceedings of the Council, and to pacifie him. The Pope approv'd their Regulations, order'd that for the future the Churches should no longer be left vacant, and confirm'd the Primacy of the Church of *Canterbury*. All these Actions are attributed by several Authors to Pope *Formosus*, but in regard that this Pope dy'd a long while before the Time of King *Edward*, they are rather to be ascrib'd to *John* the Ninth, who possess'd the See of *Rome* in the Beginning of *Edward's* Reign, *A. C.* 900. to which this Council may be refer'd.

The same King publish'd in the year 906. divers Laws against the Disturbers of the Tranquillity of the Church; against Apostates whom he condemns to Death; against Clergymen who commit Robberies or Fornication; against incestuous Persons; against those who refuse to pay Tythes, or to keep *Sundays* and Fasting-days; and against Sorcerers and leud Women, who are condemned to different Punishments. 'Tis also ordain'd in that Edict, that Persons condemn'd to dye for Capital Crimes, should be permitted to make a Confession of their Sins in Private to a Priest; and that those, who have been deprived of any Member for an Offence, and survive three Days, should cause their Wounds to be dress'd, and receive Consolation, after having obtain'd a Licence from the Bishop.

King *Ethelstan*, who succeeded *Edward* in the year 927. in like Manner caus'd certain Laws to be enacted relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs, with the Advice of the Prelates, Lords, and learned Men of his Kingdom, by which he ordain'd, That all the Lands, and even those of his own Demains, should be liable to pay Tythes. He enjoyn'd all those, who held any Estates of him, to allow somewhat for the Maintenance of the Poor, and other charitable Uses: He prohibited Outrages that were done to the Churches, and



again condemn'd the Sorcerers and Witches to Imprisonment, and to pay great Fines: He regulated the Manner of proving the Innocence of accused Persons, by Fire or Water-Ordeal; forbade the keeping of Markets, or buying and selling on *Sundays*: And ordain'd that perjur'd Persons and false Witnesses should be depriv'd of Christian Burial. To these Laws he added divers Instructions for the Bishops, and recommended the Reading in the Monasteries every Friday fifty Psalms upon his Account.

Of the Churches of England King Ethelstan's Laws.

Forasmuch as the most remarkable Circumstances of those Laws, is that which relates to the Clearing or Convicting of an accused Person, by the Trial of Fire or Water, then commonly call'd Ordeal; and in Regard that the Manner of performing it is there explain'd at large, it may not be improper here to insert an Account of that Passage. 'If any one be desirous to clear himself by Ordeal, that is to say, by the Trial of Fire or Water, let him come to the Priest three Days before he do it, who shall give him a Benediction after the usual Manner; and during those three Days let him eat nothing but Bread and Salt, or Pulse; let him hear Mass every Day; let him make an Oblation; let him receive the Sacrament on the Day he is to undergo the Trial. If it be that of cold Water, let him be plung'd one Fathom below the Surface of the Water. If it be that of hot Water, let it be put into his Hand, and let there three Days, without looking on it. If it be that of hot Water, let it be made boiling hot, and let the Hand or Arm of the accused Person be put into it. In all these Trials, both the accused Person and the Accuser are to fast, and to cause twelve Witnesses to be present, who may take an Oath with them, and let Holy Water be sprinkled upon them.' There are two Editions of these Laws, one of which is printed at large, and the other is an Abridgment of them.

An Ecclesiastical Assembly under King Edmund.

King Edmund had no less Zeal for the maintaining of the Discipline of the Church, than his Predecessor Ethelstan. He held in the year 944, which was the third of his Reign, even on *Easterday*, an Assembly of the Prelates and Lords, in which he made certain Laws relating to Chastity, and the Payment of Tythes, and of the Alms-penny; as also against those who offer'd Violence to Nuns; against perjur'd Persons, and those who assisted at profane Sacrifices. In these Laws are specified the Ecclesiastical Penalties to be inflicted on the Infringers of them; viz. The Privation of Christian Burial and Excommunication. The Bishops are there enjoyn'd to repair their Churches at their own Charge, and to prefer a Petition to the Prince, for the Reparation of others, and for their Ornaments. He likewise made Laws for the Punishment of Murderers, and for the regulating of Marriage-Solemnities. This Assembly was held under Wulfstan Archbishop of York, and Odo Archbishop of Canterbury.

Odo Archbishop of Canterbury.

The latter made about that Time, certain Ecclesiastical Constitutions, by way of Admonition or Instruction, in which he recommends, 1. That the Church should be left in the peaceable Enjoyment of its Privileges and Immunities, and that no Taxes should be laid on the Revenues belonging to it. 2. He admonishes the King and the Princes to obey the Archbishops and Bishops; to be humble; to oppress no Man; to administer Justice to all; to punish Criminals; and to relieve the Poor with their Alms. 3. He orders the Bishops to lead an exemplary Life; to visit their Diocesses once every Year; to preach the Truth boldly to Kings and Princes; to excommunicate none without just Grounds, and to shew to All the Way to Salvation. 4. He enjoyns the Priests in like Manner to live circumspectly, and to wear Habits conformable to their Order. 5. He gives the same Admonition to all the Clergy. 6. He exhorts the Monks to perform their Vows, and forbids them to turn Vagabonds, contenting themselves only with wearing the Habit of Monks, without leading a Life consonant to their Profession: He recommends to them working with their own Hands, Reading and Prayer. 7. He prohibits incestuous Marriages with Nuns, or near Relations. 8. He recommends Peace and Union. 9. He enjoyns the Observation of the solemn Fasts of *Lent*; of the *Ember-Weeks*; of *Wednesday* and *Friday*; and the Celebration of Divine Service on *Sundays* and *Festivals*. Lastly, He recommends the Payment of Tythes. There is also a Pastoral Letter written by this Archbishop, and directed to his Suffragans, which is related by *William of Malmesbury*.

An Assembly of Bishops at London, A.C. 948.

Edmund being kill'd in the year 946, his Brother *Ethel* took Possession of the Throne. We have no Laws enacted by this Prince, only the Charter of a considerable Donation made by him to the Monastery of *Crawland*, in Favour of *Turketulus*, who had been formerly Chancellor of the Kingdom, and to whom he gave that Abby. This was done in an assembly of Bishops and Lords held at *London*, in the year 948.

After the Death of *Ethel*, which happen'd in 955, *Edwin* the Son of *Edmund* was proclaim'd King, but sometime after, part of *England* revolting, *Edgar* the Brother of *Edwin* got a Share of his Dominions, and upon his Brother's

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Death, obtain'd the sole Possession of the whole Kingdom. This Prince being more religious than his Predecessors, entirely re-establish'd the Purity of Discipline in the Church of *England*, and brought the Monastical Counte of Life into of *England* Repute, by the Advice of *St. Dunstan*, who may be call'd the Restorer of the Ecclesiastical Discipline in *England*.

This Saint was born in the Country of the *West-Saxons*, in the first year of King *Ethelstan's* Reign, A. C. 923. He enter'd into holy Orders very young, and after having completed his Studies, made Application to *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, who introduc'd him into the Presence of King *Ethelstan*: Afterward having fall'n into some Disgrace at Court, he retir'd to *Eljig* Bishop of *Winchester*, who advis'd him to imbrace the Monastical Life, which he accordingly did, and continued in his Retirement till the Reign of King *Edmund*, when he was invited to Court by that Prince: He did not remain long there, without being obnoxious to the Envy and Hatred of several Persons, who misrepresented him to the King; insomuch that he was oblig'd to retire to his Solitude of *Glaffenbury*, where he took up his Abode; altho' he was restor'd to the Favour of King *Edmund*, who had always a great Respect for him; and granted considerable Revenues to his Monastery, and continu'd to follow his Counsels, not only in the Management of Civil Affairs, but also of Ecclesiastical. He was no less esteem'd by King *Ethel*, who determin'd to nominate him to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*; but *Edwin* having receiv'd a severe Reprimand for his irregularities from this Abbot, banish'd him, and pillaged his Monastery. However, King *Edgar* recall'd him immediately after his Accession to the Crown, and made him not only Bishop of *Winchester*, but also conferr'd on him the Government of the Church of *London*. At last the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* being vacant, in the Year 961, by the Death of *Odo*; *Eljig* Bishop of *Winchester*, who was appointed to supply his Place, dying in a Journey he made over the *Alps* to *Rome*, to fetch the Pall; and *Berthelm*, who was substituted in his Room, having refus'd to accept that Dignity, *Dunstan* was invetted with it a few Days after, and went to *Rome* to receive the Pall. At his return, he apply'd himself altogether to the Reformation of the Clergy of *England*, and took upon him to expel all those who refus'd to lead a regular Course of Life, and to restore the Monks to their former Station.

This Saint had for his Fellow-labourers and Imitators of his Zeal, *Ethelwold* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*, who founded a great Number of Monasteries, and took much Pains in reforming the Clergy, and extirpating the Vices that were predominant in *England*. The former dyed in the year 984, before *St. Dunstan*, who foretold his approaching Death, as well as that of the Bishop of *Winchester*, in a Visit which those two Prelates made him: But the latter did not dye till after this Archbishop, viz. in the year 992. As for *St. Dunstan*, he surviv'd King *Edgar*, who dy'd in 975, and maintain'd the Right of the young Prince *Edward*, against the Pretensions of *Affra*, who endeavour'd to transfer the Crown to her Son *Ethelfred*; but *Edward* being assassinated three Years after by the Treachery of that Queen, *Dunstan* was constrained to crown *Ethelfred*, and foretold the Calamities that should befall *England*, and the Family of this young Prince, as a Punishment for his Crime, and that of his Mother. At last *St. Dunstan* dy'd, laden with Years and Honour, A. C. 988.

In his Time, and apparently by his Direction, King *Edgar* in 967, not only publish'd Laws like to those of his Predecessors, for the Preservation of the Revenues of the Church; for the Payment of Tythes, and *St. Peter's Pence*; and for the solemn Observations of *Sundays* and *Festivals*; but also divers Ecclesiastical Constitutions, relating to the Manners and Functions of Clergymen; to the Celebration of the Mass; to the Confession and Penances that ought to be impos'd on those who commit Sin, &c. Indeed these Canons may serve as a Kind of Ritual for the Use of Curates. It is affirm'd that they were made in the year 967, by King *Edgar*; but this does not appear to be altogether certain, and perhaps they are of a later Date. The Discourse which this King made to *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and to *Oswald* and *Ethelwold* Bishops of *Worcester* and *Winchester*, is much more certain. He there inveighs against the Irregularities and Disorders of the Clergy, and pathetically exhorts those Bishops to joyn their Authority with his, to repress their Insolence; and to oblige them to apply the Ecclesiastical Revenues to the Relief of the Poor, for which Use they were design'd. To the End that this Order might be put in Execution, he granted a Commission to those three Prelates to take the Matter in hand, and gave them Power to turn out of the Churches such Clergymen as liv'd dissolutely, and to substitute others in their Room.

By Virtue of this Injunction, *St. Dunstan* held a General Council A. C. 973, in which he ordain'd that all Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons, who would not lead a sober Life, should be expell'd their Churches, and caus'd a Decree to be made, to oblige them to imbrace a regular and Monastick Course of Life, or to retire. And accordingly, these

A General Council of England, in the Year 973.

B b b

three



three Bishops turn'd the old Clergymen out of most Part of the Churches, and put Monks in their Place, or else forc'd them to assume the Monastical Habit.

St. *Dunstan* did not only shew his Constancy and Zeal, with respect to the Clergy, but was also as zealous in treating Kings and Princes: For he sharply reprov'd King *Edgar* for abusing a young Maid whom he had sent for out of a Monastery, and impos'd on him a Penance of seven years. A certain very potent Earl having married one of his near Kinswomen, he excommunicated him, and refus'd to take off the Excommunication, altho' the King had commanded him, and the Earl had obtain'd a Brief of the Pope for his Restoration. St. *Dunstan* being inform'd of it, reply'd, *That he was ready to obey the Pope's Commands, provided the Person had really repented of his Offence; but that he would not suffer him to persist in his Sin, nor without submitting to the Discipline of the Church to insult over the Prelates, and, as it were, to triumph in his Crime.* At last, the Earl being mov'd with his Constancy, and the Fear of those Punishments which the Divine Vengeance usually inflicts upon excommunicated Persons, left his Kinswoman, did publick Penance, and threw himself down prostrate before St. *Dunstan* in a Council, barefoot, cloth'd with a Woollen Garment, holding a Bundle of Rods in his Hand, and lamenting his Sin, from which St. *Dunstan* gave him, Absolution, at the Request of the Bishops of the Council.

The Reformation of the Clergy cannot be carried on without great Opposition, nor without creating many Malecontents, insomuch that in King *Edgar's* Life-time, the Clergymen depriv'd of their Benefices, used their utmost Efforts to recover them; and having made a Complaint in an Assembly held at *Hincheester*, in the Beginning of the Year 974. they prevail'd upon the King by their Entreaties, and the Promises they made to lead a more regular Course of Life for the Future: But as they were about making a Decree for their Restoration, on Condition they should live more regularly, a Voice was heard coming as it were from the Crucifix, which pronounc'd these Words, *It will turn to no Account, you have pass'd a just Sentence, and you will do ill to alter your Decisions.* However, after the Death of King *Edgar* these Clergymen renewed their Instances, and even offer'd Force to drive the Monks not only from their Places, but also out of the Monasteries which were lately founded: But St. *Dunstan* always maintain'd his Reformation, which prevail'd in the most Part of the Churches and Monasteries of England, under the Reigns of *Edward* and *Ethelred*.

St. *Dunstan* and St. *Ethelwald* did not only take Pains to reform the Ecclesiastical Discipline in England, but also in reviving the Study of the Liberal Sciences, and even they themselves compos'd some Works. A modern English Writer, call'd *Pitt*, says that St. *Dunstan* compil'd certain Forms of Archiepiscopal Benedictions; a small Tract on the Rule of St. *Benedict*; a Book call'd, *Rules for the Monastical Life*; several Writings against vicious Priests; a Treatise of the Eucharist; another of Tythes; a Book of occult Philosophy; a Tract for the Instruction of the Clergy, and some Letters. And indeed, we cannot be certainly assur'd upon the Credit of this Writer, whether St. *Dunstan* were really the Author of these Works, which are no longer extant; but we find a Concordance or Rule for the Monastick Life, and under the Name of *Edgar* set forth by *Rainerus*, which is apparently a Piece of St. *Dunstan*, as well as the other Constitutions of that Prince, and there is extant a Letter written by him to *Wulfin* Bishop of *Worcester*, which Father *Mabillon* publish'd from a Manuscript of Monsieur *Fauré*, Doctor of the Faculty of *Paris*. The Life of St. *Dunstan* was written by *Osborn*, Chanter of the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, who was contemporary with this Saint, and is found in the fifth *Benedictine* Century of Father *Mabillon*.

If we may give farther Credit to *Pitt*, St. *Ethelwald* in like Manner compos'd several Tracts, of which he gives us this following Catalogue: A Book dedicated to Pope *John XIV.* concerning the Authority of the Bishops over their Priests; a Treatise against those Priests who commit Fornication, and against their Concubines; another of the Abbots of *Lindisfarne*; another of the Kings, Kingdoms, and Bishopricks of *England*; a History of the Kings of *Great Brittain*; a Narrative of his Visitations; a Treatise of the Planets and Climates of the World. The Treatise of the Abbots of *Lindisfarne*, which this Author attributes to St. *Ethelwald*, is apparently a Piece compos'd in Verse by *Ethelwulf* a Monk of that Abby. The other Works are no longer extant, and perhaps never were, but only in *Pitt's* Imagination.

The Writers of Ecclesiastical History are not agreed about the immediate Successor of St. *Dunstan* in the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*: Some gave him the Name of *Siricius*, and others of *Alfric* or *Ælfric*: However, it is certain that the latter was Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the Beginning of the following Century, in regard that he sign'd in that Quality a Privilege granted by King *Ethelred*: He was a Pupil of St. *Ethelwald*, succeeded him in the Monastery of *Abington*; was afterward made Abbot of *Malmesbury* by King *Edgar*, then Bishop of some Church in *England*, about which Authors are not agreed; and at last, being advanc'd to the Metropolitan See of *Canterbury*, he govern'd that Church till about the year 1006. This Archbishop in his Time was in great Reputation for his profound Skill in the Sciences of Grammar and Divinity, insomuch that he was surnam'd *The Grammarian*. His Sermons were translated into the *Saxon* Tongue, in order to be read publickly in the Churches, and his Letters were inserted in the Synodical Books of the Church of *England*. The English Writers assure us, that their Libraries were full of a great Number of Works of this Archbishop, written in the *Saxon* Tongue, and they have lately publish'd some of them translated into *Latin*, viz. A Paschal Homily of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, in which he discourses much after the same Manner as *Ratramnus* or *Bertram*, and two Letters, one to *Wulfin* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and the other to *Wulstan* Archbishop of *York* on the same Subject, which were printed at *London* in 1566, 1623, and 1638. In the Body of the Councils is contain'd a Canonical Letter of *Alfric*, directed to *Wulfin*, which is a kind of Ritual for the Use of the Priests. The principal Manuscript Treatises of this Author, compos'd in the *Saxon* Tongue, are an History of the Old and New Testament till the Taking of *Jerusalem*; a Penitential; eighty Sermons; a Letter concerning the Monastical Life; another against the Marriage of Clergymen; a *Saxon* Chronicle of the Church of *Canterbury*; certain Lives of the Saints, and Versions of some *Latin* Works; among others the Dialogue of St. *Gregory*.

Sometime before *Fridegod*, a Monk of St. *Saviour* at *Canterbury*, wrote in Verse, at the Request of *Odo*, the Lives of St. *Wilfrid* and of St. *Owen* Archbishop of *York*; the former was publish'd by Father *Mabillon* in the first Part of the third and fourth *Benedictine* Centuries. *William* of *Malmesbury* observes, that these Verses are not altogether contemptible, but that *Fridegod* intermixes so many *Greek* Words and Phrases which render them unintelligible.

At the same Time *Lanfrid*, a Monk of *Wincheester*, wrote the Life of St. *Swithin*, and a Relation of the Miracles that happen'd at his Translation; and after him *Wulstan*, Monk of the same Monastery, compos'd in Verse the History of that Translation, and the Life of St. *Ethelwald*.

Thus we have given an Account of almost all the most remarkable Circumstances that occur in the Ecclesiastical History of *England* in the Tenth Century.

## CHAP. VI.

### Observations on the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Tenth Century.

There were no Controversies in the tenth Age of the Church, relating to Articles of Faith, or Doctrinal Points of Divinity, by reason that there were no Hereticks, nor other Inquisitive Persons, who remain'd upon Matters of Religion, or undertook to dive into the bottom of its Mysteries. The Sober Party contented themselves only in yielding an implicit Faith to whatever the Church-men thought fit to deliver from the Pulpit; and the profligate Wretches, abandon'd themselves to gross Sensualities, which gave Satisfaction to their brutish Appetites, rather than to the Vices of the Mind, to which only ingenious Persons are liable. Therefore in this Age of Darkness and Ignorance, the Church not being disturb'd upon account of its Doctrines, had nothing to do but to put a stop to the Enormities of Discipline and Manners.

There were nevertheless in *England* some Clergy-men, who positively affirm'd that the Bread and Wine on the Altar retain'd the very same Substance after Consecration, and that they were only the Representation of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and not his Real Body and Blood. *Odo* Archbishop of *Canterbury* being desirous to oppose this Opinion, pray'd to God one day, as he was Celebrating Mass solemnly, in the presence of a multitude of People, to shew the very Substance of these Mysteries; which happen'd in the breaking of the consecrated Bread, out of which (as it's reported) issued forth several Drops of Blood; which Miracle being seen by his Clergy, and by those who doubted of the Real Presence of the Body of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, they abjured their Error.

Thus *Osborn*, a Writer of those times, relates the Matter in the Life of that Saint. The same Author in the Life



Life of St. *Dunstan* says, that that Saint returning to the Altar, chang'd the Bread and Wine into our Saviour's Body and Blood, by the Prayer of Consecration; but when he had given the Benediction to the People, he left the Altar a second time to preach, and that being altogether transported with the Divine Spirit, he discours'd after such a pathetic manner concerning the Real Presence of the Body of Jesus Christ, of the future Resurrection, and of Life Eternal, that one would have thought that a glorified Saint was then speaking.

*Ratherius* Bishop of *Verona* illy maintains the same Opinion in one of his Letters; and *Fulcan* Abbot of *Lobes*, in discoursing of the Eucharistical Table, says, *That it is the Table on which the Sacred Body of our Lord is consum'd.* These Authors express themselves after the same manner as *Paschasius* *Ratherius*; nevertheless this did not hinder some others, who liv'd in the end of the same Century, to take part with *Retramnus*, to make use of his Expressions, and to oppose those of *Paschasius*. This is apparently done by *Afric* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Heriger* Abbot of *Lobes*, altho' they do not impugn the Real Presence, as we have made it appear in the preceding Century. These are all the remarkable Circumstances in the tenth Century, relating to Points of Doctrine; for the Error of the *Anthropomorphites* confuted by *Ratherius* in one of his Sermons, was peculiar to certain Clergy-men of *Italy*, and those of the *Greeks*, mention'd by Pope *Firmosus* in one of his Letters to *Fulcan*, are ancient, and not modern Heresies. We read in a Chronicle of the Abby of *Castros*, that *Durandus* Abbot of that Monastery, in the Year 953. confuted one *Wulfred*, who gave it out, that both the Soul and Body perish'd after death; but it is not known whether this Error continu'd long, neither is there any part of *Durandus's* Piece now extant. The Contests that arose about the validity or invalidity of Ordination made by Intruders, were soon silenc'd. Some Persons were of Opinion, that one might Feast on *Friday's*, but their Infatuation was not of long continuance. Upon the whole, there was no Council held in this Century that either debated, or made any Decisions with respect to any Point of Doctrine; which shews, that there was no Error in Matters of Faith that prevail'd long, or made any Disturbance in the Church.

Howsoever enormous the Irregularities of the Popes might be at that time, nevertheless a great deal of Respect was shewn to their Authority, and the Christians distinguishing, according to *Auxilius's* Remark, the Holy See, from the Person of those who possess'd it, had as much veneration for the Dignity of the One, as aversion to the Extravagancies of the others; and upon this account they yielded Obedience to the Equitable Laws, and Just and Lawful Ordinances, proceeding from the Authority of the Holy See, and oppos'd the Enterprizes of the Popes, which intrench'd upon the Liberty of the Churches and the Intention of the Canons. This may be observ'd in the conduct of the Bishops of *Germany*, and in the Letters they wrote concerning the Erections of Bishopricks, which the Pope attempted to make in *Moravia*, to the prejudice of their Rights; in that of the Bishops of *France* assembled in a Council at *Rheims* against *Arnulphus*; in the Discourse made by the Bishop of *Orleans* in that Council; and in the Judgment they pass'd with respect to the Legates Attempt, who presum'd to Consecrate a Church without the consent of the Ordinary. Neither were the Bishops of *Italy* of a different Opinion, as appears from their deposing of Pope *John XII.* St *Dunstan* shew'd the same Resolution in Refusing to Absolve a Person, altho' the Pope had expressly enjoyn'd him to do it; and the like constancy is observable in *Ratherius*, who did not think himself oblig'd to obey the Order of a Pope, who was about to deprive him of the Disposal of the Ecclesiastical Revenues of his Diocess. However, Magnificent Titles were given to the Popes, and their Primacy and Jurisdiction was acknowledg'd: They had not as yet assum'd the Right of Ordaining Bishops or Metropolitans; nay *John X.* and *Stephen VIII.* plainly own'd, that it did not belong to them; but they granted the Pall, not only to Archbishops, but also to several Bishops, which Practice *Fulcan* Archbishop of *Rheims* censures as an Abuse, which sullied the Splendor of the Hierarchical Order. They were desirous, that the Archbishops should come in Person to *Rome* to receive the Pall, which was usually done by the Archbishops of *England* and *Germany*, but not by those of *France*.

The Popes likewise us'd to erect new Archbishopricks and Bishopricks, and there were several Examples in that Century of these sorts of Erections; as *Magdeburg*, *Mersburg*, *Passaw*, *Placentia* &c. They also assum'd to themselves a Power to Judge Bishops primarily, according to the Direction of the Decretals, and claim'd a Right to Summon them to *Rome*: But it does not appear that the Bishops of *France* ever acknowledg'd that Right; on the contrary, they follow'd the ancient Custom which makes the Bishops subject to the Judgment of the Provincial Councils, and to prevent the bringing any Appeals to *Rome*, they oblig'd the accused Persons to make choice of their own Judges, as it happen'd in the Affair of *Arnulphus*.

*John IX.* own'd that the Popes might be mistaken, and that their Judgments might be revers'd: That they ought to be chosen by the Bishops of *Italy*, and the Clergy and People of *Rome*, with the Emperor's consent, and in the presence of his Deputies; as it was ordain'd in the Council of *Rome* held under the same *John IX.* *Otho* and his Successors had the plenary Enjoyment of that Right, and the Election of the Popes depended on those Emperors. *Ottavian* was the first of the Popes who chang'd his Name after his Election, in which he was imitated in the same Century by *Gregory V.* and *Sylvester II.* Neither were the Popes as yet absolute Sovereigns in the City of *Rome*: In the beginning of this Century the *Romans* enjoy'd an appearance of Liberty under the Government of *Alberic*. Afterwards *Otho* and his Successors were Sovereign Princes of *Rome*, in quality of Emperors; caus'd the *Romans* to take an Oath of Allegiance to them; and treated as Rebels those who revolted against them: But the Popes had the Demesnes of a great number of Towns in *Italy*, which were granted by King *Pepin*, and afterwards confirm'd by the *Otho's*. The Writers of those Times, particularly *Ratherius*, *Abbo*, *Gerbert*, and some others complain'd very much, that under some Popes a shameful Traffick was made at *Rome* of the most sacred Things, and that every thing there was to be purchas'd for Money. We also read, that the Popes were us'd to grant Indulgences to those Persons who made a Journey to *Rome*: and it is related in the Life of St. *Ulric*, that the Pope sent him back laden with Indulgences.

There were few Councils held in this Century, and in the most part of them the Decrees were concerning Tythes; against the Usurpers of the Church Revenues; against Church-men who keep Concubines; and against Marriages among near Relations. To which purpose the Degrees of Consanguinity were extended to the Seventh, in which it was forbidden to contract Marriage, and Spiritual Affinity took place as well in the Eastern as the Western Churches: Such Persons as married with these Impediments were divorc'd without redress, neither were any Dispensations granted to Kings and Princes, as it appears from the Case of King *Robert*, and that of the Emperor *Nicephorus Phocas*.

Fourth Marriages were absolutely prohibited in the Eastern, but not in the Western parts. The Bishops were chosen by the Clergy and People, but the Princes would not suffer the Election to be made without their consent. The Investitures of the Archbishops, and Bishopricks, were granted to *Otho I.* by Pope *Leo VII.* and were given with the Ring and Staff. The Translation of Bishops became very frequent, and Coadjutors began to be joyn'd with them, with Assurance of Succeeding them. Thus *Urbo* Bishop of *Strasbourg* had *Archembaldus* for his Coadjutor; but this practice was condemn'd by the Bishops of *Germany*, with respect to *Adalbero*, whom St. *Ulric* his Uncle, had chosen for his Coadjutor, and by *Gregory V.* with respect to the Bishop of *Puy* in *Vellay*, who in like manner ordain'd his Nephew.

This Century is the first, in which it is observ'd that Ambition transported the Bishops so far, as to get the possession of several Bishopricks, and in which Bishops were ordain'd at the Age of eighteen years, as Pope *John XI.* *John XII.* and the Bishop of *Tody*; and elected very young, as *Hugh* of *Fernandois*, and *Theophylact* Patriarch of *Constantinople*. Many Bishops of *Italy* and *Germany* oblig'd their Canons to be Regular, and to live in common: Others placed Monks in their Cathedrals, and even advanc'd them to Dignities; and others on the contrary, turn'd out irregular Monks, to substitute secular Clerks in their Room; as did *Ratherius* in one of the Churches of his Diocess. The Ecclesiastical Revenues were usually divided into four parts, and the Bishops assum'd the sole Administration of them; but in some Churches other Clergy-men had particular Revenues, which they enjoy'd independently of the Bishop. After the Death of the Bishops the Revenues of the Church, and those they left, were often expos'd to pillage, as it is related by *Ratherius*, *Atto*, and several other Writers. To prevent this Rapine, the Prince or neighbouring Bishop engag'd to take care of them. The Lords were wont to settle Priests at their pleasure, in the Country Churches; Benefices were often conferr'd on unworthy Persons; and sometimes Persons were advanc'd to the Episcopal Dignity, without any merit, and only on account of their quality; an abuse much lamented by *Ratherius* and *Atto*. Lastly, Ignorance was so predominant in those times, that it was absolutely necessary to admit Priests of mean parts to the Sacerdotal Function. However, the Bishops endeavour'd to render them more capable, by Synodal Instructions, by frequent Conferences with them, (the Original of which may probably be referr'd to the ninth Century) by Schools, which were kept in the Cathedral Churches and Monasteries, and by furnishing them with divers Forms of Sermons and Exhortations ready prepared. The Bishops and other Clergy-men were often oblig'd to bear Arms, as *Ratherius* observes, altho' it be prohibited by the Canons, an abuse which was committed both in the Eastern and



Western Parts. In the beginning of this Century, the *Observati-* Monks were very irregular, and the Monasteries were *ons on the* ruin'd, and possess'd by Laicks, who assum'd the quality *Ecclesiasti-* of Abbots; but after Matters were regulated, the Monas- *cal Affairs* tical Discipline was re establish'd, and Regular Abbots *of the* were constituted; nevertheless the Bishops for a long time *tenth Cen-* retain'd some Abbies as it were in *Comendani*; the same *tury.* Abbot, or the same Regular Clerk held several Abbies, which he caus'd to be govern'd by Co-Abbots or Pro-Abbots, or Superiours. To which we may refer the Original of Congregations. Divers Monks were advanc'd to the Episcopacy, possess'd Dignities in the Cathedral Churches, and were ordain'd Priests under the Title of their Monastery. Publick Penance was still in Use, but very rarely practis'd, and the Canonical Discipline was enervated by the Redemption of Penances which was then introduc'd: The Rigour and Austerity of Fasting, was likewise much abated, and the Obligation to Receive the Sacrament was reduc'd to four times a Year.

*Ratherius* forbade in his Diocese the Celebration of Marriages on *Sundays*, and in the time of Lent, altho' the contrary Custom had prevail'd. We find in this Century the first Example of the Benediction of a Bell; for there is no mention made of them in the Authors of the preceding Ages, who have treated at large of Ceremonies. *Father Menard* cites in his Notes, on *St. Gregory's* Sacramentary, two ancient Manuscripts which prescribe the Ceremonies of this Benediction, but it is not certain that they are more ancient than the tenth Century. At that time also they began to recite as a part of Divine Service, the Office of the Virgin *Mary*: It is related in the Life of *St. Ulric*, that that Saint was wont to say it every day, and in the continuation of the History of the Bishops of *Verdun*, mention is made of a certain Clerk whom *Berenger*, Bishop of that City, the Kinsman of *Otho* the Great, met in the Church, lying prostrate on the Ground, and saying the Office of the Bless'd Virgin. *Peter d'Amien* in the following Century, in like manner makes mention of two Clerks who were wont to recite it every day; and *Pope Urban II.* ordain'd in the Council of *Clermont*, that the Office of the Virgin *Mary* should be said on *Saturday*. We may also observe, that the Councils and Bishops of those Times pronounc'd Eternal Anathema's, that is to say, perpetual Excommunications without hopes of Absolution against the Usurpers of Church Revenues, and against those that offer'd any Injury to Ecclesiastical Persons. The manner of clearing those that were accused of any Crime by Fire or Water Ordeal, or by a Duel between two Champions, was then in Use, and even Clergy-men were oblig'd to provide a Champion; but there were certain Times when all Acts of Hostility ceas'd, which were call'd *The Truce of God*.

*The Cano-* In this Century we find the first Example of the Solemn *nization of* Canonization of a Saint by the Pope. This Pope is *John XV.* who plac'd *St. Ulric* in the Rank of the Saints in the Year 995. at the request of *Liutolphus* Bishop of *Augsburg*. We shall here subjoin the Act it self, which was drawn upon that occasion: *John Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to all Archbishops, Bishops and Abbots of France and Germany, Greeting, and the Apostolical Benediction. Having held an Assembly in the Palace of the Lateran, on the last day of January, John the most Holy Pope sitting, with the Bishops, Priests, Deacons and Clergy standing, the most Reverend Liutolphus, Bishop of Augsburg rising up, said, Most Holy Bishop, if it may please you and the rest of the Reverend Bishops and Priests here present, to give leave to read in your presence, the Book which I hold in my hand, concerning the Life and Miracles of St. Ulric, who was sometime Bishop of Augsburg, to the end that you may afterwards ordain what you shall think fit: Then the Life of that Saint being read, they proceeded to the Miracles which were perform'd by him, either in his Life-time, or after his Death, as the restoring of Sight to the Blind; the Exorcising of Devils out of possessed Persons; the Curing of others afflicted with the Palsie, and several other Miracles which were not committed to writing. These things being thus related, we have resolv'd and ordain'd, with the common consent, that the Memory of St. Ulric ought to be honour'd with a pious Affection and a sincere Devotion, by reason that we are oblig'd to honour and shew respect to the Relicks of the Martyrs and Confessors, in order to Adore him whose Martyrs and Confessors they are, We honour the Servants, to the end that this honour may redound to the Lord. It is our pleasure therefore that the Memory of Ulric be consecrated to the Honour of the Lord, and that it may serve to celebrate his Praises for ever. Then follows the Anathema against those who shall act any thing contrary to this Decree, with the Seals, of the Pope, of five Bishops, of nine Cardinal Priests, and of some Deacons.*

This is the first Solemn Bull of Canonization, for the more ancient Examples, which are produc'd of the Canonization of *St. Swithbert* by *Pope Leo III.* and that of *St. Abbo* Martyr by *Adrian I.* at the request of *Offa* King of the *Mercians* in the end of the eighth Century, are only ground-

ed on Supposititious Pieces; nay, the very name of Canonization in that Sense, is yet more Modern than the tenth Century, and is found only in the Bull of *Pope Alexander III.* For the Canonization of *St. Edward* the Confessor, King of *England*, in the Year 1161. in that of the Canonization of *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury* eight years after, and in the Letter of *Ulric* Bishop of *Constance* to *Calixtus II.* in which he sues for the Canonization of Bishop *Conrad*.

In the Primitive Church the Name of Saint was given to all Christians, in their Life-time, and even after their Death, when they dyed in the Communion of the Church, having preserv'd the Innocence of their Baptism, but a more particular respect was shewn to those, who dyed upon the account of Religion, and were call'd Martyrs of *Jesus Christ*; so that the Evidence of the Matter of Fact, and the Testimony of the Faithful caus'd that Veneration to be paid to their Memory, which their generous Constancy had merited; nevertheless, it belong'd to the Bishops and Clergy to make a Catalogue of those who deserv'd that honour, and to distinguish the false Martyrs from the true. Therefore *St. Cyprian* in his ninety seventh Letter admonishes his Clergy to take care exactly to mark all the days of the Death of those who suffer'd Martyrdom, to the end that their Memory might be celebrated with the other Martyrs. *Optatus Milevitanus* reproves *Lucillus* for kissing every day, even before the Communion, the Relick of a certain Person, who was said to be a Martyr, but was not yet acknowledg'd as such. It is reported that *Pope Clement I.* appointed seven Deacons, and *Fabian* as may Sub-Deacons to commit the Acts of the Martyrs to writing; but this Matter of Fact being ground'd only on the Authority of the Author of the Pontifical Book, is of no great Consequence, and so much the rather, in regard that we are inform'd by the Popes *Gelasius* and *Gregory*, that these Acts were not much valu'd by the Church of *Rome*, which was content only to have a Catalogue of the Saints and Martyrs who were to be honour'd. The Councils of *Laodicea*, *Carthage*, and *Elvira*, ordain'd, that great care be taken to make a due distinction between the true and false Martyrs, and the Example of *St. Martin* of *Tours*, and several other Reverend Bishops, who dissuaded the People from the Superstitious Worship of false Martyrs, apparently shews that it belongs to all the Bishops to declare what Martyrs ought to be acknowledg'd and publicly honour'd. After the Martyrs in process of time was likewise honour'd, the Memory of Virgins, Anchorites, Bishops renoun'd for their Sanctity: And lastly, of those Persons whose singular Vertues were remarkable in their Life-time. Their Names were inserted in the *Dypticks*, that were recited at the Altar, and they were Styled by the Name of the Saints and Blessed, *et beati Martyres*.

Every particular Church was us'd to place in that rank, those who had first propagated the Christian Religion, the Bishops, and those who had liv'd in great Reputation for their Sanctity. Afterwards were made Kalendars and Martyrologies, of the Saints of several particular Churches, which were by little and little dispers'd throughout the Eastern and Western Parts: The Church of *Rome*, as others had done, made use of one of these Martyrologies, from which *Ado* compos'd His, and afterwards took in that of *Usuardus*; but it does not appear that before the tenth Century, any Solemn Decrees were made at *Rome*, or elsewhere, for the Canonization of Saints: Indeed, this Custom was entirely establish'd in the eleventh Century, when *Adelardus*, *Paschasius*, *Ratherius*, *St. Wiborad*, *Gerard* Bishop of *Toul*, and *Wolfgang* Bishop of *Ratisbon* were Canoniz'd by several Popes. In the twelfth *Peter d'Agnania* was Canoniz'd by *Pope Paschal II.* *Conrad* Bishop of *Constance*, by *Calixtus II.* at the request of *Ulric* Bishop of the same place; *Hugh* Bishop of *Grenoble*, *St. Sturmius* Abbot of *Fulda*, and the Emperor *Henry I.* by *Eugenius III.* But it is observable, that these two last Papers declare that the Solemnity of Canonization ought to be perform'd regularly in a General Council, and yet they do it by the Authority of the Church of *Rome*, with the Advice of the Archbishops and Bishops, who were present in that City.

During these two Centuries, the Metropolitans and Bishops were not depriv'd of the Right to declare as Saints, such Persons as died in the Reputation of Sanctity, and to cause their Bodies to be expos'd to the Veneration of the Faithful. But *Pope Alexander III.* first reserv'd to himself the Canonization of Saints, as a Matter of great Consequence, and after him *Innocent III.* assum'd the same Right; insomuch that we do not read that the Bishops solemnly Canoniz'd any Saints since that time, altho' there were some who were generally reputed such among the People. The Institution of the seven Electors of the Empire is also refer'd to this Century, according to the general Opinion of the *German* Historians, who wrote after the Reign of *Frederick II.* and who affirm that *Pope Gregory V.* and the Emperor *Otho III.* declar'd, with the consent of the Princes of *Germany*, that the Election of the Emperor should belong, for the future, only to those seven, without allowing

*The Institution of the seven Electors of the Empire.*



allowing any Vote to the others: But the Original of this *Epocha* is very much disputed, and is not grounded on any *Authentic Record*, or the *Testimony of any Contemporary Writer*. Indeed some, particularly *Jordanes*, have given it out, that the Right of choosing the Emperor has been peculiar to the seven Electors even since *Charlemagne's* time; and this Opinion seems to be confirm'd by the Authority of *Pope Innocent III* who acknowledges the power of Electing the King and Emperor to be inherent in the Princes of the Empire, to whom the Right justly belongs, more especially in regard that this Right and Power is deriv'd to them from the Apostolical See, in the person of *Charlemagne*, who transferr'd the Empire from the *Grecians* to the *Romans*. *Theodoric Anibem* refers this Institution to the time that follow'd the Death of the Emperor *Henry II.* and makes the Princes of *Germany* the Authors of it. *Unuphrus* maintains, that this number of Electors was not fix'd till after the Death of *Frederick II.* that before that time all the Princes of *Germany* were wont to give their Suffrages for the Election of the Emperors; that their number was not restrain'd to seven; that the name of Electors was then unknown; that altho' the precise time of the Institution cannot be determin'd, yet it ought to be fix'd between the Years 1250. and 1280. and according to all appearance, under the Pontificate of *Gregory X.* which perhaps gave occasion to the generality of Authors to refer it to that of *Gregory V.* *Jordanes's* Opinion concerning the Antiquity of the seven Electors, is at present generally disclaim'd; it being evident that *Charlemagne's* Posterity obtain'd the Empire by the Right of Succession, and by the Election of the *German, French and Italian* Princes and Noble-men. After the Death of *Lewis IV.* the Son of *Arnulphus*, the last of *Charlemagne's* Race, *Italy* became (as we have already declar'd) a Prey to the *Berengiers*, to *Guy, Lambert, Lewis, Boso, Hugh, Lothaire, Raoul, &c.* of whom some affected the Title of Emperor, and even caus'd themselves to be crown'd. In *Germany*, *Conrad, Henry the Fowler, and Otto* were chosen Kings by the *Saxons and French*, as it is related by *Luitprand and Witichindus*, Writers, who flourish'd at that time. The last was also acknowledg'd and crown'd Emperor when he had subdu'd *Italy*: His Son and Grandson obtain'd the Imperial Diadem by the Right of Succession, and by the Election of the Princes, as well *Saxons as French and Italians*. Therefore till that time, it cannot be said, that the Election of the Emperor was reserv'd to the seven Electors. Now to know whether this was effected by *Pope Gregory V.* under *Otto III.* we need only enquire after what manner Historians relate the Election of his Successors to have been carried on, that is to say, whether it were perform'd by the seven Electors, or indifferently by all the *German Princes*. *Otto Frisingen* assures us, that after the Decease of *Otto III.* *Henry Duke of Bavaria* was chosen Emperor by all the Nobility or Lords of the Kingdom: *Ab omnibus regni primoribus*; and this Author speaks after the same manner concerning the Election of *Conrad*, who succeeded *Henry*: But nothing more plainly shews to whom the Right of choosing the Emperor belong'd, then that which happen'd in the time of the Emperor *Henry the Fourth*, when *Pope Gregory* the seventh design'd to Depose him, and caus'd *Rodolphus* to be substituted in his room; for he made application to all the Dukes, Earls and Bishops of the *German Empire*, and *Rodolphus* was chosen by a Party of the Princes different from the Electors, among whom are nam'd the Bishops of *Wurtsburgh and Metz*, and the Duke of *Carinthia*.

Afterward when *Henry* the fifth dispossest his Father of the Imperial Throne, and caus'd himself to be plac'd on it in his stead, this was done by all the Princes of *Germany* indifferently, as it is related by *Otto Frisingensis*, and by the Abbot of *Ursperge*. *Lotharius* the Second was in like manner elected Emperor by the Princes of the Empire, at the solicitation of the Archbishop of *Metz*. When *Conrad* the third was at first only chosen by a small number of Princes, and *Henry of Bavaria* with some *Saxon* Princes revers'd his Election, because they were not present, it was requisite to call a general Assembly of all the Princes, in which the *Saxons* assist'd, and gave consent to his Election. After the death of *Conrad*, *Frederick Barbarossa* was proclaim'd Emperor in an Assembly of all the Princes of *Germany*, in which the Barons of *Italy* were also present. Lastly, In the time of *Pope Innocent* the third, the *German* Princes being divided, after the Death of *Henry* the sixth, some of them elected his Brother *Otto*, and others *Philip of Schwaben*; on which occasion, Letters were written on both sides to the Pope: The Electors of *Otto* were, the Archbishop of *Cologne*, the Bishop of *Paderborn*, two other Bishops, and two Abbots, the Duke of *Lorraine and Brabant*, the Marquess of the sacred Empire, and the Count of *Cuk*, who declare in the Body of the Letter, that they elected *Otto*, and confirm'd their Proceedings by their respective Seats. Those of the contrary Party were the Archbishops of *Madgeburg, Trier, and Resancon*; the Bishops of *Ratisbon, Frisingen, Augsburg, Constance, Eichstadt, Worms,*

*Spire, Hildersheim, and Brixen*; the Chancellor of the Imperial Court, four Abbots, the King of *Bohemia*, the Dukes of *Saxony, Bavaria, Austria and Moravia*; the Marquess of *Raversperg*, and other Potent Noble-men of *Germany*, who all declare that they had chosen *Philip* Emperor, and that many other *German* Princes had consented to his Election by Letters.

This evidently proves that the Election of the Emperors was not reserv'd to the seven Electors, but that it belong'd to all the Princes of the Empire. *Innocent* the third replying to those Letters, That his Legate was not capable of assisting at the Election of an Emperor, either in quality of an Elector, or in that of a Judge; not as an Elector, because it does not belong to him; but to the Princes, on whom the Power of choosing the Emperor is devolv'd according to ancient Custom; more especially in regard that they receiv'd it from the Holy See, which transferr'd the Roman Empire, in the Person of *Charlemagne*, from the *Grecians* to the *Romans*. These are the words of that Pope, which are manifestly misapplied, when alledg'd in behalf of the seven Electors: It being apparent, that in this place, he makes mention of all the Princes of the Empire, who had an inherent Right to elect the Emperors ever since the time of *Charlemagne*; affirming that neither had his Legate acted as a Judge, in regard that he had not proceeded against *Philip* in a Judiciary Form, nor pass'd any Judgment upon the Validity or Nullity of the Election: That therefore he had only perform'd the Function of a Denouncer, by declaring to them, that the Duke was incapacitated from being elected, whereas *Otto* was not. That many of those Persons, who had a right to choose the Emperor, had approv'd *Otto's* Election: And that they who had chosen *Philip*, had forfeited their Right, by carrying on the Election, in the absence, and to the contempt of the others. That besides, *Philip* was not crown'd Emperor, either in the place where it ought to have been done, or by a Person, whose office it was to perform the Ceremony: Whereas *Otto* was crown'd at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, which was the proper place for his Coronation, and by the Archbishop of *Cologne*, whose Right it was to officiate at the Solemnity: That therefore he nominated and declar'd *Otto* Emperor, being incited thereto by a principle of Justice, as also upon account that he had a Right to favour whom he thought fit, when the Suffrages of the Electors were divided: That besides, there were several lawful Impediments against *Philip Duke of Schwaben*, as his being excommunicated, attainted of Perjury, and descended of the Race of the Persecutors of the Church.

Thus this Answer supposes that these Persons, who had a right to choose the Emperor, and who are mention'd by this Pope, are not only the seven Electors, but also all the Princes and Noble-men of the Empire, of whom a party had elected *Otto*, and the greater number *Philip of Schwaben*: But after the death of the latter, all the Suffrages were re united in favour of *Otto A. D. 1209.* and in the following Year, *Otto* being excommunicated, the Princes of *Germany*, viz. the King of *Bohemia*, the Dukes of *Austria and Bavaria*, the Landgrave of *Thuringen*, and many others being assembled, elected *Frederick King of Sicily* Emperor. Hitherto we find no mention of the seven Electors; and indeed the first Writer that makes any, is the Cardinal of *Osia*, who liv'd in the time of *Pope Innocent* the Fourth, and speaks of them in his Commentary on the Decretal of *Innocent* the Third, where he affirms that the Electors mention'd in that place, are the Archbishops of *Mentz, Cologne, and Trier*, the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, and the Duke of *Bohemia*, *Matthew Paris* writing the History of the Council of *Lyons*, at the same time reports, that after the Deposing of *Frederick*, *Pope Innocent* the fourth ordain'd that the seven Electors, whom he names, are the Archbishops of *Cologne, Mentz, and Saltzburgh*, and the Dukes of *Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, and Brabant*. However, *Martinus Polonus* a contemporary Writer, names the seven Electors after this manner, that is to say, the three high Chancellors of the Empire, viz. the Archbishop of *Mentz*, the Chancellor of *Germany*, the Archbishop of *Trier* Chancellor of *Gaul*, the Archbishop of *Cologne* Chancellor of *Italy*, the Marquess of *Brandenburgh* High Chamberlain, the Palatine of the *Rhine* High Steward, the Duke of *Saxony* Gentleman of the Horse, and the King of *Bohemia* High Cupbearer. This Author says thus much in speaking of *Otto* the third, which has induc'd some to believe, that they were instituted under that Emperor, altho' he observes that it did not happen till afterward. Thus this Relation makes it appear that the Institution of the seven Electors attributed to *Pope Gregory V.* without any just grounds, is nothing near so ancient, and that 'tis very probable that the Electors of the Emperor were not reduced to the number of seven, till the Pontificate of *Innocent* the fourth, and that before, all the Princes and Noble-men of the Empire indifferently, might have a share in his Election, notwithstanding the Assertions of the Canonists and the Modern Historiographers of *Germany* to the contrary.



## C H A P. I.

## Of the Writings of St. Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres.

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Chartres.

WE will begin this eleventh Century with St. Fulbert Bishop of Chartres, who was one of the principal Restorers of Learning, of the Sciences, and of Divinity. He came from Rome to France, and held his publick Lectures in the Schools of the Church of Chartres, about the end of the tenth, and the beginning of the eleventh Century. His Reputation gain'd him Scholars from all Parts, who went out of his School full of Learning and Piety, and diffused his Light in France and Germany; insomuch that all the Ingenious Persons of that time, gloried in having been his Scholars. He was in great Repute with King Robert; and, as some Historians tell us, he was his Chancellor. In the Year 1007. he succeeded Rodolphus in the Bishoprick of Chartres; and govern'd that Church with a great deal of Vigilance and Prudence, for the space of one and twenty Years and some Months. He dy'd April 10, 1028.

He compos'd several Letters, Sermons, and Pieces of Poetry. His Letters amount to 134.

In the first he explains three Essential Points of our Faith; namely, the Mystery of the Trinity, the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Sacraments of Life, to wit, of the Body and Blood of our Lord. We shall not here stand to repeat what he has said about the Mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation; 'tis enough to take notice that he has given a very exact Explanation of them, and that he has very particularly refuted the Errors of the Arians, Nestorians and Eutychians. Upon the Sacraments, he says, that we ought not to rest upon the External and Visible Signs, but to attend to the Invisible Power and Efficacy of these Mysteries. 'We know, says he, and 'tis an unquestionable Truth, that we were polluted by our first Birth, and purified by the second; therefore we are buried and we die with Jesus Christ, that we may be born again and quicken'd with him. The Water and the Holy Ghost are united in that Sacrament; the Water denotes the Burial, the Holy Ghost the Life Eternal; as Jesus Christ lay buried in the Ground for three Days, so is Man dipp'd, and as it were buried three times in the Water, that he may rise again by the Holy Spirit. He afterwards proves, that 'tis God which Baptizeth; and that tho' a wicked Man should administer this Sacrament, yet it does not hinder the Remission of Sins, because 'tis not he who is the Author, but only the Minister of the Sacrament; as he himself acknowledges, when he says, he who has regenerated you by Water and the Holy Spirit, grant you the Undivided on of Salvation. Now 'tis God alone who is the Author of Grace, the Dispenser of Spiritual Gifts, and who remits Sins. In discoursing on the third Point, namely, concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, after he had taken notice of its Sublimity, and its Incomprehensibility; he says, that God commiserating our Frailty, has provided a Remedy for us by this propitiatory Sacrifice offer'd for our daily Faults; and forasmuch as he has taken out of our sight, and carry'd to Heaven that Body which he offer'd for our Redemption, that we might not be depriv'd of the present Protection of his Body, he has left us a Salutory Pledge of his Body and Blood, which is not a Symbol of a vain, empty Mystery, but the real Body of Jesus Christ, which his secret Efficacy produceth every Day after an invisible manner, in the Solemnity of those Mysteries, under the visible form of the Creature. 'Tis this Body which he spake of to his Disciples a little before his Passion, *This is my Body, and this is my Blood*: And elsewhere, *He that eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Body, dwelleth in me, and I in him*, John 6. 56. Being therefore thus instructed by the Will and Pleasure of this true Master, in partaking of his Body and Blood, we may boldly maintain, that we are chang'd into his Body, and that he dwelleth in us, not only by an Union of the Will, but by the Reality of the Nature which is united to us. He adds, that we should not imagine it to be any Dishonour to a God, who condescended to enter into the Womb of a Virgin, to be in Pure and Virgin Creatures: That what appears externally to be the Substance of Bread and Wine, became internally the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ: And to make this Change the more credible, he compares it to the Creation; and says, that if God could make Creatures out of Nothing, he could more easily convert them into the Substance of his Body.

The second Letter of Fulbert of Chartres is concerning a Custom in use in his time, of giving to the Priests, after their Ordination, a consecrated Host, which they kept and communicated of for forty Days together. He had been ask'd the Reason of this Custom. But before he reply'd to that, he observ'd, that different Churches had their different Customs; which was no hindrance of their being united

in the same common Faith. Afterwards, he says, that this Custom was observ'd by all the Bishops of his Country: That he remember'd that formerly a Priest, having receiv'd a consecrated Host from his Bishop, and communicating thereof every Day, it one Day happen'd, that after he had celebrated these Mysteries, he lost this Host, by wrapping his Habit in the Communion Table-cloth. That on the Morrow, in the time of Celebration, when he came to communicate, he was very much surpriz'd at his missing the Host. That the Bishop, being inform'd of what had happen'd through his Carelessness, had impos'd on him a very severe Penance. St. Fulbert adds, that this Accident gave him an occasion of asking this Bishop, Whether it were not better that the Priests should eat this Host, the first or second Day after it was consecrated, without dividing it into so many Pieces? But that this Bishop had return'd him this Answer, that they were oblig'd to keep this Host for the space of forty Days; because, as Jesus Christ had been forty Days upon Earth after his Resurrection, and appear'd to his Apostles several times; so the Bishops, in ordaining his Priests, gave them the Eucharist to take for forty Days together, to put them in mind of those forty Days during which our Lord appear'd to his Apostles after his Resurrection. Fulbert having ask'd, Whether this Mystery might not be as well perform'd by the Bread which the Priests consecrated every Day, was answer'd by the Bishop, that as many particular Churches spread over the Face of the whole Earth, made but one Catholick Church, because they have all one Common Faith; just so, many Particular Hosts offer'd by many Faithful, are only one Bread, because of the Unity of the Body of Christ: That the Bread consecrated by the Bishop, and the Bread consecrated by the Priest, are chang'd into one and the same Body of Jesus Christ, by the Omnipotency of of the same Virtue which operateth in both; but as it may be said in some measure, that the Body of Jesus Christ born of the Virgin, and nailed to the Cross, is different from the Body of Jesus Christ when rais'd from the Dead: Even so it seems, that the Bread consecrated on the Ordination-day, and kept by the Priests, may have a particular Signification distinct from the Bread which was consecrated every Day; the former may denote the Body of Jesus Christ rais'd from the Dead, to die no more; the latter, Jesus Christ who dies and rises again every Day for us.

The third and fourth Letters are directed to King Robert; wherein he prays him to order Eudes Count of Chartres, to cause the Castles to be demolish'd which were built by Vicount Geoffrey, and very much incommoded the Church of Chartres.

The two following contain nothing in them remarkable.

The seventh is directed to Leotrick Archbishop of Sens, whom he exhorts to make use of his Authority in succouring Avisgaudus Bishop of Mans, whom the Count of that City oppress'd; and to threaten the said Count with Excommunication, in Case he did not restore to him his Revenue, and let him be quiet.

The eighth is a Copy of a Letter which he had written to this Avisgaudus, who complain'd that Fulbert and Leotrick had publish'd his Confession. Fulbert gives him to understand, That he wrong'd them, in having such a Thought of them; That they had never publish'd any Thing but what was for his Advantage, and which might serve to justify him against those who had accus'd him of having quitted his Bishoprick out of Avarice, Baseness, or for some other dishonourable Cause. That if he had trusted to their Secrecy such Things as he ought to repent of, they had taken great Care to conceal them; but that they had no Power to conceal those, which were publick both before and after his Confession. As to that Part of this Bishop's Complaint, that they had said of him, That he was in Love with a Monastick Life, Fulbert returns him this Answer, That he ought not to take this amiss, since it could be no Prejudice to him; for the Love of a religious Life render'd him rather worthy, than unworthy of the Bishoprick into which he desir'd to enter again, were there nothing else to hinder him from it. But that they could not perceive how he could be put into Possession again, because he could not complain that he had been turn'd out of it, or that any one had been put into Possession of that See against his Will; since he had voluntarily quitted it under Pretence of his Indisposition, and desired the King, That either Franco, Dean of the Church of Paris, or some other Person might be put into his Place: That after this Resignation, Franco had been put into his Place according to the Election of the Clergy, the Votes of the Laity, the Donation of the King, and the Approbation of the Holy See; and that he had been ordain'd by the Archbishop of Sens his Metropolitan.



Of the Writings of St. Fulbert Bishop of Chartres. In the ninth Letter he returns an Answer to the Bishop of Paris, upon three Points. The first is upon that Bishop's desiring him to excommunicate one who had seiz'd upon some Revenues belonging to the Church of Paris. He says he had not done it, 1. Because he had not met with any Man who would venture to give him Notice of this Excommunication. 2. Because 'twas to no Purpose that this Man should be declared excommunicated in the Church of Chartres, without knowing any Thing of it. 3. Because he thought it might more conveniently be done in a Synod of the Bishops of the Province. The second is about the Archdeacon of Paris, of whom his Bishop complain'd. Fulbert sent him Word, That it signified nothing to consult him about it, since it was his Business to judge him; and that for his Part he could not condemn him, till he had first heard him. The third is upon a Dispute which happen'd between Adeoldus and the Monks of St. Dennis. He says, That Adeoldus offer'd to refer himself to their Arbitration; and that if he pleased to appoint a Day wherein he would meet him, with some one in Behalf of the Monks of St. Dennis, at St. Arnulphus, he would be there likewise to adjust these Differences.

The following Letters, to the One and twentieth, contain very little of Ecclesiastical Matters; but in this there is mention made of a very remarkable Matter of Fact. The Abbot of St. Peters of Chartres being very sick, a Monk, named Megenard, stole by Night out of the Monastery, and went to beg the Abbacy of Count Thibold, Son of Count Eudes of Chartres, who was then at Blois. The Count sent him back on the Morrow with Orders, That he should be received as Abbot. Answer was made him, That this ought not to be allowed; because they could not acknowledge him for Abbot, who had begg'd the Abbacy of another before the present Abbot was dead, and who intended to carry it by Authority, and not receive it by Election. He went and carry'd this Answer back to the Count; and within five Days after, the Abbot dy'd. The Monks, with some Canons who had enter'd the Monastery, held a Chapter: Fulbert was there present, and ask'd them, Whether there were any among them who approv'd of what Megenard had done? They all answer'd, No. Thereupon it was order'd, That one should be sent to the Count, to carry him the News of the Abbot's Death; and to intreat him to grant the Monks Leave to chuse another. At the breaking up of the Chapter, two Monks, who had been Provosts of the Out-parts, went to Blois to tell the Count, That Megenard was elected, and required to be Abbot, by the Monks of St. Peter. These Monks, having Intelligence thereof, made a Protestation against it. The Count brought Megenard, and introduced him by Force: The Monks withdrew, and were receiv'd by Bishop Rodulphus. Notwithstanding all this, Megenard receiv'd Benediction from a Bishop of Bretagne, maugre the Protestations of the Deputy of the Archbishop, and of several Monks. He seiz'd upon the Monastery, and sollicit'd the Bishops, and the Pope himself, to be establish'd therein. Fulbert laments this Misfortune, and intreats him to whom he writ, to do his best for these poor Monks.

The two and twentieth Letter is directed to Pope John XVII. He informs him, That Count Rodulphus, whom he had excommunicated for seizing the Revenues of his Church, and for having abus'd a Clerk, was gone to Rome to seek for the Absolution of a Sin, for which he would make no Satisfaction. He conjures the Pope not to admit him to Communion.

The following Letters to the thirty fourth, are directed to Leoterick Archbishop of Sens. What is most remarkable in them about Matters Ecclesiastical; we shall here briefly insert. In the three and twentieth he advises him, to send back a Priest, who was guilty of Simony, into his Diocese who had ordain'd him; and, if he carry'd in his Diocese, to suspend him from all Ecclesiastical Functions. In the five and twentieth, he desires him to degrade a Priest who had been ordain'd for a Reward, that he might afterwards enjoin him Penance for two Years, and then re-establish him. He adds, That it was not requisite to re-ordain him, but to re-establish him in his Orders, by the proper Instruments and Habits, by saying, *I restore to thee the Order of Door-keeper, &c. in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* And afterwards to give him the Blessing in these Terms; *The Blessing of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, rest upon thee, that thou mayst be confirm'd in the Sacerdotal Order; and that thou mayst offer Propitiatory Sacrifices to God Almighty, for the Sins and Offences of the People.* In the twenty eight he complains, That Leoterick had ordain'd several Bishops in his Province, without calling him thereto; and that he had call'd the Bishop of Troyes, who was incapable of any such Thing. In the twenty ninth, he refuses to give Absolution to some Homicides of Sens; at the Price they offer'd him. In the thirtieth he declares, That he had not elected Odolrick for Bishop; but that after he had been elected by the Clergy or Laity, he had ordain'd him Priest; and upon Leoterick's Account, he had order'd him to go to Rome, there to be ordain'd Bishop. In the thirty third he determines, That a Man who had been

God-father to his own Son at Confirmation, ought to be divorc'd from his Wife; which he grounds upon a Canon of the Council of Leffzies, held under Charlemagne.

The thirty fourth is written in the Name of Leoterick and Fulbert of Chartres, to the Clergy of the Church of Paris; to whom they wish, in the Preface, *Temperantiam in Prosperis, Fortitudinem in Adversis, Charitatem ubique*; i. e. *Temperance in Prosperity, Courage in Adversity, and Charity at all Times.* They declare to them, That they sympathize in the Troubles which their Bishop undergoes; but they are sorry, that he would not apply himself to them for Consolation; and they wonder that these Canons should admit to their Communion such Persons who are refractory to the Laws of God, and disobedient to their Bishop: They assure them, they ought not to defer separating them from their Communion, till their Bishop had excommunicated them. In particular, they accuse Lyfiard Archdeacon of Paris, who instead of being what he ought to be, *The Eye of his Bishop, the Reliever of the Poor, and the Instructor of the Ignorant*, had run counter thereto; and was become to his Bishop a Blinder of the Eyes, to the Poor a Robber, and to the Ignorant an erroneous Guide, by taking away the Tythes and Oblations of the Altars from the Poor, and giving them to Seculars. Besides, they accus'd him of Perjury and Disloyalty to his Bishop; and orders them to shew him this Letter, that so he may reform himself.

In the thirty sixth, Fulbert demonstrates the Enormity of a Deacon's Offence, who pretending to be a Priest, had celebrated Mass.

In the thirty eighth he says, That Eband, elected Archbishop of Rheims, ought not to be rejected, tho' he were a Laick, provided he had been brought up in Piety, and kept himself always untainted in his Morals; because there are several Examples of very great Men, such as St. Ambrose of Milan, St. Germain Bishop of Auxerre, and several others, who, having led a good Life whilst Laicks, have prov'd holy Bishops.

In the thirty ninth he writes to the Archbishop of Bourges, That the Abbot Salomon and his Monks, cited before that Archbishop upon the Business of Tedfride, could not possibly make their Appearance, because it was then their Harvest-time; but that at the Council of Orleans, to be held the fifteenth of October, they would appoint him the Time and the Place, wherein they would have an Hearing. Afterwards he complains, That this Archbishop had written a Letter to Arnulphus Abbot of St. Peter, whereby he declar'd, that he had excommunicated his Monks. He gave him to understand, That he had never any where read that he had such a Power allow'd him. This Archbishop had written another Letter to him, wherein he had reprov'd him for having submitted the Abbot Tedfride, without an Hearing, to Monk Salomon, who was only Provost. Fulbert reply'd, That it was not done before Tedfride had been heard, and that he was not Abbot when Salomon was put in his Place: That Abbot Tedfride being accus'd by his Monks, had declar'd, That he would no longer endure them; That he abdicated their Government, and that he would be no longer Monk of Bonneval. That after this Declaration he went, by his Permission, to the Diocese of Bourges; and that the Monks of Bonneval had elected one of their Brethren, and had presented him to Count Odo, that he might confer the Abbacy on him, according to Custom; and that this having been granted to him, he had made him Abbot.

In the forty fifth, directed to Adarus Bishop of Laon, he relates a tragical Action, which hapen'd in his Diocese. The Subdeacon of his Church being dead, the Bishop of Sens desir'd of him this Benefice for himself, or his Brother. Fulbert reply'd, That it was not suitable for him, who was a Bishop; and that he could not give it to his Brother, who had neither Age nor Manners requisite for such a Place: That he had chosen a pious Man out of his own Clergy, on whom he had conferr'd that Benefice. That the Bishops of Sens being incens'd at this Denial, and coveting this Benefice, had sent high Threatnings to the Incumbent: That these Threatnings afterwards were put in Execution: And that within a few Days after the People of Sens had set upon him as he was going to Church, and had kill'd him in the Porch of the Cathedral. That the Authors of this Offence had been discover'd by one of their Valets, who being taken as he was drying his Cloths, had discover'd all. St. Fulbert exhorts the Bishop of Laon to excommunicate these Homicides.

The forty eighth and ninth, are directed to the Bishop of Sens, upon the same Subject.

In the forty seventh, he advises the Archbishop of Tours, That if the Pope has refus'd to give him the Pall without a lawful Cause, he ought not to be discourag'd at it; and that he ought to repeat his Requests, because in the Court of Rome there were certain Rules, not practis'd any where else.

In the fiftieth he determines, That a Woman, who was engag'd upon Oath to marry a Man, could not marry another till after his Death, or by his Consent.



*Of the Writings of St. Fulbert Bishop of Chartres.* The fifty first contains the Resolution of another Case of the same Nature. A Woman not being willing to live with her Husband, and saying she had rather live a Nun, the Husband desires he may have Leave to marry another. *St. Fulbert* declares, That 'tis his Opinion he could not have Leave, till she were either dead, or turn'd recluse.

In the two and fiftieth he declares, That it was better not to celebrate Mass, unless there were two or three Communicants. Which he proves thus; Because the Word *Church*, without which there can be no true Sacrifice, cannot be said but of many; for when 'tis said *Dominus Vobiscum, The Lord be with you*; it implies, That there are more than one. And lastly, because the Prayers are made for those who offer the Sacrifice.

The fifty seventh is directed to the Bishop of *Lisieux*, who had interdicted the Priests of the Canons of *Chartres*, who had Churches in his Diocese, because they did not pay him a certain Duty, call'd the *Synodical Duty*. He says, That this Duty had been remitted to them who were in the Diocese of *Chartres*, by the Liberality of his Predecessors; but that this does not prejudice the Right of the Bishop of *Lisieux*, over those who are of his own Diocese; that therefore if he would not be pleas'd to remit it, they should pay him, provided he would re-establish them.

In the fifty eighth, directed to the Bishop of *Paris*, he declaims against the Request which this Bishop had made to him, of giving Benefices to Laicks.

The sixtieth Letter, directed to *Leoterick* Archbishop of *Sens*, is written about the Excommunication of *Guido*, an Accomplice in the Murder of the Subdeacon of *Chartres*. *Leoterick* had writ to *Fulbert*, That this Man desir'd to be examined in a Synod of Bishops. *Fulbert* returns him this Answer, That there was no further need of examining his Cause, since he was proved Guilty.

In the sixty first, he tells *Theodorick* the Reasons why he did not ordain him, 1. Because on the Day whereon he was to be ordain'd, he had neither Letters, nor Deputies from the Bishops of the Province, to intimate their Approbation of his Ordination. 2. Because he had seen a Suspension of the Pope issued out against him, because of an Homicide he had been guilty of. 3. Because by his own Confession he was unworthy thereof. 4. Because the Clergy and Laity had not elected him freely, but through Fear, and at the Recommendation of the Prince, who had not given them Liberty of choosing any other. He adds, That though he had so many Reasons for not ordaining him, yet he had like to have been kill'd in the Church by those who supported his Interest. He reproves him for thus endeavouring to be ordain'd by Force, and for having celebrated Mass in a violated Church, before it had been reconcil'd.

The sixty second Letter is directed to the Bishop of *Orleans*, to whom at the Top he wishes, *Obsequium Dilectionis sine furo Dissimulationis*, i. e. The Obedience of Love, without the least Varnish of Dissimulation. He therein gives him the Reasons why his Clergy could not go in a solemn Procession to the Church of *Orleans*, according to Custom.

In the sixty fourth he approves of the Dissolution of Marriage, for the Cause of Impotence.

In the seventy second, he advises the Abbot and Monks of *St. Medard*, to live in Subjection to their Bishops, according to the Laws of the Church.

In the seventy third, he gives the same Advice to the Monks of *Orleans*, whom the Bishop of that City had excommunicated, because they would not submit to his Jurisdiction.

In the seventy fourth, he reproves a Clerk of his Church, who had been undutiful to him.

In the eighty third, directed to the Almoner of the Church of *Orleans*, he handles this Question, What Punishment a Priest was liable to, who had celebrated Mass without Communicating? He says, That if he did it through Infidelity, or because he was apprehensive of his being guilty of Drunkenness or Uncleanness, he ought to be enjoyn'd Penance,

till he were thoroughly converted. That if he did it through any Disgust, because of the frequent Celebration of the Holy Sacrifice; he ought to be excluded from communicating for a whole Year. That if he did it through any Scruple of Conscience, and for a small Offence, 'tis sufficient to reprove him with Gentleness. And lastly, That if he did it through any Weakness in his Head or Stomach, he ought to abstain from celebrating, till he was restored to his Health.

The ninety fifth is a Letter of King *Robert* directed to *Guarlin* Archbishop of *Bourges*, wherein he acquaints him, that in several Parts of his Kingdom there fell a Shower of Blood, of that Nature, that it stuck so close on the Flesh, on the Cloths, and on the Stones, that no washing could fetch it out: Whereas when it fell on Wood, it was easily wash'd off. He desires to know, whether any such Thing had ever happened. The Archbishop of *Bourges* Answers him in the following Letter, That this Prodigy prognosticated some Civil War, for the Confirmation of which he produces several Examples of the same Nature taken out of History, to which he adds several mystical Reasons. *Fulbert* of *Chartres* in the following Letter relates another Instance of it, taken out of the Writings of *Gregory of Tours*.

In the ninety ninth Letter, *Fulbert* exhorts a Count to do Penance, and to restore to the Church, what of Right belong'd to it.

In the hundredth he declar'd to Count *Fulens*, who had in his Retinue, several who were Rebels to the King; that he would excommunicate him, if he did not turn them off.

The hundred and eighth, is a Letter of Compliment from *Odilo* to *Fulbert* of *Chartres*, wherein he gives him many high Commendations.

The six and twenty following Letters are written in the Name of the Canons of *Chartres*, but contain nothing remarkable concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.

There is nothing extraordinary in the Sermons of *St. Fulbert*. The first is upon the Trinity. In the second he exhorts his People to Repentance. The third is about the Purification of the Virgin *Mary*. The three next upon the Incarnation. These are follow'd by three other Discourses against the *Jews*, wherein he proves that the *Messias* is already come: And by a small Collection of Passages of the Scripture concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation. After this follows a *Penitential* very much abridg'd; and several Passages of the Fathers about the Eucharist. Next to this come several Hymns, several Pieces in Prose, and lastly several Pieces of Poetry very ill done.

The Letters of *St. Fulbert* are written in a pretty correct Style, and are full of Delicacy and Spirit; he has not been so happy in the rest of his Performances. He argues very pertinently both upon the Doctrines and the Discipline of the Church, and gives very just Determinations of any Case that is proposed to him. Upon Occasion he shews a great deal of Steadiness, without failing in his Respect to higher Powers. His Works have been publish'd with a great deal of Remissness by *Charles de Villiers* Doctor of *Paris*, from a Manuscript of the College of *Navarre*, and from several others, and printed at *Paris* in the Year 1608.

Father *Luke Dachery* has since given us in the Addition to the second Tome of his *Spicilegium*, a Letter of *Fulbert* of *Chartres* concerning Ecclesiastical Revenues; wherein this Author in the first Place lays down by several Passages of the Fathers, and especially of *St. Jerome*, that these Revenues are design'd for the Maintenance of the Poor. Secondly, That the holy Vessels ought not to be sold no more than the Crucifixes, unless upon urgent Occasions, and when the Poor are in such extream Want, that they cannot be reliev'd otherwise. Thirdly, That they shou'd take care not to sell them to such Persons, as might convert them to profane Uses. They ascribe likewise to *St. Fulbert* the Life of *St. Anpert* Bishop of *Cambray*, referr'd by *Surius* to the thirteenth of December.

## CHAP. II.

### An Account of the Controversie about the Eucharist, set on Foot by Berenger; and of his several Condemnations.

*Controversie about the Eucharist.* **B**erenger was born at *Tours* about the End of the Tenth, or the Beginning of the Eleventh Century. He Studied at *Chartres* under *Fulbert*, and staid in that City till the Death of that Bishop. 'Tis said that from that very Time it appear'd that he had several particular Opinions, and that *Fulbert* upon his Death took Notice of him as a dangerous Man, and as one who corrupted a great many People. It was perhaps the Offence he took at being thus stigmatiz'd, which induc'd him to leave *Chartres*, and

return to *Tours*. And being in great Repute for his Learning, he was made choice of to be Lecturer in the publick Schools of *St. Martin*: He gave such Content in that Employ, that they made him Chamberlain, and afterwards Treasurer of the Church of *St. Martin*. No Body knows the Reason why he left *Tours*, and went to *Angers*; but 'tis certain that thither he retir'd, and was very well receiv'd by the Bishop, who made him Archdeacon of his Church, and shew'd him a great deal of Respect. He who was then Bishop



Controversy about the Eucharist. Bruno or Eusebius Bishop of Angers.

Bishop of that City, goes under two Names; for he is call'd Bruno by Theodwin Bishop of Liege, by Durandus Abbot of Troarn, and Marbodius contemporary Authors, and in the Decretal of the Dedication of the Church of St. John of Angely: And he is call'd Eusebius in the Title of the Letter which he wrote to Berenger; in that which was sent to him by Gregory VII. In the ancient Inscriptions of St. Aubin of Angers, in two ancient Catalogues of the Bishops of Angers, which are in the Library of Monsieur Colbert, and in almost all the ancient Records. These two Names are given him in the Decree whereby Geoffry Count of Anjou and Agnes his Wife, granted the Church of Allhallows in the Suburbs of Angers to the Abby of the holy Trinity of Vendosme, which bears Date in the Year 1048. and sign'd by Eusebius Bruno Bishop, and Berenger Archdeacon of Angers: And in the Chronicon of St. Aubin of Angers, printed by Father Labbe in the first Tome of his *Bibliotheca Manuscriptorum*, he is call'd twice Eusebius Cognomento Bruno. He was made Bishop of Angers in the Year 1047. Sometime after Berenger coming to that City, began there to broach his Doctrin upon the Eucharist. Bruno maintain'd his Opinions, and within a short Time he had a great many Followers: But these Opinions were rejected and opposed by the greatest Scholars of that Age, as a new Heresy. Lanfrank began the Controversy, and Berenger being inform'd of it by Ingelram of Chartres, wrote to him a Letter, by which he gave him to understand, that he was very much to blame in accusing John Scotus of Heresy, for his Opinion about the Sacrament of the Altar, opposed to the Sentiment of Paschasius; and that he could wish to meet him in the Presence of several Persons, that he might convince him that it was through Prepossession that he had such Thoughts: Besides, that if he judg'd John Scotus to be an Heretick, upon the Account of what he had delivered about the Eucharist, he must likewise charge St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Austine, and several other Fathers with Heresy. Lanfrank was gone to Rome, when this Letter was carry'd to Normandy; but for all this it was publish'd, and scandaliz'd a great many People. It was likewise carry'd to Rome by a Clerk of the Church of Rheims, who shew'd it to a great many, and read it publicly in the Council held at Rome, under Pope Leo IX. in the Year 1050. Berenger was thereupon excommunicated, and Lanfrank then present was engag'd to clear himself of the Suspicion he lay under of holding Correspondence with Berenger, and to give an Account of his Faith: He did it without any Hesitation, made a Profession of the Faith of the Church, and prov'd it by the Testimony of the Fathers. It was order'd in this Council, that another should be held at Verceil in September, to which Berenger should be cited, and Lanfrank was desired to be present. Berenger being inform'd of his Condemnation, retired into Normandy to Arisfrade Abbot of Preaux, and endeavour'd to win over to his Party, William Duke of Normandy. But that Prince detain'd him at Brionne, where he call'd an Assembly of the Bishops of his Dutchy, who condemn'd Berenger, and a Clerk who had accompanied him. In the Letter of Durandus, Abbot of Troarn, this Council is referr'd to the Year 1053. But certainly there must be an Error in the Text, or Durandus was mistaken: For 'tis evident by the Testimony of Durandus himself, that the Convention of Brionne was before the Council of Verceil, which was held in September 1050. according to the Testimony of Herman Contract.

The Council of Rome, in the Year 1050.

The Council of Brionne.

Berenger being drove out of Normandy retir'd to Chartres, where he dar'd not to declare himself, but when he was ask'd his Opinion, only answer'd, That he would tell it when Time and Place should offer themselves. However, this new Doctrin beginning to spread it self, Henry King of France to stop the Progress of it, resolv'd to call a Council at Paris, and order'd Berenger to appear there, to give an Account of his Doctrin. Theodwin or Dietwin Bishop of Liege, understanding the King's Design, wrote a Letter to him; wherein he condemns the Doctrin of Berenger, which he said was likewise the Doctrin of Bruno Bishop of Angers; but he disapproved the Design he had of causing them to be condemn'd in a Council; because Bruno being a Bishop, could not be try'd without the Authority of the Holy Apostolick See. Therefore he advises him to pass by the impious and sacrilegious Opinions of these Persons, till such time as he had receiv'd Authority to condemn them, after they had been heard at Rome, tho' he thought it needless to hear them, and to call a Council to condemn them, and that all that was to be done was to consider what Punishment to inflict upon them. Theodwin in this Letter accuses Berenger and Bruno, not only of believing that the Eucharist was nothing else but the Shadow and Type of Jesus Christ, but also of holding erroneous Opinions about Marriage, and of disapproving of Infant-Baptism. This Letter has been publish'd under the Name of Durandus Bishop of Liege; but since it was written after the 1050. it cannot be his, for he dy'd in the Year 1025. therefore it must be Theodwin's, who was ordain'd Bishop of Liege in 1048. The Time appointed for the Synod of Verceil being come, Leo IX. came thither with a great many Prelates of several Nations, and opened the Council the first of September, in the Year 1050. Berenger durst not appear there in Person, but sent two Clerks to maintain his Cause. They read in the Council the Book of John Scotus, which gave the Rise to the Error of Berenger; and it was condemn'd by all the Fathers of the Council. The Opinion of Berenger was likewise examin'd and condemn'd, and the Doctrin of the Church maintain'd and defended by Lanfrank, was approv'd of and confirm'd by an unanimous Consent. The two Clerks who were sent by Berenger would have undertaken his Defence, but they no sooner began to speak, but they were forc'd to hold their Tongues.

The Letter of Theodwin against Berenger.

The Council of Verceil in 1050.

Notwithstanding the Remonstrance of Theodwin, King Henry held the Council which he had call'd at Paris on the sixteenth of November in the same Year; but neither Berenger nor Bruno durst appear there. In their Absence the Bishop of Orleans caus'd a Writing of Berenger's to be read, which was condemn'd as Heretical by all the Assembly. They condemn'd the Authors and Abettors of that Doctrin, together with the Book of John Scotus. It was there order'd that the Author of that Heresy and his Adherents should be prosecuted and constrained to recant under the Pain of being put to Death. These Matters of Fact are recorded by Theodwin, and Durandus Abbot of Troarn. None besides these two Authors have made mention of this Council of Paris, and accus'd Bruno of abetting Berenger in his Error: But forasmuch as they liv'd at that Time, 'tis hard to discredit them.

Adelman Clerk of the Church of Liege.

Whilst the higher Powers did use their Authority against the growing Heresy of Berenger; the learned World oppos'd it by their Writings. Among the rest, Adelman a Clerk of the Church of Liege, who had been Berenger's School-fellow under Fulbert Bishop of Chartres, and who afterwards was Bishop of Bresse; when he understood that Berenger taught this Error, wrote a Letter to him, wherein after he had put them in mind of their old Acquaintance, and of Fulbert of Chartres their common Master; he conjur'd him to relinquish his Error, demonstrating to him, That it was not impossible for that God, who had created all Things out of nothing, to change the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. He had sent another Letter some Time before upon the same Subject to Paulinus Bishop of Metz, that he might admonish Berenger to renounce his Error. We have lost this last Letter, and several others mention'd by Trithemius: But the former is among the Authors who wrote upon the Eucharist, printed at Louvain in 1551. and 1561. and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

The Letter of Ascelin to Berenger.

Ascelin a Monk of St. Evrou in Normandy, sent like-wise about the same Time a Letter to Berenger against his Error. Berenger upon his return from Normandy, had a Conference with Ascelin and his Scholar William. They publicly declar'd, That he had acknowledg'd the Book of John Scotus to be blameable, and that he durst not maintain his Error. Berenger being inform'd of it, wrote a Letter to Ascelin, wherein he gave him to understand, That he was not minded to Dispute against him in the Conference which they had together, because at that Time he had resolv'd not to discourse with any one about the Eucharist, till he had satisfied the Bishops, to whom he ought to give an account of his Doctrin. That it was upon this Account that he would not so much as refute that damnable and impious Maxim maintain'd by William, That every Man ought to approach the Holy Table at Easter: But that Ascelin was conscious to himself that he never said John Scotus was an Heretick: That all he had said about it, was, That he had not seen all the Writings of that Author, but that what he had read of his about the Eucharist contain'd nothing in it Heretical; and if he had spoken any Thing which was not so exact, he was ready to disown it. That lastly, They could not condemn him for having alledg'd that the Substance of Bread remains in the Sacrament, since 'tis the Doctrin of the Fathers which he defended, designing nothing else than to follow in every Thing St. Ambrose, St. Austine, and St. Jerome; and that therefore there was no Ground for what Arnalphus had said to him in Ascelin's own hearing, *Præterea let us alone in the Opinion we have been brought up in*; since he did not pretend to establish a Novelty, but to maintain the Doctrin of the Fathers.

Ascelin's Letter to Berenger.

Ascelin return'd him this Answer, That he had receiv'd his Letter with Joy, hoping therein to have heard the News of his Conversion; but that in reading it, his Joy was turn'd into Sorrow, perceiving that he still adher'd to his old Error: That he did no longer see in him that Depth of Thought, and that Learning, which he had formerly; since he had forgot the Passages of their last Conference, particularly that about the Proposition made by William, That every Man ought to approach the Holy Table at Easter; to which he added this Restriction, *Unless he were excluded from this Heavenly Banquet by some Crime, which ought not to be done but by the Order of his Confessor*; otherwise the Keys of the Church would become useless. That for his Part he did not repent of what he had said in that Conference, since he had maintain'd a notorious and unquestionable Truth, from which he

D d d would



Controversie about the Eucharist. would never swerve, viz. That the Bread and Wine were by the Efficacy of the Holy Spirit, and the Ministry of the Priests, turn'd into the real Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; which is plainly proved out of the Holy Scriptures, unless corrupted by a vicious and false Interpretation. That for what relates to *John Scotus*, he was persuaded that in looking upon him as an Heretick, he did nothing unbecoming either his Priesthood or Religion, since he perceiv'd that the whole Aim and Design of that Author is to prove, That what is consecrated on the Altar, is not the true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; which Error he endeavours to establish, by several Passages of the Fathers falsely explain'd, and among others by a Prayer of St. *Gregory*, upon which he says, that this Change of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, was figurative and not real. That he look'd upon *Berenger* himself to be a Man of more Learning, than to maintain the Orthodoxy of this Expression: That he had not ventur'd to defend it in their Conference; that he only said he had not read the Book of *John Scotus* quite out: That he was surpriz'd to see such a prudent Man give so large Encomiums of a Book which he had not read through: That lastly, for his Part, he was of the Opinion of *Paschasius* and of the other Catholics, and that he firmly believed that the Faithful receiv'd upon the Altar the real Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, under the

[And here it is worth our while to observe how modest the first Advancers and Promoters of the Doctrine of Transubstantiation were in their Assertions: Who did not assert any Thing about it more than what we Protestants readily own, viz. That the Faithful do verily and indeed receive the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, signified to us by the Bread broken, and the Wine pour'd out.

Appearance of Bread and Wine; and that this Opinion was not contrary to the Laws of Nature, which depend on the Will of God, nor to the Testimony of the Gospel. To conclude, that the Advice which *Arnulphus* (whom he calls the singing Man) had given him was very wholesome, and that he ought to follow it, to be asham'd of defending a Book condemn'd in the Council of *Vercell*, and to keep close to the Catholic and Apostolick Tradition, from which he had swerv'd. This and the former Letters were publish'd by Father *Luke Dachery* in his Notes upon the Life of *Lanfrank*.

Berenger's Letter to Richard. About the same Time *Berenger* wrote another Letter to *Richard*, who was then at the French Court, wherein he prays him to speak to the King in his Behalf, that so he might remedy the Injustice which had been done him; and to give him to understand that they had not done well in condemning *John Scotus* in the Council of *Vercell*, and in justifying *Paschasius*. That the Clerks of *Chartres* had given him a false Explication of the Opinion of St. *Fulbert*, or rather of the Passage of St. *Augustine* related by that Bishop. That to induce the King to hearken unto him, he might inform him that *John Scotus* wrote his Book by the Order, and at the Instance of his Predecessor *Charles the Great* (that is, *Charles the Bald*) who had charg'd him to refute by writing the Folly of *Paschasius*; that upon this Account he was oblig'd to grant his Protection to that dead Person against the Calumnies of the Living, if he were minded to shew himself the worthy Successor of that great Prince.

The Council of Tours in the Year 1055. against Berenger. While these Disputes were on Foot between *Berenger* and his Adversaries, *Leo IX.* dies in the Year 1054. His Successor *Victor II.* confirm'd what he had done against *Berenger*, and 'tis likewise said that he held a Council at *Florence*, wherein he condemn'd him. *Hildebrand* his Legate in France having held a Council at *Tours* in the Year 1055. made *Berenger* appear there, and gave him Liberty to defend his Opinions: *Berenger* resolv'd to forsake them, and to engage himself by an Oath to hold the common receiv'd Doctrine of the Church, concerning the Reality of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist.

The Council of Rome in 1059. But he either did this pretendedly, or else soon chang'd his Mind; for after this Council he continu'd to broach his Doctrines as before; and not being capable of teaching his Error publicly, he explain'd it in particular, and wrote several Treatises in its Defence. So that his Heresie continuing to spread it self, *Nicholas II.* who in the Year 1058. succeeded *Stephen X.* Pope *Victor's* Successor, cited *Berenger* to a Council held at *Rome* in the Year 1059. which was compos'd of 113 Bishops of several Nations. *Berenger* at the first maintain'd his Opinion, which was refuted by *Alberic* a Monk of Mount *Cassinus*, and by *Lanfrank*; but afterwards he yielded, and declar'd that he was ready to believe and subscribe to what the Pope and Council would be pleas'd to prescribe to him. Upon this, *Humbert* Cardinal Bishop of *Blanchefelve*, prepar'd a Form of Faith, which was sworn to, and subscrib'd by *Berenger* in these Words: 'I *Berenger* of *Angiers*, having a Knowledge of the true Catholic and Apostolick Faith, do abjure all Heresie; especially that of which I have been suspected, which holds, that

Controversie about the Eucharist. the Bread and Wine upon the Altar after the Consecration are only the Sacrament, and not the real Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that it could not be handled by the Priests, nor broke and eat by the Faithful, unless it were only in the Sacrament, and after an insensible Manner. I approve of the Doctrine of the Holy and Apostolick See of *Rome*, and I confess from my Heart and with my Lips, that I hold the same Faith which the Holy and Reverend Pope *Nicholas*, and his holy Synod have declar'd, and assur'd me that I ought to hold, according to the Evangelical and Apostolick Authority, viz. That the Bread and the Wine which lie upon the Altar, after the Consecration, are not only the Sacrament, but also the real Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that 'tis handled by the Priests, broke and eaten by the Faithful, not only in the Sacrament, but also in a sensible Way. The which I swear, by the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity, and by the Holy Evangelists, declaring that those who shall advance any Thing contrary to this Faith, deserve themselves, their Doctrines, and their Followers to be Anathematiz'd. And if I myself should be so bold, as to think or teach any Thing contrary to this Profession of Faith, I submit my self to the utmost Rigor of the Canons. In Testimony whereof, I have set my Hand to these Presents, which I have heard read over and over.' Afterwards he burnt his own Writings, and the Book of *John Scotus*.

This profession of Faith seem'd to be sincere: But *Berenger* was no sooner return'd to France, but finding King *Henry* dead, and his Son *Philip* in his Minority, he thought that now he might maintain his Error afresh without Restraint. He repented that he had burnt his Writings, and made a new one in opposition to that Profession of Faith, which he said was *Humbert's*, and not his. This is that Piece which *Lanfrank* and *Guismond* refute. In a Word, he persisted in the Defence of his Error, and fled out into a Passion against Pope *Leo*, and the Holy See. Pope *Alexander II.* who succeeded *Nicholas*, being inform'd thereof, wrote him a Letter, wherein he exhorts him absolutely to renounce his Error, and to be no longer a Scandal to the Church. But instead of obeying the Pope, he had the Confidence to send him Word, That he would do nothing in it, and remain'd obstinate in his Opinion.

*Maurilla* Archbishop of *Roan*, willing to put a stop to the Progress of this Heresy, which visibly spread it self in *Normandy*, upon the Account of that Influence which *Berenger* had over it, calls a Provincial Council of Bishops at *Roan*, in the Year 1063. Wherein he prepar'd a Profession of Faith, declaring, That the Bread and Wine after Consecration, were chang'd into the very Substance of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; anathematizing all those who are of the contrary Opinion, or oppose this true Faith: And it was order'd, That for the future this Profession of Faith should be subscribed by the Bishops, before their Ordination.

In the Year 1075. *Geraldus* Bishop of *Angoulesme*, and Legate of the Holy See for the Provinces of *Tours*, *Bordeaux* and *Auche*, call'd a Council at *Poitiers*, wherein *Berenger* was accus'd, and like to be kill'd. But this Accident did not alter his Mind, for as soon as the Heat was over, he went from the Council as unconvinced of the Truth, as he came.

It was at this Time that *Eusebius* Bishop of *Angers*, who is the same with *Bruno*, wrote to *Berenger*; That he had receiv'd a Letter from him, which intimated, That *Geofrey* was a publick Abetter of *Lanfrank's* Fooleries; and that in that Letter he desir'd, that *Geofrey* might be summon'd before him, to give an Account of the Explication of a Passage of St. *Ambrose*, taken out of the Treatise concerning the Sacraments. That in answer to his Letter he declares to him, That he knew not whether that Question had been started out of Vain-glory; but this he knew very well, that after it had been spread over a great Part of the World, it had cast a great Blemish on the Reputation of the Church of *Angers*, which was expos'd to the Calumnies and Upbraidings of all Men, both far and near. That for his Part he had resolv'd to decline these Disputes, to keep to the Text of the Holy Scriptures, and to believe that the Bread and Wine are the real Body and Blood of Jesus Christ after Consecration, without concerning himself how this could be: And that if any one should ask him, What were the Thoughts of the Fathers and Doctors about it? he would refer such an Inquirer to their Writings; and advise him to put such a Construction upon what he found in them, as was most conformable to the Doctrine of the Gospel. That this was not out of any Disrespect to the Writings of the Fathers, but because he thought that the principal Regard ought to be had to the Text of the Gospel, for Fear it should cause a Scandal in the Church of God, if the Opinions of the Fathers should not be well understood, or the Passages taken out of them should be corrupted. That it was after this Manner that the Disturbance which happen'd at *Tours* in the Presence of *Gerald*, and in the same City in the Presence

*Berenger* relapses into his Error.

The Council of Roan against Berenger in 1063.

The Council of Poitiers against Berenger.

The Letter of Eusebius or Bruno, Bishop of Angers.



*Controversy about the Eucharist.* sence of *Hildebrand*, was appeas'd; and that this Plague, which began to spread it self afresh, had been stop'd by the Command of the Prince, and by the Authority of the Archbishop of *Besanzon*. That thereupon he had taken up a Resolution to hold no more Conferences, nor to enter into any Dispute upon that Subject, and that he would never give his Consent for the holding of any Assembly upon that Affair: That if any such should be holden, he would not be at it. That he would not give Audience to the Disputants, and would exclude such as continu'd obstinate from the Communion, because this Business had been determin'd thrice in the Province, and four times by the Sentence of the Holy See.

*The Council of Rome in 1078, under Gregory VII. against Berenger.* At last *Gregory VII.* willing to put an end to what he had begun whilst Legate, cited *Berenger* to a Council, held at *Rome* in *December*, 1078. and gave him time to consider what he had to do till the next Council, which was held the next Year in *February*. *Berenger* did still adhere to his Opinion, and maintain'd it very vigorously: *Bruno*, afterwards Bishop of *Signi* and Abbot *Wolphelmus*, oppos'd him. The Question was debated between them for three Days; and, at last, *Berenger* was forc'd to make his Recantation, drawn up in these Terms: 'I *Berenger*, believe in my

*The second Profession of Faith made by Berenger.* Heart, and confess with my Mouth, that the Bread and Wine which are upon the Altar, are substantially chang'd by the Myltery of the Priest, and by the Words of our Saviour, into the true, proper, and quickening Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which came out of his Side: And not only figuratively and by virtue of the Sacrament, but truly, properly and substantially, according to the Intention of these Presents, and as I have read, and you understand it. This is my Faith, contrary to which I will not, for the future, broach any Doctrine: So help me God, and the Holy Evangelists. After this, the Pope conjur'd *Berenger*, by the Almighty God, and by the Holy Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, never to dispute again with any Person, about the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, unless to undeceive those on whom he had impos'd. Upon this Declaration he granted *Berenger* a Letter, directed to the Archbishop of *Tours* and to the Bishop of *Angers*; wherein he declar'd to them, that he had taken *Berenger* into his Protection, and enjoyn'd them to defend him against *Fulcus Richinus*, the Count of *Angers*, who bore him an ill Will, and against all his Enemies. He likewise granted him a Bull, which excommunicates those who should attempt any thing against his Person or Estate, or should call him Heretick: These Favours, granted by *Gregory VII.* to *Berenger*, gave an Occasion to the Bishops, who exhibited a Decree against this Pope, in a Council held at *Bresse*, in the Year, 1080. to accuse him of being a Disciple, or at least a Favourer of that Heretick. But this Charge against this Pope was groundless and unjust, since he had not entertain'd *Berenger* till after he had abjur'd his Heresy: Tho' perhaps he was too easy in giving Credit to the Words of so unconstant a Man. In Truth, it appears that *Berenger* did persist in teaching his Heresy, since he was forc'd to appear at a Council held at *Bordeaux* in the Year, 1080. by *Hugh* the Pope's Legate, at first Bishop of *Dia*, and afterwards Archbishop of *Lyons*, and there to give an Account of his Faith, as 'tis recorded in the *Chronicon* of *St. Maixant*. This is the last Scene wherein *Berenger* appear'd. He spent the rest of his Life in the Isle of *St. Cosmus*, near the City of *Tours*; to which Place he retir'd after the Council of *Rome*, and dy'd there *Jan. 6.* 1088.

*Of Berenger's Repentance.* An ancient Author to be met with in the Library of *Fleury*, *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Matthew* of *Paris*, *Vincent* of *Beauvais*, and several other more modern Authors, tell us, that *Berenger* was a real Convert, and that he died a sincere Penitent, being heartily sorry for having infected so many with his Error. *Clarins* a Monk of *Fleury*, and the Authors of the *Chronicon* of *St. Peter* the *Lively of Sens*, and of the *Chronicon* of *St. Martin* of *Tours*, speak very much in his Praise. We have likewise two noble Epitaphs made in his Praise; the one by *Baudry* Abbot of *Bourgueil*, and afterwards Bishop of *Dol*; and the other by *Hildebert* Archdeacon of *Mans*, who was afterwards Bishop of that

City, and, at last, Archbishop of *Tours*. In a Word, his Memory is still had in veneration at *Tours*, where they say that the Prebendaries of *St. Martins* have a Custom, of paying him their Respects every Year. 'Tis probable that these Authors who believe the real Presence, would never have bestow'd so many Encomiums on *Berenger*, if they had not been fully convinc'd of his Conversion. And yet we find that *Lanfrank*, in his fiftieth Letter, written since the Year, 1080. to *Reginald* Abbot of *St. Cyprian*, of *Poitiers*, and the anonymous Author of a Treatise written in the Years, 1088. and publish'd by *Father Chifflet*, speak of him still as an Heretick, without mentioning his Conversion in the least. We find that after his return from *Rome*, he was oblig'd to give an Account of his Faith to the Council of *Bordeaux*. But that which raises the greatest cause of suspecting his Conversion, is, that after his second Return from *Rome* to *France*, he compos'd a Treatise in opposition to his last Profession of Faith, as *Father Mabillon*, who had seen the Manuscript, assures us: The which being joyned to the Testimony of *Berthol* Priest of *Constance*, who says, positively, that *Berenger* had not chang'd his Opinion, seems to destroy all that has been said about his Repentance, or at least shews that it was very late, and that he did not change his Opinion till a little before his Death.

Notwithstanding his Retractions and Repentance, several of his Followers persisted in their Error; but by degrees this Heresy was extirpated. One *Anastafius*, a Monk of *St. Sergius* of *Angers*, was forc'd to abjure it, and to deliver a Profession of his Faith to *Gerald* Abbot of *St. Aubin* of that City, related by *Father Luke Dachery*, in his Notes upon the Life of *Lanfrank*. The Fathers of the Council of *Placentia* in the Year, 1095. condemn'd the Heresy of *Berenger* afresh: And lastly, *Bruno* Archbishop of *Treves*, drove out of his Province the Followers of this Heretick.

*Berenger* was likewise suspected of several other Errors. *Guitmond*, after *Theodwin*, accuses him of believing, that Infant-Baptism was null; and of destroying lawful Marriages, by permitting Men to abuse all Women without distinction. *Lanfrank* and *William* of *Malmesbury*, accuse him of harbouring a strange Contempt for the Writings of the Fathers. Lastly, *Guitmond* and *St. Anselm* relate, as an Error which he had advanc'd, that our Saviour after his Resurrection, did not enter through the Chamber-door, where his Disciples were, before it was opened. As to this Error, 'tis a Consequence of his Opinion about the Eucharist. As for the two former, forasmuch as they are not in the Writings of *Berenger*, and were never (as we can learn) charg'd upon him by other Authors: And since he has not been condemn'd for maintaining them, nor ever oblig'd to retract them in any Council, 'tis hard to suppose that he taught them publicly; and the rather, because they are ancient Errors condemn'd long before that in the Church.

We have by us a Letter of *Berenger* to *Ascelinc*, another to *Richard* the Abbot; three Professions of Faith; a part of his Treatise in opposition to his second Profession of Faith: And *Father Mabillon* has seen a Treatise in Manuscript against the third. The Treatise which he compos'd against *Adelman*, alias *Alman*, Bishop of *Bresse*, of which *Sigebert* of *Gembours* makes mention, and his other Pieces, are lost. He wrote in a dry and scholastick Style. *Sigebert* has reason for what he says, when he tells us, that he abus'd the Sophisms of Logick in opposition to the Apostolical Simplicity; and that this could be no Excuse to him, nor Edification to others, because he rather rendred clear Things obscure, than obscure Things clear. He does not seem to have had very much Skill in the Antiquities of the Church. His Error was oppos'd by *Lanfrank*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; by *Adelman*, Clerk of the Church of *Liege*, and afterwards Bishop of *Bresse*; by *Ascelinc*, Monk of *St. Evroux* in *Normandy*; by *Guy Aretine*, Abbot of *La-Croix-Saint-Leufroy*; by *Durandus*, Abbot of *Troarn*; by *Hugh*, Bishop of *Langres*; by *Alberic*, Monk of *Mount-Cassin*; by *Guitmond*, Archbishop of *Averse*; and by *Alger*, Deacon of *Liege*, and afterwards Monk of *Cluny*.

### C H A P. III.

Of the Writings of *Lanfrank*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; of *Guitmond*; of *Alger*; and of the other Authors who have refuted the Error of *Berenger*.

*Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. **L**ANFRANK, descended from a very honourable Family of *Pavia*; for his Father was Warden or Keeper of the publick Archives, where were deposited the Minutes of the Laws and Customs of the City. After he had went through the course of his Studies in his own Country, he went into *France*, under

the Reign of King *Henry*, and came to *Auranches*, where he taught publickly for some time. In his Journey to *Roan*, he was taken by Highway-Men, who robb'd him; and having bound him, left him in a Forest near the Abby of *Bec*. On the Morrow, some Passengers finding him in that Condition, unbound him; and, upon his asking



ing them, Whether there were not a Monastery near that Place; they directed him to the Abby of *Bec*, which was newly founded. He retir'd thither, and took upon him the Habit at the Hands of *Herluin* chief Abbot of that Monastery. This happen'd in the Year, 1041. The Genius, the Learning, and the Virtue of *Lanfrank*, being soon discern'd, he was elected Prior of his own Monastery, and chosen by *William I.* Duke of *Normandy*, to be one of his Counsellors of State. He went to *Rome* under the Popedom of *Leo IX.* and clear'd himself, before that Pope, from the Error of *Berenger*, which was laid to his Charge. He return'd thither a second time under the Popedom of *Nicholas II.* to request a Dispensation for the Marriage of Duke *William* with the Daughter of the Count of *Flanders*, his Kinswoman; which was granted, upon Condition that the Duke and his Lady would build a Monastery. The Duke gave Orders for the building the Monastery of *St. Stephen of Caen*, of which *Lanfrank* was made Abbot in the Year, 1063. He was so highly in the Duke's esteem, that this Prince, after he had conquer'd *England*, could find none more proper than him to send to *Rome*, to Pope *Alexander II.* to treat with him about the Reforming the Churches of that Kingdom. After the Death of *Maurillus* Archbishop of *Roan*, *Lanfrank* was pitch'd upon to be his Successor. But he refus'd it. And upon his Refusal, the Bishop of *Auranches* having obtain'd that Archbishoprick, *Lanfrank* went a fourth time to *Rome*, to get this Translation to be approv'd of, and to desire the Pall for that Archbishop. He obtain'd his Request from the Pope; who sent two Legates to crown *William* King of *England*, and to reform the Churches.

The Council of Windfor. These Legates held a Council at *Windfor*, wherein they depos'd several Bishops who were convicted of Crimes, or of gross Ignorance; and among the rest, *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had possess'd himself of that See by Intrigues and Violence. *Lanfrank* was oblig'd, against his Will, by the express Command of Abbot *Herluin*, to take upon him this Archbishoprick in the Year, 1070. He govern'd that Church, for nineteen Years together, with a great deal of Wisdom and Authority. He still kept up his Credit with King *William*, in whose Absence he was Regent of the Kingdom. He dy'd a little after that Prince, in May, 1089.

The largest Treatise of *Lanfrank*, is his Commentary upon the Epistles of *St. Paul*. He gives us the Text, with some Illustrations, in a Parenthesis; and adds to this, some Notes of Explanation taken out of *St. Augustin*, or out of the Commentary attributed to *St. Ambrose*, or such as himself compos'd. Those out of *St. Augustin*, are to be met with in that Father; but a great part of those which are cited under the Name of *St. Ambrose*, are not to be met with in the Commentary which goes at present under the Name of that Saint: And there are likewise some others which are *St. Augustin's*, and are ascribed to *St. Ambrose*. These Notes are short and sententious; and the Author keeps close to the Literal Meaning and the Morality of the Epistles. *Peter Lombard* cites several Passages out of this Commentary upon *St. Paul*, which are not exactly in the same manner expressed by *Lanfrank*.

Lanfrank's Treatise of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, is a Refutation of a Piece which *Berenger* had made against the real presence of the Body of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist. He tells him that he could wish that he might have a Conference with him, being persuaded that it would be very advantageous either to reclaim him from his Error, or at least to rectify his followers. But that since he took upon him to maintain it in his private Converse with ignorant Men, and at the same time to own the Orthodox Truth before the Councils, rather out of fear of Death, than for the sake of Truth, he avoided Persons of clearer Heads, who could pass a sound Judgment upon his Discourses. That if he could once Discourse with him in the presence of sensible Men, he would convince him what an ill use he made of several Passages of the Fathers, which were either false, or corrupted, or ill explain'd. That not being content to teach his Errors with his Mouth, he likewise spread them through the World by the Writings which his Disciples publish'd. That his first Writings had been examin'd and condemn'd by Pope *Nicholas* of blessed Memory, in a Council at *Rome* of one hundred and thirteen Bishops; in which Council *Berenger* himself had thrown them into the Fire, and promis'd upon Oath, that he would never swerve from the Faith of the Fathers, nor teach any more the Doctrine which he had advanc'd about the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. That he had since that broke his Oath by Writing against that Synod, against the Catholick Faith, and the Doctrine of all the Churches. That this is the Treatise which he undertakes to refute, by repeating his own Words, and giving them an Answer afterwards.

*Berenger* gave out that the Confession which they had made him sign at *Rome*, under Pope *Nicholas*, was prepa-

red contrary to the Catholick Faith by *Humbert*, whom by way of Contempt he calls the *Burgundian*. *Lanfrank* asserts, that this Confession was not *Humbert's*, but *His*, the Pope's and the Council's, who all had approv'd of it. He likewise recites *Berenger's* other Confession under Pope *Gregory VII.* and defends *Humbert*. *Berenger* said, that this Man was of the Opinion, or rather of the Fooleries of the Mob, of *Paschasius*, and of *Lanfrank*, who believe that after Consecration, the substance of the Bread and Wine were no longer upon the Altar. *Lanfrank* shews him that this was not any particular Opinion; but the Doctrine of the Church, of the Councils, and of the Popes who had condemn'd him. *Berenger* adds, that tho' *Humbert* was of this Opinion, yet he had destroy'd his own Argument before he was aware, because in saying that the Bread and Wine which are on the Altar, are either only the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, or are only the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, he supposed that there was both Bread and Wine upon the Altar. After *Lanfrank* had taken notice that if there were any Ambiguity or Contradiction in the Words of that Confession, the Blame lay at *Berenger's* Door, since he had approv'd of, and Sworn to it, and was not allow'd to Swear that he would hold two Contraries; he observes that the two Propositions which he starts are neither the Councils, nor Cardinal *Humbert's*. That the first belongs to *Berenger* and his Followers; and that the second is maintain'd by none, for tho' the Church believe; that the Bread and Wine are chang'd into the Body and Blood of our Saviour, yet it acknowledges that this Mystery is the Sacrament of the Passion of our Lord, of his Mercy, of the Concord and Union, and of the Incarnation. That besides, when the name of Bread is given to the Body of Jesus Christ, 'tis a figurative and mystical way of Speaking; and that 'tis so call'd, because 'tis made of Bread, and retains the Qualities of Bread; and because it nourishes the Soul after an incomprehensible manner, as the Bread nourishes the Body. 'Tis upon this Principle that he answers the logical Evasions which *Berenger* makes about these terms of Bread and Wine. He replies likewise to the Passages of the Fathers, which he alledges to prove that Bread and Wine still remain in this Sacrament, by shewing that 'tis the external Appearance of Bread and Wine, which is the Sacrament and the Sign of the invisible Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. *Berenger* asks how it can be said, that the Body of Jesus Christ which is incorruptible, is broken and eat in this Bread. *Lanfrank* replies, that the Just who live by Faith, need not concern themselves how the Bread and Wine become the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, by an essential change of its Nature: That the Belief of the Church is, that the Body of Jesus Christ is so Broken and Eat in the Eucharist, that it does not hinder it from being incorruptible and impassible in the Heavens: That we eat it Corporeally when we receive it from the Hand of the Priest, and that we likewise eat it Spiritually by Faith. He moreover produces the Passage out of the Council of *Ephesus*, which says, that this Flesh which we eat in the Eucharist, is the proper quickening Flesh of the Divine Logos. After he had thus answer'd *Berenger*, he explains his own Sentiments in these Terms. 'We believe that the terrestrial Substances which are sanctified at the Holy Table, by the divine Efficacy and Ministry of the Priests, are converted after an Ineffable, Incomprehensible, and Miraculous manner, by the Operation of the supreme Power into the essential Body of our Saviour, their Appearances remaining with their Qualities, for fear Men should be struck with Horror, if they were to eat raw and bloody Flesh; and that they believing what they did not see, their Faith merited the greater Reward. That notwithstanding this, the Body of Jesus Christ remains still in Heaven at the Right Hand of his Father, Immortal, Entire, without Defect, and Impassible: So that we may truly say, that we do, and do not receive the same Body which is Born of the Virgin; because 'tis the same with respect to the Essence, Propriety, and Efficacy of its Nature; and 'tis not the same, if we consider the Appearances of Bread and Wine and the other Qualities: This, says he, is the Doctrine which the whole Catholick Church has always held, and does still hold. He recites a great many Passages out of *St. Ambrose* and *St. Augustin* to strengthen this. He explains in what Sense it may be said, that the Eucharist is an Appearance, a Figure, or a Sacrament: That 'tis the Appearance of the Bread and the Wine which were there before the Consecration, and which are chang'd into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ: That we beg of God in a Prayer, that we may comprehend according to the Truth and Reality of Things, that which we perform under Types and Figures, thereby taking the Word Truth for a clear manifestation of those very Things without a Type and without a Figure. That the Eucharist is likewise a Sign and Sacrament of the Passion of our Lord and Saviour. That lastly, 'tis call'd Bread and Wine, because 'tis customary to call Things by the

Lanfrank  
Archbishop  
of Can-  
terbury.



Lanfrank the name of those Things out of which they are made, and to which they are like. The *Berengerians* objected, that if the Bread were chang'd into the Body of Jesus Christ, it was necessary for this Change, that either the Bread should be carry'd up into Heaven, or else, that the Flesh of Christ should be brought down hither; neither of which appear'd to be done. *Lanfrank* answers them, that this is a Mystery which we ought to believe, without inquiring into the manner of it. After *Lanfrank* had answer'd these two Objections, he then raises two new Arguments against *Berenger*. The first is, that if the Eucharist were call'd the Flesh of Jesus Christ, only because it is the Figure of it, it would from thence follow that the Sacraments of the old Law were more excellent than those of the New; because 'tis more excellent to be the Type of Things future, than to be the Figure of Things past: And moreover, that the Manna which fell down from Heaven, was a more noble Figure than a little Bit of Bread could be. The second Argument is the universal Opinion of the Church, and the Consent of all Nations. 'If, says he to *Berenger*, that which you believe and maintain be True, it follows that what the whole Church believes and teaches in all the World must needs be False: For all the Christians who are in the World, are persuad'd that they receive in the Sacrament the real Body and the real Blood of Jesus Christ, ask the *Latins*, the *Greeks*, the *Armenians*, and all the other Nations of the Christian World, and they will all unanimously tell you, that this is their Faith. If the Faith of the universal Church be false, you must say that there never has been a Church, or else that it is lost: But there is not any Catholick who dares to affirm either. After he had prov'd this Truth by several Passages of Scripture, he adds, (speaking still to *Berenger*) 'You and those whom you have deceiv'd, object against these plain Testimonies of our Lord, and of the Holy Ghost, concerning the Perpetuity of the Church, that indeed the Gospel has been Preach'd to all Nations, that the World has believ'd that the Church is Establish'd; that it has increas'd and improv'd; but that it afterwards fell into Error by the Ignorance of those who have put a false Gloss upon Tradition, and that 'tis to be found among you alone. This is the usual Answer of Innovators, which *Lanfrank* refutes in a few words.

Rules of the Order of St. Benedict. The Statutes or Rules of the Order of St. *Benedict* made for the Monks of *England*, go under *Lanfrank's* Name; but Father *Luke Dachery* observes that they are not in his Style; that he is cited as a third Person in the second Section of the second Chapter, and that there are some Rules which appear too Remiss; this makes him believe that 'tis a Collection of Rules, of which *Lanfrank* is not the Author, or which has been augmented by some other of a more modern Date. Let the case be how it will; it contains nothing but what relates to the Customs and Practices of Monks, therefore we shall not insist any longer upon it.

Lanfrank's Letters. *Lanfrank's* Letters are short and few, but contain in them things very Remarkable.

The three first are directed to Pope *Alexander II.* In the first he earnestly intreats him to give him leave to lay down his Archbishoprick, which he had not taken upon him but by his Order, that he might retire into a Monastery. He likewise excuses himself for not being able to wait upon him at *Rome*. In the second he gives him to understand, that *Herman* a Bishop who had formerly quitted his Bishoprick under the Popedom of *Leo IX.* and embrac'd a Monastick Life, had a design to do it again, and would have done it, had not he hinder'd him. He assures the Pope that that Bishop was no longer in a Condition, by reason of his Age, to discharge his Functions, and that he is not forced to retire, but does it voluntarily to give himself wholly up to the Service of God. The *English* Historians tell us that this *Herman* was *Flamand*, and that he had been Bishop of *Winchester* under the Reign of King *Edward*; that he afterwards left both that Bishoprick and *England*, and became a Monk of *St. Berthin*: That he return'd some time after into *England* to be Bishop of *Sarum*, and that he liv'd to the time of *William the Conqueror*, which part of his Life he spent at the Bishoprick of *Sarum*. 'Tis about the end of his Life that he desir'd to retire the second time. *Lanfrank* likewise consults the Pope about the Bishop of *Litchfield*. This Bishop being accus'd of Incontinence, and other Crimes before the Pope's Legates in *England*, would not appear before the Synod which they held; they had excommunicated him, and given the King liberty to put another in his place. He afterwards came to Court, and gave his Resignation to the King. *Lanfrank* was not willing to ordain another in his place, till he had receiv'd Permission from *Rome*, he therefore desires it in this Letter. The third is about the difference then on foot between the Sees of *Canterbury* and *York* about the Primacy, and about several other Churches. The Pope had referr'd the Examination of the Matter to an Assembly of Bishops, of Abbots, and of other Prelates of the Kingdom. This Assembly was

V O L. II.

held at *Winchester* by the Order of the King of *England*, and in his presence. It was there prov'd by the Ecclesiastical History of *Bede*, that from the time of *St. Augustine* the Apostle of *England*, the Church of *Canterbury* had always enjoy'd the Right of Primacy over all *England* and *Ireland*; and that the Bishops of the Places now in Question, had been ordain'd, cited to Synods, and deposed by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* for above 140 Years together. This was likewise prov'd by the Acts of Councils, and confirm'd by the Decretals of Pope *Gregory I.* *Boniface IV.* *Honorius*, *Vitalian*, *Sergius I.* *Gregory IV.* and *Leo IX.* The Archbishop of *York* having nothing but weak Arguments to oppose these Authentick Testimonies, yielded the Point, and had desired the King to adjust Matters between Him and *Lanfrank*. Afterwards by a general Consent an Act was prepar'd touching the Privileges of the Church of *Canterbury*, which he sends to the Pope, and desires him to confirm. He thanks him for those Testimonies of Love which he had given him, and for granting him two *Palls*. He tells him at last that he sends him the Letter, which he had writ formerly to *Berenger*, whom he calls *Schismatick*.

The fourth is a Letter of Pope *Alexander*, directed to *Lanfrank*, wherein he confirms the Decrees of his Predecessors made in favour of the Monks who were in the Cathedral Churches of *England*, in opposition to those who would dispossess them; for to put secular Clerks into their Places.

The fifth is directed to *Hildebrand* Archdeacon of *Rome*. After he had return'd him Thanks for the good Will he bore to him, he informs him that the Controversie about the Primacy of the Church of *Canterbury* was ended, and that he had sent the Act of it to *Rome*.

The sixth is *Hildebrand's*, who gives him to understand, that he had not obtain'd the *Pall* which his Legates requir'd, because they were not given at *Rome*, but to Persons there present.

The seventh is a Letter of *William* King of *England* and Duke of *Normandy*, to Pope *Gregory VII.* who acquainted him that his Legate was come to wait upon him, to demand of him the Oath of Fidelity, and the Money which his Predecessors had always been us'd to remit to *Rome*. He answers him, that as for the Oath he would take none, because he was not allow'd to do it, and his Predecessors had never done it. As for the Money, he says, that for these three last Years which he had spent in *France*, it had been Collected very carelessly, that he would send him what was already gather'd, and the remainder he would send by *Lanfrank's* Deputies: He desir'd to be recommended to his Prayers, and assures him that he had a sincere Affection for him; and would be always submissive to him.

*Lanfrank* at the same time sent the Pope word; that he could not as yet prevail upon the King to take the Oath which he required, and assures him that he had still the same Affection for him as formerly. This is the eighth Letter.

The ninth is a Certificate granted to a Man of the Diocess of *Seez*; who stood Convicted of having kill'd three Persons who went to Mount *St. Michael*. The Bishop of *Seez* had injoyn'd him Penance, and granted him Letters directed to the Bishops, that they might absolve him, or release him from part of his Penance, when they should think it proper. This is what *Lanfrank* certifies to the Archbishop of *York*.

In the tenth, writ to the same Archbishop, he very clearly determines that it is not Lawful for a Man or a Woman who are divorc'd for Adultery, to Marry again.

The eleventh is a Letter of *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, who wrote to *Lanfrank*, desiring he would send to him the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Dorchester* to assist him in Consecrating a Bishop of the Isles of the *Orcades*, protesting that hereby he did not pretend that these two Bishops were his Suffragans.

By the following Letter *Lanfrank* enjoyns them to do it.

In the thirteenth, directed to *John* Archbishop of *Roan*, he tells him his Opinion upon several Rites and Ceremonies which he wrote to him about. He maintains that in the Consecration of Churches the Bishop ought not to wear his \* *Chasuble* but a \* *Chappe*; and that the \* *Maniple* ought not to be given at the Ordination of Subdeacons, because 'tis not a Habit peculiar to Ecclesiasticks, no more than the *Copes* and *Albe* and *Amict*; since in Monasteries the Laicks wear them. *Vestments*

The four next are likewise directed to the same Archbishop; in the two first he writes to him about a difference which had happen'd in the Church of *St. Owen*; which is related at large in a Passage of an History of the Church of *Roan*, mention'd by Father *Luke Dachery* in his Notes. *Clerks* of The third is a Letter of Complement. In the last he excuses himself upon some complaints that had been made of *Rome*. him.

The four next are written in Favour of *Baldwin* Abbot of *St. Edmond*, and the Religious of that House. The last is Pope *Gregory* the seventh's to *Lanfrank*; by which he orders him to prevent Bishop *Herfast* from putting that

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Abbot to any Trouble. And this is the Subject-Matter of Lanfrank of the former Letter which Lanfrank had wrote to that Bishop of Canterbury.

The one and twentieth is a Letter to the same Bishop, about a Man whom he had ordain'd Deacon, without having receiv'd any Order for it; who besides, was a married Man, and would not turn off his Wife. He enjoins him to depose him from his Deaconship; to give him for the future only the four lesser Orders, and not to place him among the Deacons, unless he would live single. If he did that, then he should not confer the Order of Deacon upon him again, but only grant him a Power of discharging his Functions, by giving him the Gospels in a Synod or an Assembly of the Clergy.

The two and twentieth is likewise an Answer directed to that Bishop, about a Man who had enter'd into Priest's Orders, without being fit for it. He orders, that he should be enjoy'd Penance, and suspended from all Ecclesiastical Functions, till such time as he thought fit to restore him.

The three and twentieth is directed to *Herbert* Bishop of *Norwich*, his Suffragan; whom he reproves for slighting a Letter which he sent him in favour of *Berard*, a Clerk belonging to the Abbot *Baldwin*. He tells him of the Respect which is due to Metropolitans; and admonishes him to turn out Monk *Herman*, who went under a bad Name.

The four and twentieth is directed to *Maurice* Bishop of *London* elect. He returns him this Answer, that he ought to injoin them Penance who had apprehended a Man, who dy'd under their Hands. That he could not speak any farther of his Affair to the King. That Clerk *Geoffrey*, charg'd with Apostacy, ought to be turn'd out of his Church; or bring Letters demissory from his Bishop: And advises him to meet him the *Saturday* before *Letare Sunday*, at *Chichester*; and that he would there give him Priest's Orders.

The following Letters, which are very short, are upon various and particular Subjects. However, there are several Things in them concerning the Discipline of the Church, viz. In the six and twentieth, that a Priest, who has taken upon him the Habit of a Monk, and liv'd sometime in a Monastery without having receiv'd Benediction, cannot return to the World again. In the seven and twentieth, that Archdeacons have a Right of distributing the Holy *Chrism*. In the two and thirtieth, that young Women who have made a religious Profession, or who have been presented at the Altar, shall be oblig'd to continue Religious; but that such as have not made any such Profession, nor have been presented, shall have Liberty to go out, as well as those who fled for Sanctuary to Monasteries for fear of the *French*. In the three and thirtieth he proves to the Bishops of *Ireland*, that tho' it might be proper to give the Sacrament of the Lords Supper to Infants, yet it was not absolutely necessary to Salvation. The six, seven and eight and thirtieth inform us, that the Clergy and Laity of *Dublin* elected their Bishop, and sent him to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* for Ordination: That there were some Irregularities in the Churches of *Ireland*; and that it was requisite to call a Council there to reform them. In the nine and fortieth he shews, that the Apostate-Monks, who offer'd to return to their Monasteries again, ought to be pardoned, and to be treated with the same Kindness as formerly. In the sixtieth and the Last, he proves, that a Monk who has engag'd himself to constant Residence in any Monastery, may now and then go to another Monastery, when urgent Occasion requires it. In the fiftieth he refutes *Berenger*, who charg'd St. *Hilary* Bishop of *Poitiers* with being in an Error about the Sufferings of Jesus Christ, in teaching, that he had not been sensible of any Pain. *Lanfrank* explains the Passage of that Father, and tells us he spoke of the Divinity of our Saviour. In the nine and fiftieth, he reproves a Lord for having spoke very ill Things of Pope *Gregory VII.* and for bestowing large Encomiums on *Guibert*, whom the Emperor had caus'd to be ordain'd Pope, in opposition to *Gregory*. He says that we ought to believe, that the Emperor did not undertake such a Thing but upon good Grounds; but that we should not com-

mend any Person before his Death, nor speak ill of one's Neighbour; and that one cannot tell what Men are at present, nor how they will one Day appear to be in the Eye of God.

These Letters are follow'd by a small Tract, concerning the Secrecy of Confession. *Lanfrank* doth demonstrate, that 'tis a great Sin to reveal it, or to give any Hints where-by the Sins that have been confess'd may be discover'd. He would not have them in Confession inform themselves of the Sins of other Men, but only of those who are confess'd, nor to require them to discover their Accomplices. He afterwards says, that the Confession of publick Sins ought to be made to the Priests, by whose Ministry the Church binds and looses that which it takes publick Cognizance of: But that one may confess private Sins to all the Ecclesiasticks, and even to Laicks; since we read that there have been Holy Fathers, who were the Guides of Souls, tho' they were not in Holy Orders. These are *Lanfrank's* own Words; who perhaps by publick Sins, understood mortal Sins; and by private, only venial Sins: Or rather, by the Confession of publick Sins, he meant a particular Confession of Sins; and by that of private Sins, a general Confession, without specifying any particular Offence, such as Laicks usually make to one another. Altho' in *Lanfrank's* time it was a common Custom among the Faithful, to confess their Sins to one another out of Humility, and especially when they could not meet with any Priests; and 'tis to this Custom *Lanfrank* alludes: For he adds, that if one cannot find a Person to whom one may confess one's self, we ought not to despair upon that Account, because the Fathers agree that in such a Case 'tis sufficient to make our Confession to God. Lastly, he says, that those to whom Confession is made, ought not to punish or correct publicly those who confess themselves, no not under the pretence of any other Fault. This Discourse is obscure and intricate, full of forc'd Allegories, and unjust Reasonings; which made Father *Luke Dachery* at first to Question whether it were *Lanfrank's* or no. However, we are not sure that 'tis not his; and 'tis plain that its Author liv'd much about that time.

There is likewise a Treatise of *Lanfrank* in the fourth Tome of Father *Dachery's Spicilegium*; which contains, in a few Words, the principal Duties of the Religious who wait upon the Churches. It was found in an ancient Manuscript of the *Oxford Library*. We have lost his Ecclesiastical History, which perhaps was the same with the Life of *William the Conqueror*; and a Commentary upon the *Psalms*, of which mention is made in the Author of his Life.

*Lanfrank's* Style was neither florid nor figurative, but plain and simple, and such as ought to appear in Dogmatical Treatises. His Reasonings are pretty just, and his Arguments cogent. He had thoroughly studied the ancient *Latin* Fathers, and the Canons of the Church, upon which he grounds the Doctrine which he advances, and the Judgments he makes upon the Discipline of the Church. There are but few who wrote at that time so distinctly and so exactly, or who pass'd such a just Judgment upon Things.

Father *Luke Dachery* was the first who publish'd *Lanfrank's* Works. They were printed at *Paris* by *Billain*, in the Year, 1648. The Edition is very correct, and in a fine Character. There are likewise very exact and curious Notes made by Father *Dachery*. At the end of *Lanfrank's* Works he has added several other Tracts, viz. The *Chronicon* of the Abby of *Bec*; The Life of St. *Hervin*, first Abbot of *Bec*, wrote by *Gilbert Crispinus* Abbot of *Westminster*; and the Lives of *William, Boso, Thibold* and *Letard*, Abbots of that Abby; the which, as well as that of *Lanfrank*, which is at the beginning of his Works, were wrote by *Milo Crispinus* a Monk of *Bec*, who liv'd in the twelfth Century: The Life of St. *Augustin* the English Apostle, and two Tracts upon the Eucharist against *Berenger*; the one wrote by *Hugh* Bishop of *Langres*, and the other by *Dunrandus*, Abbot of *Troarn*, who lived in the same Century.

## Hugh Bishops of Langres.

Hugh Bishop of Langres.

THE first of these two last Authors was the Son of *Gilduin* Count of *Bretenil*, near *Beauvais*; and and Brother to *Waleran* Abbot of St. *Wison* of *Verdun*. He had been Clerk of the Church of *Chartres*, and Monk of *Cluny*. He was made Bishop of *Langres* in the Year, 1031. and was depos'd by *Leo IX.* in a Council held at *Rheims* in the Year, 1049. But following that Pope to *Rome*, and being enjoy'd Penance, he was re-establish'd, and dy'd in his return homeward about the Year, 1052. His Piece is only a Letter directed to *Berenger*, whose Opinion he declares in the following Terms. 'You maintain (says he) that the Body of Jesus Christ is in the Sacrament in such a manner, that the Essence and Nature of the Bread and Wine are not

chang'd; and you make that Body you speak of, which was Crucified, to be an Intellectual Body; which makes us think that you believe it to be Spiritual: And in this you scandalize the Catholick Church, and offend our Lord, who made it appear, that this Body which you say was Spiritual, was such as might be felt: Besides, if the Nature and Essence of the Bread and Wine do really remain after Consecration, it cannot be said that there is any real Change: And if the Body of Jesus Christ be therein only figuratively and virtually, one might, upon the same Grounds say, that he is likewise in Baptism, and in the other Sacraments. He afterwards proves, by several Instances, that the change of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ is real and true; and

Hugh Bishop of Langres.



**Hugh Bishop of Langres.** and that tho' one cannot conceive how it is, yet one ought to believe it. To strengthen this, he produces several Passages out of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine. He adds, That the Body of Jesus Christ is given to us under the Form of

Bread and Wine, because if it appear'd to be Flesh and Blood, Men would be startled at it, and would not eat it. This Tract is obscure and full of Niceties and School-Terms.

**Hugh Bishop of Langres.**

### Durandus Abbot of Troarn.

**Durandus Abbot of Troarn.** THE other Author is *Durandus* Abbot of *Troarn* in *Normandy*, who is not the same with the Bishop of *Liege* of the same Name. His Treatise is a great deal larger, and better pen'd than the former. He therein cites a great many Passages of the Fathers,

against the Error of *Berenger*; and in the Conclusion thereof gives a particular Account of the Condemnations of *Berenger* at *Brionne*, at *Paris*, and at *Vercell*. This Author liv'd till the Year 1088. but no Body knows at what Time he wrote this Treatise.

**Durandus Abbot of Troarn.**

### Guilmond Archbishop of Aversa.

**Guilmond Archbishop of Aversa.** Some Time after *Berenger's* Recantation in the Council of *Rome*, *Guilmond* Archbishop of *Aversa*, formerly a Monk of the Monastery of *St. Leufroy* in *Normandy*, compos'd three Books against *Berenger*, in the Nature of a Dialogue; wherein *Roger*, to whom these Books were dedicated, is made to propose the Objections of *Berenger* and his Followers. After he had given a Character of the Temper and the Errors of *Berenger*, and mention'd his Condemnation in the Council of *Vercell* in his first Book, he then proceeds to tell us, That all the *Berengarians* hold, that the Bread and Wine are not substantially chang'd in the Sacrament of the Eucharist; but that they do not all agree in their Sentiments. For some believe, That the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are not at all in this Sacrament, which they pretend to be only a Sign and a Figure. Others assert, That the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are really there, but that they are conceal'd, and that we might receive them there is made a Kind of *Impanation*; the most subtle Opinion which they say *Berenger* ever found out. Others, who were not thorough-pac'd *Berengarians*, but only shock'd by the Arguments of that Heretick, imagin'd the Bread and Wine are chang'd in Part, and in Part remain the same. Lastly, There were others who believe, that the Bread and Wine are entirely chang'd; but that when unworthy Persons approach this Sacrament, it return'd to its first Substance of Bread and Wine. *Guilmond* undertakes to refute all these Opinions; and in the first Place op-pugns the two former, which were properly the *Berengarian's* Opinions, by shewing that there was a real Change made of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. He proves first, That it was not impossible for God to effect this Change. Secondly, That the Body of Jesus Christ might very well be touch'd, broken, bruise'd and eaten, and yet not be passible, corruptible or mortal; and that when the Host is divided into several Parts, yet the Body of Jesus Christ is not divided, but remains whole and entire, and the same under each Wafer; and such as is in a thousand distinct Places in the Hands of a thousand Priests, who say Mass in different Places, and yet this very Body is still in Heaven. That we ought not to wonder that this Change is not indeed perceptible by our Senses; but that we are not always to credit their Evidence, and that Faith is enough to persuade us of this Miracle. That 'tis indeed difficult to conceive, but easy to believe it; since nothing impossible to God, who has produced Things more wonderful. And that we see Changes altogether as surprizing, such as the Change of Nothing into this visible World, the Change of Accidents into other Accidents, the Change of Substances into other Substances, together with the Change of their Accidents: If these Changes are possible, why should the Change of one Substance into another, without the Change of the Accidents, be counted impossible?

In the second Book, *Guilmond* answers an Objection made by *Berenger*, which *Roger* proposes to him in these Words: '*Berenger* says, The Flesh of Jesus Christ is incorruptible, but the Sacraments of the Altar are corruptible if they be kept too long.' To this *Guilmond* replies, That tho' the Consecrated Bread seems to be corrupted to the Apprehension of corrupted Men, yet in reality it is not chang'd at all; and that it does not appear alter'd, unless as a Punishment of the Infidelity and Negligence of Men: That it cannot be gnawn by Mice, and other Vermin; and if at any Time it appears to be so, 'tis only to punish the Negligence, or to try the Faith of Men. Nor will he admit that the Fire can consume these Mysteries; and he says, That with Veneration they commit it to this most pure Element, to be carry'd up into Heaven. Lastly he affirms, That though the Eucharist may serve for Nourishment, yet it does not turn to Excrement; and as to that Objection which might be made, That supposing a Man should eat nothing for some considerable Time but consecrated Bread, he would nevertheless have Occasion to go to Stool. He answers, That 'tis a Matter of Fact, that has never been experienc'd; and that it could never enter into the Heart of any Catholick to try such an Experiment: That if any of *Berenger's* Party thought fit to do it, one should not trouble one's Head much about what became of the Mass of those In-

fidels, which committed so great a Crime; because, says he, we do not believe, That the Bread and Wine are necessarily chang'd into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, unless among those who have the Faith to believe this Mystery, and that the Words of Jesus Christ are efficacious. That lastly, If any of them should order a Catholick Priest to consecrate one or more great Loaves to try the Experiment, it is to be believ'd that this Loaf would not be turn'd into Excrement; or rather that God would permit these Hereticks to be deceiv'd, by ordering some Angel or Spirit to convey away this consecrated Loaf, and to put an unconsecrated one in its stead. After he had thus solv'd the Objections drawn from Reason, he answers the Passages cited out of St. Augustine, and makes it appear in what Sense, and of what the Eucharist is a Sign.

In the last book he produces a great many Passages of the Fathers, upon which he grounds the Doctrine of the real Change of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and confirms it by the Testimony of the *Romish* Church, and by the Condemnations brought against *Berenger*. To conclude, he demonstrates that 'tis much greater, and more excellent to believe that we receive the real Body of Jesus Christ, than to imagine, that we only receive the Shadow and Sign of it.

Afterwards he refutes in short their Opinion, who pretended that one Part of the Bread and Wine was chang'd, and that the other remain'd still the same; And the Opinion of those who believ'd that the Bread and Wine re-assum'd their former Nature, when unworthy Persons approach'd thereto. Both of these Opinions were grounded upon this, That they could not conceive how the Wicked could be Partakers of the Body of Jesus Christ. To solve this Difficulty, *Guilmond* distinguishes between two Sorts of Receiving, the one Corporeal, the other Spiritual: That the Just receive the Body of Jesus Christ both these Ways; that the Wicked receive it only in the first Sense, though they do really receive it. He adds, That if only Part of the Consecrated Bread were chang'd into the Body of Jesus Christ, upon the Account of those who were unworthy to receive it, then no Man could assuredly say, *This is the Body of Jesus Christ*, because no Man ought to affirm confidently that he is worthy to receive it. Wherefore it would be Rashness in the Priest to say, *This is the Body of Jesus Christ*, as well as in the People to answer, *It is so*. That besides, if a vicious Priest should consecrate an Host which he ought to receive all himself, then there would be neither Change nor Consecration; and by this Means it would be true to affirm, That the Wickedness of the Priest would disannul the Efficacy of the Words of Jesus Christ, and that the Belief of the Church which is persuaded, that the Words of our Saviour are alike efficacious in good and bad Priests, would be absolutely false. Lastly, To refute the last Opinion, he observes that 'tis contrary to sound Sense and Reason to say, That the incorruptible Body of Jesus Christ is chang'd in corruptible Creatures; and he concludes all by saying, that, since the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, is not a bare Representation of the Body of Jesus Christ, it does not contain it by an *Impanation*: That the Bread and Wine are not chang'd in Part only; and that being once chang'd, they cannot return again to their former Substance; and that it must be affirm'd, that all the Bread and Wine are substantially and perpetually chang'd into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

There is likewise another small Tract of *Guilmond*, which is only a plain Exposition of Faith concerning the Mysteries of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Eucharist: It enlarges chiefly on the former, and explains in what Sense the Son is the Wisdom, and the Holy Ghost the Love of the Father. Nor ought we to forget a Discourse belonging to the same Author, which he directs to *William* the First, King of *England*, by which he refuses a Bishoprick which that Prince had offer'd to him. These Tracts are to be met with in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. *Guilmond* liv'd to about the Year 1080. The seventy eighth Letter of *Ives* of *Chartres* is directed to him, wherein that Author gives him the Character of a religious and learned Man. His Style is not very elegant, but pretty cogent; he argues very methodically without wandering from his Subject.



## Alger Deacon of Liege and Monk of Cluny.

Alger  
Deacon of  
Liege and  
Monk of  
Cluny.

**A**lger did not write till long after *Lanfrank*, for he flourish'd in the twelfth Century. He was of *Liege*, where he studied with great Success, and there spent Part of his Life, first of all in the Quality of a Deacon of the Church of *St. Bartholomew*. From thence he was translated to the Church of *St. Mary* and *St. Lambert*, where he liv'd twenty Years, till the Death of *Frederick*, Bishop of *Liege*, after which he retir'd, and took upon him the Habit of a Monk in the Abby of *Cluny*. We make mention of this Author here, tho he belongs to the next Century, because the principal Treatise which he wrote, was that whereby he refutes the Errors which *Lanfrank* and *Guitmond* have oppos'd. This Treatise is intitled, *A Discourse concerning the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ*, and divided into three Books. In the Preface he takes Notice of the four Errors about the Eucharist, mention'd by *Guitmond*, and subjoyns two more to them. The one is, That the Bread and Wine are chang'd into Flesh and Blood, but not into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ: The other, That the Eucharist is turn'd into Excrements. He afterwards proposes to refute these Errors, not by the Force of Humane Reason, but by the Testimonies of Jesus Christ and the Saints. But before he does this, he advertises the Faithful, that tho' this Mystery be incomprehensible, yet it does not from thence follow that 'tis incredible, because God has a Power sufficient to do Things which we are not capable of comprehending. After this he divides his Work into two Parts: In the former he says, He will treat of the Reality of the Body of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist; and in the latter, concerning several Questions relating to that Sacrament.

In the former he proves, That the Son of God after he had taken upon him a Nature like to ours by the Incarnation, was likewise pleas'd visibly to communicate thereof to us, by giving us his Body and his Blood, not only in a Figure, but likewise in Reality under the Sacrament of Bread and Wine. That there are two Things to be distinguish'd in the Eucharist; the *Sacrament*, and the *Matter* of the Sacrament. That the *Sacrament* is the Form, the Figure, and the other Qualities of the Bread and Wine; and that the *Matter* of the Sacrament is the invisible Substance of the Body of Jesus Christ, which is contain'd in that Sacrament, and into which the Substance of the Bread and Wine has been chang'd. That it cannot be said, That Jesus Christ is united to the Bread, as the Son of God is personally united to Man, because the Substance of the Bread and Wine is no longer there, but chang'd into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. That tho' the Body of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, is spiritual and invisible, yet 'tis really there; and that God has sometimes permitted that it should plainly and manifestly appear to be as really in the Eucharist, as it is in Heaven, at the Right-hand of the Father. That 'tis the same whole and entire Body, which is distributed to all the Faithful under several consecrated Wafers. That it is not sacrific'd nor offer'd up after the same Manner, as it was upon the Cross, but that this mystical Sacrifice or Immolation is the Figure and Representation of that which was offer'd upon the Cross, tho' it be the same Christ, both upon the Cross and the Altar. That the invisible Body may in one Sense be said to be the Figure of the visible Body, but that for all this, 'tis no less the real Body. That the Corporeal Communion is the Figure of the Spiritual Communion; but that by this Corporeal Communion, the Wicked as well as the Good, receive the Body of Jesus Christ Corporeally, tho' not spiritually. These are the principal Points which *Alger* establishes upon the Testimonies of the Fathers in this first Book.

In the second Part he treats of other Questions relating to the Sacrament, and particularly, Whether the Eucharist be capable of any Alteration, or subject to the same Condition with other Elements, Part of which turns to Excrements? Upon this Head he sets upon the *Grecians*, who maintain'd, That by receiving the Communion, Men broke their Fasts. He owns that Men might live of Consecrated Bread and Wine, and that there are Instances of it: But he denies that any Part of the Eucharist is corrupted, or turn'd into Excrements; or if any are voided, they are produc'd by the Flesh of the Man himself, or supply'd some other Way. He further maintains, That tho' the Bread and Wine seem to be subject to Alteration, as for Instance, to be devour'd by Animals, or consum'd by Fire; yet this is not in Reality, but only in Appearance, to punish the Incredulity of the Wicked, or the Carelessness of Ministers. After he had thus resolv'd that Question, he passes on to others that are less considerable: Namely, 1. Why God, who is invisible, would have us to offer him a visible Sacrifice? To this he answers, That 'tis to put Men in mind of what they owe him; and because Man being a Compound Creature, made up of a Soul and Body, 'tis reasonable he should offer to God both Corporeal and Spiritual Sacrifices. 2. The

second Question is, Why the Sacrifice of the Church is made up of a Sacrament and the Body of Jesus Christ, and why 'tis not either a simple Sacrament, or the visible Body of Jesus Christ? This he resolves by saying, That if the Eucharist were a simple Sacrament, it would not be different from the Sacraments of the old Law; and that if the Body of Jesus Christ should appear therein openly, it would be subject to great Inconveniences. For, says he, it would appear either alive or dead; but it cannot appear as dead, since he is living; and if it appear'd alive, it would either be in the same State wherein it was before his Passion, or in the same State wherein it was after his Resurrection: In the first Case, it would be impossible to swallow it; and in the second, Men would not be able to endure the brightness of its Glory. That besides, 'tis necessary that the Body of Jesus Christ should be conceal'd under Shadows and Representations, to exercise the Faith of the one, and to prevent others from uttering Blasphemies, and from Charging the Christians with eating and drinking humane Flesh and Blood. The third Question is, 3. Why God requires so much Faith in this Sacrament? He answers, That Man being in a laps'd State, because *Adam* by giving too much Credit to the Words of the Devil, had eaten of the forbidden Fruit; 'tis necessary we should be sav'd by believing the Word of God, who enjoyns us to eat his Body, and drink his Blood in this Sacrament. 4. The fourth Question is, Why we make use of Bread and Wine, rather than any other Creature? For this he assigns several Reasons, Because Bread and Wine are the ordinary Nourishment of Man, which supports the corporeal Life, as the Eucharist is the Nourishment of the Soul, which supports the spiritual Life: Because as the Bread and Wine are changed into Flesh and Blood, so they are here changed into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ: Because the Bread being made up of several Grains of Corn, and the Wine out of several Bunches of Grapes, is a Figure of the Unity of the Church which is made up of several Persons. 5. The fifth Question is, Why we do not immediately enjoy Life eternal, after having received the Body of Jesus Christ? He replies, That 'tis because we may have Time to exercise our selves in Virtue. 6. The sixth Question is, Why God bestows an eternal Recompence on temporal Merits? 'Tis, says he, Because he regards not the temporal Action, but rewards or punishes the eternal Propensity and Inclination of doing Good or Evil. 7. The seventh Question is, Why the Bread is consecrated into the Body, and Wine into the Blood of Jesus Christ? He replies, That 'tis not because the Body of Jesus Christ is without the Blood, or the Blood without the Body, since Jesus Christ is whole and entire under each Kind; but that we offer and communicate under these two Kinds, because of the different Mysteries which they figure out to us. 8. The eighth Question is, Why we make use of White Bread rather than Brown, though at the same Time we consecrate Wine of all Sorts of Colours? He answers, That in Case of Necessity, one may make use of any Sort of Bread; but that 'tis proper to use the Whitest, because 'tis to be chang'd into the glorious Body of the spotless Lamb. 9. The ninth and last Question is, Why we make use of Unleaven'd, rather than Leaven'd Bread, although we indifferently make use of Wine that has Lees as well as of that which has none? He says, That this is a grand Dispute between the *Latins* and the *Greeks*, who treat one another as Hereticks, and call each other *Azymites* and *Fermentarians*, though one may safely use the One as well as the other; that notwithstanding this, Jesus Christ made use of Unleaven'd Bread as a Figure of Purity. He likewise relates the Reasons of the *Greeks*; and after he had answer'd them, he concludes, That it was better to make use of Unleaven'd Bread, which he believ'd to have been the Custom of the *Latin* Church from its Beginning.

In the last Book he discourses of several other Points which relate to the Ministers of the Eucharist: And in the first Place he demands, Whether Hereticks and Schismatics, which are without the Pale of the Church, do consecrate the Body of Jesus Christ; and at first he produces the Testimonies of the Fathers, which seem to prove, That they do not consecrate according to due Form. But afterwards having laid it down as a Principle, That the Validity of the Sacraments doth not depend on the Faith or Piety of the Minister; he concludes, That as Hereticks and Schismatics may baptize, so likewise can they consecrate; and that the Ordination of Priesthood is as much among them as Baptism. This he proves from several Principles and Passages of *St. Augustine*, and replies to those Passages which he at first started against the Sacraments of Hereticks and Schismatics, which, he says, ought not to be understood of the Sacraments themselves, but of the Abuse which they make of them, since they are so far from being beneficial to them, that they render them the more criminal. He afterwards asks, Whether the Sacraments are valid, if any Ad-



dition or Alteration be made of the Words of the Office, either by the Wickedness or Carelessness of him who officiates? He explains this Question as it relates to Baptism; and, after he had cited several Passages out of St. Augustine and the Popes, and among others out of Pope Zachary, he concludes, That provided the Essential Words be recited, tho' by carelessness it happens that needless Words be added thereto, or some Ceremony be left out, yet this does not hinder the Efficacy of the Sacrament. He does not apply this Principle to the Eucharist, but only says in general, That in the Celebration of these Holy Mysteries we ought not to introduce any Heresies or Novelties; but faithfully to observe the Institution of Jesus Christ, that so as those Mysteries are truly effected by his Power, and founded upon his Authority, they may be likewise profitable to us by his Grace.

Alger  
Deacon of  
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Monk of  
Cluny.

The same Author has compos'd a Treatise of Mercy and Justice, without affixing his Name thereto: It is divided into three Parts. In the first he shews in what Instances we ought to extend Mercy to Criminals, and to bear with them. In the second Part he shews, at what Times, with what Discretion, and in what Manner we ought to exercise Justice upon them. In the third, he discourses of

the different Errors of the Hereticks about the Sacraments; and shews wherein they differ from the Catholics, and in what Points they disagree among themselves. This is what we gather from the Preface of that Treatise; Liege and which Preface Father Mabillon has publish'd in the first Tome of his *Analekts*, with the Panegyrick of a Canon of Cluny. Liege, who was Contemporary with Alger. This Preface is taken out of his two Manuscripts; where the Work is complete, but has never yet been publish'd. We have wholly lost several Letters; and the History of the Church of Liege, which he wrote whilst he resided in that City, of which the Author of his Elogy makes mention. Peter, surnam'd the Venerable, prefers Alger's Piece upon the Eucharist, to those of Lanfrank and Guilmont. It must be confess'd, That 'tis a great deal larger, and that he cites more Passages out of the Fathers; but his way of Reasoning is not so exact nor is his Writing so compleat as Lanfrank's. He has observ'd Guilmont's Method, and done little else besides amplifying and confirming his Principles and Arguments. This Treatise was printed at Cologne, in the Year 1535. At Louvain, together with Lanfrank's Treatise, in the Year 1561. and is to be met with in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

## St. Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury.

THE same Principles which are establish'd in the Tracts of Guilmont and Alger, are likewise to be met with in the two last Letters of St. Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury; wherein he establishes the real Presence, and refutes those who believ'd that the Eucharist was only a Type and Figure. He asserts, That the Bread and Wine are chang'd into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; but withal owns, That it may be call'd Bread, a Sacrament, and a Figure: Bread, because Jesus Christ is call'd so himself; A Sacrament, because under the visible Appearance of Bread and Wine, the Divine Power does therein internally present to us the Flesh of Jesus Christ: And a Figure, because we conceive and believe it to be quite another Thing than what it seems to be to our Sight and Taste. That God made Choice of Bread and Wine in this Sacrament, because of the Analogy which there is between our Spiritual and Corporeal Nourishment. That we ought not to believe that when we receive the Body, we do not receive the Blood; and that when we receive

St. Anselm  
Archbishop  
of Canterbury.

the Blood, we do not receive the Body; but that they are exhibited to us under these two different Kinds, thereby to denote that we ought to be conformable to the Body and Soul of Jesus Christ. That Water is mix'd therewith, thereby to represent that Water which issu'd out of our Lord's Side, and which is the Figure of Baptism. That the Wicked do indeed receive the Substance, tho' not the Effects and Benefits of the Body of Jesus Christ. That the outward Elements of Bread and Wine, may be broken, eaten by Mice, and go into the Stomach; but that these are Accidents which only happen to the Elements which are left, but not to that which is really the Eucharist. That we ought not to ask, what becomes of the Body of Jesus Christ, nor how the Bread is chang'd into the Body of Jesus Christ, because God has wrought greater Miracles than these. Lastly, That a wicked Priest may as well consecrate as a good Priest, because 'tis Jesus Christ who consecrates, and 'tis he who baptizes.

St. Anselm  
Archbishop  
of Canterbury.

## CHAP. IV.

### An Account of the Popes, and of the Church of Rome, from the Time of Silvester II. to Gregory VII.

GERBERT, who goes under the Name of Silvester II. had the Possession of the Papal Chair only five Years, from the Year 999. to the Year 1003. During this Time he did not do much worth the mentioning, nor did he write so much as he had acted before. We have only three Letters of his, written whilst he was Pope. The first is directed to Azolin Bishop of Laon, who was accus'd by King Robert of being disloyal to him. He had been cited before a Council held at Compiègne, where he had acknowledg'd his Fault, begg'd Pardon for it, given Hostages for a Security of his Allegiance, and promis'd to restore the Forts of Laon to the King. But afterwards he went back from his Word, would have taken the Archbishop of Rheims Prisoner, under a Pretence of restoring to him the Citadel of Laon; and kept those Men Prisoners who were sent to take Possession thereof. The Pope upbraids him with this Perfidiousness, and cites him to a Council to be held at Rome in the Easter-week; giving him to understand, That if he did not make his Appearance, he would pronounce Sentence against him, without admitting his Excuse of the Dangers of Travelling, since there was no more Danger in the Kingdom of Lorraine than in Italy: And whereas he might perhaps alledge Sickness as an Excuse, the Pope adds, That if he made use of that Shift, he must send some to testify the Truth of it, and to answer to the Accusations which were prefer'd against him.

Of the  
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Rome.

We have already mention'd his second Letter, directed to Arnulphus Archbishop of Rheims, by which he confirms him in that Archbishoprick.

The third is a Bull of Grant, which confirms and ratifies the Privileges of the Abby of Vezelai.

We may likewise add to these Letters, his Tract against the Simonists, which he made in the Beginning of his Pope-dom. Ademar makes mention of one Action of Silvester, which if true, is an Instance of unheard-of Severity. He says, That Guy, the Count of Limoges, having imprison'd Grimoald Bishop of that City, for taking Possession of the Monastery of Brantome, which that Bishop demanded of

him; and having afterwards releas'd him upon certain Conditions, this Bishop went to Rome, and having complain'd of this Usage to Silvester, that Pope had cited Guy to Rome, where, his Cause being heard in an Assembly held on Easter-day, he had been condemn'd by the Pope and Senate to be ty'd by the Feet to wild Horses Tails, and to be drawn and torn to Pieces: But that being committed to the Bishop's Custody, he adjust'd Matters with him, and that they both fled from Rome, and return'd good Friends to their own Country again. 'Tis very probable that all this was done by Consent; for otherwise how can one excuse the Cruelty of this Sentence so disagreeable to the Spirit and Character of the Church, which breaths out nothing but Gentleness and Peace, and which desires not the Death, but the Amendment of a Sinner?

Of the  
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Rome.

[Here we may see how much Du pin, though a true Romanist, abhors those bloody Principles upon which the Inquisition, and other unheard of Severities of the Church of Rome are founded.]

The two Popes, who immediately succeeded Silvester II. were both Johns. The first of these, who according to our Account is John XVI. and according to others John XVIII. and surnam'd the Meager, was only four Months and some Days upon the Chair: The other held it almost six Years. He sent a Legate into Germany to confirm the Privileges and Prerogatives of the Church of Magdebourg, and to raise the Church of Bamberg into a Bishoprick. This was done with the Consent of the Archbishop of Mayence; and other Prelates of Germany in a Council held at Francfort, which approv'd of the Pope's Bull, which advanc'd the Church of Bamberg to be a Bishoprick. He gave the Pall to St. Elphege Archbishop of Canterbury, and sent Bruno his Missionary into Poland. He renew'd Communion with the Greek Church. St. Fulbert Bishop of Chartres wrote him a Letter, wherein he bestows great Commendations upon upon him, and prays him to be well advis'd before he granted Absolution to Count Radulphus.



*Sergius IV.* succeeded *John XVII.* and was call'd before *Os Porci*. If *Ditmar* may be credited in the Case, he chang'd his Name into that of *Sergius*, and was the first who made a Law to authorise the changing of Names; however, there are Instances of this Nature more ancient, as we have already observ'd. Authors say in general a great deal in Commendation of this Pope; but they have not mention'd any one of his Actions in particular, and we have none of his Letters by us. He was not upon the Chair above two Years, eight Months, and thirteen Days, for he dy'd *May 13.* in the Year 1012.

After his Death there was a Schism in the Church of *Rome*, between *Benedict VIII.* Son to *Gregory* the Count of *Frescati*, who was first elected by his Father's Interest; and one *Gregory*, who was elected by some *Romans*, who outed *Benedict*. He fled to *Henry King of Germany*, who immediately rais'd Forces, and march'd into *Italy* to re-establish him. As soon as the King arriv'd, *Gregory* fled for it, and *Benedict* was receiv'd without any Opposition. He confer'd the Imperial Crown on that Prince, and on Queen *Chunegonda* his Wife. Under his Pontificate the *Norman* Lords who had drove the *Sarazens* out of *Sicily*, drove likewise the *Greeks* out of a great many of those Places which they held in *Italy*, being assisted by the Emperor *Henry*, who came thither a second Time at the Instance of the Pope. *Benedict* dy'd in the Year 1024. and some Authors say that after his Death, he appear'd mounted on a black Horse, and that he shew'd the Place, where he had deposited a Treasure, that so it might be distributed to the Poor, and that by these Alms, and the Prayers of *St. Odilo*, he was deliver'd from the Torments of the other Life. We have only one Bull of his in Favour of the Abby of *Cluny*.

This Pope held a Council at *Pavia*, in which after he had discours'd at large against the Incontinence of the Clergy, he publish'd eight Decrees. The first and second, prohibite the Clergy from having any Concubines, and from living with Women. The third and fourth import, that the Children of such Clergymen as are Slaves of the Church, shall be Slaves to the Church for ever, tho' born of a Mother that is free. And the three last import, that such Clergy as are Slaves to the Church, can neither purchase nor possess any Thing of their own, even tho' they should be born of a Mother that is free. These Decrees were sign'd by the Pope, by the Archbishop of *Milan*, and by five Bishops, and afterwards ratified by the Emperor's Authority, who at the Pope's Request, publish'd an Edict consisting of the same Articles, to give them the Force of a Law.

The Count of *Frescati*, that the Popedom might be still in his Family, caus'd his other Son to be elected in the Room of *Benedict VIII.* tho' he was not then in Orders. He was ordain'd and call'd *John*, which according to us is the *Eighteenth* of that Name, but according to others the *Twentieth*. 'Tis said, that sometime after this Pope being sensible that his Election was Vicious and Simoniacal, he withdrew into a Monastery there to suffer Penance, and that he forbore performing any Part of his Function, till such Time as he was chosen again by the Clergy. The Emperor *Henry* dy'd at the Beginning of this Popedom, and *Conrad* was elected King of *Germany* in his Place, in the Year 1024. and crown'd Emperor three Years after by this Pope. The *Greeks* having dispatch'd an Embassy to *Rome*, to get the Pope's Grant that the Church of *Constantinople* should be call'd the *Universal Church*, were oppos'd by the *French* Prelates; and *William* Abbot of *St. Benign of Dijon*, wrote a Letter to *John XVIII.* to divert him from that Design; which Letter is mentioned by *Glaber*. This Pope wrote a Letter to the Bishop of *Limoges*, by which he declares, that *St. Martial* shall have the Character of Apostle; and another Letter to *Odilo* Abbot of *Cluny*, wherein he blames him for having refus'd to accept of the Archbishoprick of *Lyons*. He sent Letters of Absolution to the Bishop of *Auxerre*, who had sent him his Confession in Writing. *Cannus* King of *England* came to *Rome* in the Year 1031. where he was very kindly received by Pope *John* and the Emperor. He complain'd that they exacted too great Sums of his Archbishops for the Grant of their Palls, and it was order'd that for the future they should not be so serv'd. He likewise obtain'd, That his Subjects might have free Access to *Rome*, and that they should be exempt from Customs. This is what the King acquaints the Peers of his Kingdom in his Letter, mention'd by *William of Malmsbury*.

*John XVIII.* dying *November 7.* in the Year 1033. *Alberic* Count of *Frescati* caus'd his Son to be seated on *St. Peter's* Chair. He was Nephew to the two last Popes the Count's Brothers, and was not above eighteen Years of Age at the most. He chang'd his Name of *Theophylact* into that of *Benedict IX.* *Peter Damien* speaks of him as a Man that liv'd very disorderly, and was very unworthy of that Dignity to which he had been advanc'd by the Tyranny of his Father. However, he enjoy'd the Popedom very quietly for ten Years together; but at last the *Romans*, weary of his abominable Irregularities, outed him, and put up in his Place the Bishop of *St. Sabina*, who took upon him the Name of

*Silvester III.* He enjoy'd his Dignity but three Months; for tho' *Benedict* voluntarily resign'd the Popedom, yet he return'd to *Rome*, and with the Assistance of *Frescati's* Party, drove out his Competitor, and re-assum'd the Papal Chair. But being altogether incapable of governing it, and having nothing more in his thoughts than the gratifying of his brutal Appetite, he made a Bargain about the Popedom with *John Gracian* Archpriest of the Church of *Rome*, and made it over to him for a Sum of Money, reserving to himself the Revenues due from *England* to the Holy See. This *Gracian* took upon him the Name of *Gregory VI.* In the mean Time King *Henry*, who had succeeded his Father *Conrad* in the Year 1039. being incens'd against *Benedict*, who had sent the Imperial Crown to the King of *Hungary*, after he had defeated that Prince, resolv'd to march into *Italy*, to put an End to that Schism. After he came thither, he caus'd these three Popes to be depos'd in several Synods, as Usurpers, Simonists and Criminals. *Benedict* fled for it; *Gregory VI.* was apprehended and afterwards banish'd; and *Silvester III.* was sent back to his Bishoprick of *St. Sabina*. He caus'd *Suidger* Bishop of *Bamberg* to be elected in their Stead, who took upon him the Name of *Clement II.* and was acknowledg'd as lawful Pope by all the World. He crown'd *Henry* Emperor; and as he was waiting upon him home to *Germany*, he dy'd beyond the *Alps*, *Octob. 7.* in the Year 1047. nine Months after his Election. Immediately upon this *Benedict IX.* returns to *Rome*, and a third Time remounts the Papal Chair; which he held for eight Months, notwithstanding the Emperor had sent from *Germany*, *Poppo* Bishop of *Bresse*, who was consecrated Pope under the Title of *Damasus II.* but he did not long enjoy that Dignity, for he dy'd of Poyson, as 'tis suppos'd, at *Palestrina*, three and twenty Days after his Consecration.

It is no wonder that these Popes have not left us the least Monument of their Pastoral Vigilance, either in Councils or by Letters, since all their Care and Aim was how to gratify their Ambition and the rest of their Passions, without watching over the Flock of *Jesus Christ*. *Clement II.* must be excepted out of that Number; for though he had been Pope but a very short Time, yet the first Thing he did after his Advancement, was to hold a Council at *Rome* against the *Simoniacal*, in which he endeavoured to put a Stop to the further Progress of *Simony*, which was then so common at *Rome*, that almost all the Ecclesiasticks were guilty of it. He wrote likewise a Letter to *John*, Archbishop of *Salerno* Elect, by which he approves of his Translation, after he had examin'd whether it had been done by Intrigue or *Simony*; and being satisfied that it was only for the Benefit and Good of the Church, and that the Clergy and Laity of *Salerno* had elected him freely, he granted him the Pall, confirm'd him in the Archbishoprick, and gave him a Power to ordain and consecrate the Bishops of seven Diocesses mention'd in that Letter.

In the mean Time, *Benedict* being still in Possession of *Leo IX.* the Church of *Rome*, was guilty of strange Exorbitances there, which oblig'd the *Romans* to send fresh Deputies to the Emperor *Henry*, desiring he would grant them a Man fit to be advanc'd to *St. Peter's* Chair. He made choice of one *Bruno* Bishop of *Toul*, whom he sent to *Rome* with the Pontifical Purple Habit upon him. 'Tis reported, That in going through *France*, at *Cluny* he met with *Hildebrand* Clerk of the Church of *Rome*, who having been carried away with *Gregory VI.* stay'd in *France* after his Death, and withdrew to *Cluny*, where he was Prior. This *Hildebrand* attended *Bruno* to *Rome*, and persuaded him to lay aside his Purple Robes, and to leave the *Romans* to a free Liberty of Election; assuring him, That this would promote and further his Design. He attain'd his End, according as he had promis'd him. *Bruno* was very kindly receiv'd by the *Romans*, elected Pope unanimously, and ordain'd, *Feb. 13.* in the Year 1049. under the Name of *Leo IX.* *Benedict* was likewise oblig'd to submit, and by *Hildebrand's* Persuasion he acknowledg'd *Leo* as Pope, and ingratiated himself to him. *Leo* having settled the Affairs of *Rome* and *Italy*, cross'd the Mountains twice and went into *Germany*. The second Time he went to beg the Emperor's Assistance against the *Normans* of *Pozzuolo*, with whom he was then at War. Having obtain'd his Desire, he return'd into *Italy*, and march'd against them. They surpriz'd his Forces, defeated them, and took him Prisoner. However, they us'd him very kindly; and having treated him with a great deal of Respect, conducted him to *Benevento*. He liv'd there a Year, from whence they dismissed him, without exacting any Thing for his Ransom, attended with a great Train of Coaches, which conducted him to *Rome*, where he dy'd within a short Time after. *Peter Damien* very vehemently upbraids this Pope for having wag'd this War, born Arms, and appear'd in Person at the Head of his Forces. *Benno* assures us, That he undertook this War by the Advice and Instigation of *Benedict* and *Hildebrand*, and that they were the Persons who betray'd him to the *Normans*. However it was, *Leo IX.* in the rest of his Actions, shew'd a great deal of Prudence and Piety; and his Letters are an eternal Monu-



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Monument of his Learning, and of the Love he bore to Religion and Church-Discipline.

The first is directed to *Leo* Archbishop of *Acride*, and to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who had condemn'd the Custom of the *Latin* Church about Unleavened Bread, which it made use of in the Holy Mysteries. He therein raises the Dignity of the Church of *Rome*, founded by *St. Peter*. He says, that 'tis this Church which has refuted, convinc'd and condemn'd all Heresies, and which has confirm'd other Churches in the Faith of *St. Peter*, which has and will always remain in the Church of *Rome*. He reckons up Fourscore and ten Heresies sprung up in the *Greek* Church, among which he places the Presumption of *John the Faster*, who took upon him the Quality and Title of Universal Patriarch: He not only defends the Spiritual Authority of the Popes, but likewise their Temporal Sovereignty, which he founds upon a supposititious Donation of the Emperor *Constantine*. He upbraids the *Greeks* with the *Constantinopolitan* Council under *Constantine Capronymus*, and with the Affair of *Photius*. He adds, that in Contempt of the Canons of the *Nicene* Council, they had advanc'd Eunuchs to the Patriarchal See of *Constantinople*. Afterwards, comparing the Church of *Rome* with that of *Constantinople*, he says, That the former is as ancient as Christianity it self, and that it has undergone all manner of Persecutions; whereas the latter is wholly New, and sprung up in Pleasures: That the one is the Mother, the other the Daughter: That upon this Account the Latter ought to pay a due Respect to the Former, and not to be so ungrateful, as it is to that Church, from which it deriv'd its first Birth. He reproves, in particular, *Leo* of *Acride*, and the Patriarch, for having shut up all the *Latin* Churches, and taken away the Monasteries from the Monks and Abbots, till such time as they should conform themselves to the *Greek* Customs. 'The Church of *Rome* (says he) acts with a great deal more Moderation and Prudence. For tho' there are several *Greek* Monasteries and Churches both within and out of *Rome*, yet they have no Disturbance, but are permitted to live according to the Custom of their Ancestors, and are not constrain'd to relinquish their Customs: On the contrary, they are admonish'd and advis'd to observe them. To conclude, he enlarges very much on the Presumption of the Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, and on the Dignity of the Church of *Rome*.

*Leo's* second Letter is directed to the Bishops of the Provinces of *Venice* and *Istria*, whom he gives to understand, that *Dominick* Patriarch of *Grado* or *Aquileia Nova*, came to a Council held at *Rome* in the Year, 1053. wherein he had been ordain'd: That the Town of *Grado* should always be esteem'd the Metropolis of *Venice* and *Istria*, and that the Bishop of *Foro-Julio* or old *Aquileia*, should have no Power or Jurisdiction out of *Lombardy*, according to the Grant of *Gregory II.* and the Restriction of *Gregory III.* He thereupon orders these Bishops to submit to the Patriarch of *Grado*, as to their Metropolitan.

The third is an Answer directed to *Thomas* a Bishop in *Africa*, who had ask'd the Pope's Advice about the Dignity of the Church of *Carthage*. He at first lets him know how deeply he is concern'd to understand, by his Letter, that the Church of *Africa*, where there were formerly so many Bishops, that in the Canons we read of two hundred and five who were present at a Council held at *Carthage*, was now reduc'd to the Government of only five Bishops, and that even they could not live friendly together. Afterwards he congratulates him for having apply'd himself to the Church of *Rome* for the Resolution of his Doubts. Lastly, he declares to him, that the Bishop of *Carthage* is Primate and Metropolitan of all *Africa*; and that the Bishop about whom he wrote (whoever he were) ought not to consecrate Bishops, nor to depose them, nor to call a Provincial Council, nor to do any Thing, unless what concerns his own Diocese, without the Consent and Permission of the Archbishop of *Carthage*. He adds, by way of Advice, that they could not call a General Council, nor determine any thing about Bishops, without the Authority of the Holy See.

The fourth Letter is directed to two other Bishops of *Africa*, call'd *Peter* and *John*. After a Preamble, very much like that of the former Letter, he gave them the same Answer concerning the Archbishop of *Carthage*, and the determining of Matters relating to Bishops; and thereto adds several Extracts out of the false Decretals, concerning the Institution of Metropolitans.

In the fifth, he congratulates *Peter* Bishop of *Antioch*, his Advancement to that Dignity, speaks of the Prerogatives of the Church of *Rome*, exhorts him to maintain the third Rank among the Patriarchs, approves of the Form of Faith which he had sent him, and makes another like it, declaring, that he wish'd that the *Latin* and *Greek* Churches were happily united, and it was no Fault of his that they were not.

The sixth is directed to *Michael* Patriarch of *Constantinople*. He declares to him the Inclination he had for Peace,

and was glad to find the Patriarch of the same Mind too. However, he reproves him, (1.) Because he being a Novice, had all of a sudden been made Patriarch. (2.) Because he was minded to make the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* submit to his Jurisdiction. (3.) Because he took upon him the Title of Universal Patriarch, which the Popes of *Rome* had never allow'd of, and says, that *St. Peter* was never styl'd Universal Apostle, tho' he had been made the Prince of the Apostles; and that the Council of *Calcedon* had granted that Title to *St. Leo* and his Successors. (4.) Because he calumniated the *Latin* Church, and anathematiz'd and persecuted all those who made use of Unleaven'd Bread in the Eucharist. In the close of this Letter, he exhorts him to put an end to this Schism. This Letter bears date *January*, *Indictio septima*, which is the Year 1054.

The seventh is writ to the Emperor *Constantine Monomachus*, on whom he bestows great Commendations for his being so desirous of Peace and Union between the two Churches. He exhorts him to imitate the Piety of *Constantine the Great*, and the respect he bore to the Holy See, and to grant him his Protection. He complains to him, that Patriarch *Michael* had done many unjust things, even whilst he pretended to be desirous of a Peace.

The eighth is directed to all the Bishops of *Italy*, and contains an Injunction which he made to put a stop to the Avarice of Abbots and Monks, who converted all the Pious Donations to the use of their own Monasteries, without allowing any share thereof to the Churches. He enjoins that all those who should hereafter grant such Donations, shall leave the one Moiety of what they give to the Church where they live, and the other to the Monastery.

The ninth, directed to the Bishops of *France*, has relation to the Council of *Rheims*, to which it is refer'd.

The tenth is against those who rifle Bishops Houses after their Decease.

In the eleventh he confirms the Right of Metropolitan to the Archbishop of *Salerno*.

In the twelfth directed to the Princes of *Bretagne*, he Excommunicates the Bishops of that Province, because they would not submit themselves to the Archbishop of *Tours*, and because they were Guilty of Simony. However, he gave them leave to come and clear themselves if they could at the Council of *Vercell*. He pronounces the same Sentence against those who had ordain'd them.

One may likewise reckon among the Letters of Pope *Leo*, the Bulls which he has granted upon several Occasions, viz. The Bull by which he grants to the *Vatican* Church the tenths of the Offerings: That by which he declares that the Body of *St. Dennis* is at *Ratisbonne*, and not at *St. Dennis* in *France*, where there are only the Bodies of *St. Rusticus* and *St. Eleutherus*; (but 'tis a Question whether this Bull be genuine or no): That which relates to the Bishop of *Porto*: The Bulls confirming the Privileges of the Abbies of *Cluny*, of *St. Sophia* at *Benevento*, and of the Monastery of *Peter Damien*, to whom he wrote likewise a Letter, wherein he approves of one of his Works.

There is no question to be made, but that this Pope made several Laws in several Councils, tho' we have not an entire one left us. Authors make mention only of a Council of *Rome* held in the Year 1049, wherein he confirm'd the Decree of his Predecessor *Clement II.* concerning those who were Guilty of Simony. Of another Council held the same Year at *Pavia*: Of a Council held at *Rheims*, wherein *Hugh* of *Langres* was depos'd, the Acts of which we have by us: Of a Council held the next Year at *Mayence*, against a Bishop charg'd with Adultery: Of another Council held the same Year at *Rome* against *Berenger*: Of another held at *Siponta* against two Simoniackal Archbishops: Of a third Council held at *Rome* after *Easter* in the Year 1051. wherein *Gregory* Bishop of *Vercell* was depos'd for Adultery, and wherein several Laws were made against Simoniackal and Incontinent Clerks: Of another Council begun the Year following at *Mantua*, which was disturb'd by a Sedition of the People; without making any mention of that which was held at *Rome* in the Year 1054. about the Contest which happen'd between the Archbishops of *Grado* and *Aquileia*. This Pope dy'd *April 15.* in the Year 1054. after he had presid'd over the Church of *Rome* for five Years and some Months.

After his Death *Benedict* endeavour'd again to seize upon the Papal Chair; but the *Romans* sent *Hildebrand* to the Emperor, to desire a Pope of him. He nominated to them *Gebehard* Bishop of *Eichstat*, who was Elected and Consecrated in the Year 1055. under the Name of *Victor II.* 'Tis said that he went with some disturbance in the beginning of his Pontificate, and that a Subdeacon would have Poyson'd him, by mixing Poyson with the Wine in the Chalice; which was discover'd by a Miracle: For after it was Consecrated, he could not lift up the Chalice, and the Subdeacon who had done this wicked Thing, was immediately possess'd by an evil Spirit. He call'd a Council at *Florence*, in which he depos'd several Bishops convicted of Simony;



and order'd Laws to be made to prohibit the Alienating of the Revenues of the Church. He sent *Hildebrand* his Legate into *France*, who held there several Councils; among the rest one at *Lyons*, in which a Bishop convicted by a Miracle, of *Simony*, was depos'd: And that at *Tours* against *Berenger*. In the Year 1056. *Victor* went to *Germany*, being call'd thither by the Emperor *Henry III.* whom he found at the Point of Death. This Prince before his Death, caus'd his Son *Henry* to be Elected King, who was scarce five Years old, and recommended him at his Death to the Pope and the Church of *Rome*. *Victor* did not long survive the Emperor, for being return'd into *Italy*, after he had held a Council at *Rome*, he dy'd at *Florence*, July 28. in the Year 1057. We have only one Letter of this Popes, by which in favour of Cardinal *Humbert*, he confirms and augments the Privileges granted to the Church of *Blanchefleur*.

Stephen IX.

After *Victor's* Death, *Frederick* Abbot of *Mount Cassin* was advanc'd to the Holy See. He descended from a noble Family of *Lorraine*, and had been Chancellor and Archdeacon of the Church of *Rome*. Pope *Leo* had sent him on an Embassy to *Constantinople*. At his Return he became one of the Religious of *Mount Cassin* under his Brother *Richerus*, who was Abbot of the Place; and after his Death Cardinal *Humbert* got him to be elected Abbot of that Monastery in the Year 1057. having constrain'd the Person, whom the Monks had elected without the Knowledge and Consent of the Holy See, to lay down that Preference. Some time after, *Victor* created him Cardinal the Name of *St. Chrysogone*; and that Pope dying, he was elected in his place, and consecrated on *St. Stephen's*-day, in the Year 1057. from whence he took upon him the Name of *Stephen IX.* He immediately set upon reforming the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*, and made several Statutes against the Clerks who kept Concubines. He brought the Church of *Milan* to submit to that of *Rome*, after it had for several years withdrawn from its Jurisdiction; and sent an Embassy into the *East*, to re-unite the two Churches. He went to *Florence* in the beginning of the Year 1058. where he dy'd on the 29th. of *March*. We have one Letter of his left us, directed to the Archbishop of *Rheims*, by which after he had complimented him for the Submission he expres'd towards the Holy See, he inform'd him of the Council which was to be held at *Rheims*, that he wonder'd he had not sent him word whether the King had consented to it or no. He wrote to him about the Archbishop of *Bourges*, that nothing could be determin'd upon his business in the absence of *Hildebrand*; that he would come with him, and that they would settle this and other Affairs together. He exhorts him vigorously to defend the Interests of the Holy See and the Church; and order'd him to be at a Council which was to be held at *Rome*, a Fortnight after *Easter*. There is likewise another Letter writ by this Pope to *Pandolphus* Bishop of *Marsi*, by which he re-unites that Bishoprick, which had been divided into two.

Nicholas II.

The News of the Pope's Death being brought to *Rome*, the Count of *Freffasi* and the *Roman* Lords plac'd by force on the Papal Chair *Mincius* Bishop of *Velitra*, to whom they gave the Name of *Benedict X.* *Peter Damien* and the other Cardinals who had no hand in this Election, withdrew from *Rome* after they had protested against it: And being met at *Sienna*, they elected for their Pope *Gerard* Archbishop of *Florence*, a *Burgundian* by Nation. They immediately sent Embassadors to the Empress *Agnes*, to prevail upon King *Henry* to confirm this Election. They had their request granted, and the Empress order'd *Godfrey* Marquis of *Tuscany* to place *Gerard* in Possession of the Holy See, and to turn out *Benedict*. In the mean time *Gerard* held a Council at *Sutri* to depose *Benedict*; but he perceiving his Interest to decline, thought fit to retire to his own House, and relinquish the Chair. *Gerard* being inform'd of this, came to *Rome* with the Bishops and Cardinals, was there acknowledg'd as lawful Pope, and ordain'd in the beginning of *January* 1059. by the Name of *Nicholas II.* Within a few days after, *Mincius* waited upon him to ask him Pardon, and having solemnly declar'd that he had been basely us'd, and own'd himself Guilty of Perjury, for being put in Possession of the Holy See before the return of *Hildebrand*, contrary to the Oath which he had taken to him, he was for ever suspended from all his Ecclesiastical Functions: And to prevent such disturbances for the future, which might happen upon the Election of Popes; it was enacted in a Synod of an hundred and thirteen Bishops, held at *Rome* in the Year 1059. That the Cardinals should have the greatest share in the Election of a Pope, and that if any one should intrude into the Papal Chair without being Unanimously and Canonically elected by the Cardinals, and with the consent of the other Orders, both of Clergy and Laity, he should not be look'd upon as an Apostolick Pope, but as an Apostate. This is the first Act of that Council. The second imports, That at the Election of a Pope, or any other Bishop, no Body should make a seizure on their Estates, but they should be

The Council held under Nicholas II. in the year 1059

reserv'd to their Successors. The third is, That no Person shall be present at the Mass of a Priest, whom he knows keeps a Concubine. The fourth imports, That the Canons or Prebendaries shall hold all things in Common. The fifth, That the Tenth and other Offerings shall be at the disposal of the Bishop. The sixth, That no Person shall be entituled to any Church at the Presentation of Laicks. The seventh, That no Person shall take upon him the Habit of a Monk, upon the promise or hopes of being made Abbot. The eighth, That no Priest shall hold two Churches at once. The ninth, That Laicks shall not be the Judges of the Clergy. The tenth, That no Person shall be ordain'd by *Simony*. The eleventh, That no Person shall Marry his Relation, to the seventh Generation, or so long as the Kindred may be known. The twelfth, That a Laick who has a Wife, and keeps a Concubine shall be excommunicated. The thirteenth, That Laicks shall not be advanc'd all of the sudden to Ecclesiastical Degrees, but shall be try'd for some considerable time, after they have lay'd aside their secular Habit. These Acts are follow'd by a Decree against those who are guilty of *Simony*, by which it is order'd, that those who have been formerly ordain'd by Persons guilty of *Simony*, without having given Money for their Ordination, may continue in those Ecclesiastical Degrees to which they have been advanc'd, but that for the future, those who shall be ordain'd by Persons whom they know to be guilty of *Simony*, shall be depos'd. With reference to Popes 'tis added, that those who shall take Possession of the Papal Chair, either by Bribery, or by Intrigue, or by Force, without being Unanimously and Canonically Elected by the Cardinal-bishops, and the rest of the Clergy, shall be look'd upon not as Apostolick Popes, but as Apostates: And that it shall be lawful for the Cardinal-bishops, and any other Persons of known Piety, whether Clerks or Laicks, to turn out such an one, who shall thus seize upon the Holy See, by excommunicating him, and by calling into their Assistance the secular Power. And that if they cannot do this in *Rome*, they shall meet together out of that City, in what place they please, to Choose one whom they shall judge more worthy to fill the Chair: And that the Person whom they shall Choose, shall be look'd upon as Lawful Pope; *Salvo omnino Imperatoris Privilegio*, as 'tis worded in that very Decree concerning the Election of a Pope. It was in this Council that *Berenger* retracted his Error, as we have said before.

The other Councils under Nicholas II.

This same Pope being reconcil'd to the *Normans* of *Pozzuolo*, held a Council at *Amalfi*, where he depos'd the Bishop of *Trani*; and another Council at *Benevento*, wherein he adjust'd a difference concerning an Hospital depending upon the Monastery of *St. Vincent of Volaterra*, upon which one *Albert* a Monk had seiz'd.

The Letters of this Pope do almost all of them relate to the Affairs of *France*.

The Letter of Nicholas II.

The four first are directed to *Gervais* Archbishop of *Rheims*. In the first he gives that Bishop to understand, that there was a flying Report of his being a favourer of his Adversary: That however, he was willing to believe the contrary upon the Testimony which he had receiv'd of him by a very creditable Person. He exhorts him to maintain the Rights of the Church, and to admonish the King of *France* not to hearken to the evil Counsels which were given him, nor to oppose the Holy See, particularly with relation to the Person whom he would have to be ordain'd Bishop of *Mascon*. He assures him that he has a particular Respect and Kindness for that Prince; and let him do as he pleas'd, yet he would always Pray for Him and his Army. In the second, He enjoyns that Archbishop to interdict the Bishops of *Beauvais* and *Senlis*, in case it appear'd that they had been ordain'd by *Simony*, as he was assur'd. In the third, He orders that Archbishop to give Satisfaction to the Church of *Verdun* for the Injuries he had done it, and to release the Prebendaries whom he had caus'd to be apprehended. In the fourth, He lets him know how well satisfied he was with those signs of Submission which he had express'd to him; that he granted him what he desir'd for the Bishop of *Senlis*, because it was nothing but what was reasonable; and that he could not tell whether he should come to *France* or no.

We have likewise a Letter of *Gervais*, directed to this Pope, in which he thanks him for the kind Entertainment he gave to his Deputies, and for the Charity he shew'd to one of them who dy'd at *Rome*. He acquaints him of the Death of King *Henry*, tells him how earnestly he wish'd to see him in *France*; and assures him in very express Terms of the Submission and Respect which he bore to the Holy See. This doubtless is the Letter which *Nicholas* answer'd by the foregoing.

The Letter of Nicholas II.

The fifth Letter of this Pope is a Privilege, granted to the Monastery of the Religious of *St. Felicity* near *Florence*.

The sixth, directed to *Edward* King of *England*, is a confirmation of the Privileges granted to the Church of *Westminster*.

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The seventh, directed to *Ann* Queen of France, is a Tract of *Peter Damien's*, which was among his Letters. The eighth is directed to the Bishops of France, Aquitaine, and Gasconne. He informs them of the Decrees made in the Council of Rome, against the Clerks and Monks who kept Concubines, or were Apostates; against those who abuse Ecclesiasticks, or seize upon the Revenues of the Church; and concerning the Compass of the Courts and Church-Yards.

In the ninth, directed to the Count of Rouergue, he exhorts him to take the Churches and Poor under his Protection; and in particular, to restore to the Monastery of St. Peter of Verdun, the Lands and Revenues which he had in his Country, threatening to Excommunicate him, if he detain'd them any longer. This Pope dy'd at Florence, July 3. in the Year 1061.

After his Death there were great Contests about the Papedom, occasion'd by the two powerful Factions which were then in Rome: Namely, the Faction of *Hildebrand*, and that of the Counts of *Frescati* and *Galera*, and of other Lords of Rome. Both Factions sent Deputies to King Henry's Court, to obtain his Vote in favour of some one of their own Party. *Geraud* Count of *Galera* deputed by the Lord's Faction, having presented King Henry with a Crown of Gold, and offer'd him the Title of a Roman Peer, insinuated so far into his favour, that *Stephen* a Cardinal-Priest deputed by *Hildebrand* and the other Cardinals, could not so much as get Audience, but return'd without doing any thing. After his return the Cardinals in October, Elested for their Pope one *Anselm* a Native of Milan, and Bishop of *Lucca*, who took upon him the Name of *Alexander II.* They believ'd he would prove agreeable enough to the Court. But King Henry looking upon this Election as a breach of his Prerogative, caus'd *Cadalous* Bishop of *Parma* to be Elested Pope, who was acknowledg'd as such by the Bishops and Princes on the other side the Alps. He intending to take Possession of the Papal Chair by Force, sat down with an Army before Rome; but was beaten off by Forces of *Godfrey* Marquis of *Tuscany*, and of *Matilda* his Wife, who had enter'd into the Interest of *Alexander*. This first attempt proving very unsuccessful, he return'd a second time with greater strength, and became Master of the Town *Leonina*, and of the Church of St. Peter; but he was outed thence also, and his Forces put into such a Consternation, that he himself had like to have been taken, and was forced to throw himself into a Castle, from whence he very narrowly made his Escape, by giving Money to those who Besieg'd him. Sometime after *Anno* Archbishop of *Cologne*, who had the greatest hand in the Administration of the Affairs of Germany, ever since the Empress *Agnes* was remov'd, being come into Italy, and alledging that the Election of Pope *Alexander* was invalid, because it was carry'd on without the Emperor's Approbation, and because he lay under a Suspicion of having given Money for to be Elested: It was agreed upon to call a Council at *Manzua*, to adjust this difference. *Alexander* and *Cadalous* met there, with *Peter Damien*, *Hildebrand*, and several other Bishops of Italy, Lombardy and Spain. *Alexander* did there very illibly defend his Election; *Cadalous* had not the face to maintain his pretended Right, and so withdrew. The former likewise clear'd himself by Oath of the Accusation of Simony, which was lay'd to his Charge; so that *Anno* and the Bishops of Lombardy acknowledg'd him alone to be Lawful Pope. But the Emperor's Prerogative was preserv'd for the future, and *Alexander* was oblig'd to Pardon *Cadalous*, and to make *Guibert* Grand Signior of *Parma*, Chancellor to King Henry, and formerly the Popes greatest Enemy, Archbishop of *Ravenna*. This Council was held in the Year 1064. and put an end to a Schism which would have been the Cause of very great disturbances in the Church of Rome, if it had continued as it had begun.

The Year before, *Alexander* had held a Council at Rome, consisting of above one hundred Bishops, wherein he had reviv'd the Decrees of his Predecessors, *Leo IX.* and *Nicholas II.* against those who were guilty of Simony, against those who kept Concubines, against such of the Laity who seiz'd on the Revenues of the Church, against those who Marry'd their Kindred till after the seventh Degree, and against the Apostate Clergy and Monks. This is only a renewal of the Council held under *Nicholas II.*

In two other Councils held at Rome the Year following, *Alexander* Condemn'd those who maintain'd, that the Degrees of Consanguinity ought to reach no farther than to Cousin-Germans, which he calls the Heresy of *Nicolaitans*. He likewise Condemn'd those who had maintain'd, that one may without being guilty of Simony, give Money to Princes to be instituted into the Revenues of the Church. He makes use of *Peter Damien* to confute these Errors; and sent him to Milan to reform the Clergy of that City; into France, to relieve the Monks of *Cluny*; and to Florence, to put an end to the Schism of the Church, belonging to that City.

Whilst *Peter Damien* was employ'd in Reforming the Church, *Hildebrand* Archdeacon of Rome, who had the

sole Administration of Affairs relating to the Holy See, made use of his utmost Endeavours to advance the temporal Power thereof. With the Assistance of *Godfrey* Marquis of *Tuscany*, and the Princess *Matilda*, he repuls'd the *Normans* of *Pozzuolo* and oblig'd them to surrender several Places. He engag'd several Lords of *Burgundy* and *France* to bind themselves by Oath to defend the Church of Rome. He exhorted *William* Duke of *Normandy* to take upon him the Kingdom of *England*, vacant by the Death of King *Edward*. Lastly, From the Pontificate of *Alexander* he began the Contest with King Henry about the Right of Investitures, and caus'd him to be cited to Rome upon that Subject. We attribute all this to *Hildebrand*, because 'tis evident that it was he who Govern'd under the Name of *Alexander II.* who led a reserv'd and a retir'd Life, and spent more of his time at *Lucca* and Mount *Cassin* than at Rome. However he dy'd in that City, April 22. in the Year 1073.

Since this Pope was eleven Years and some Months on the Chair, we may very well expect a great many Letters written in his Name. We have five and forty of them compleat, and the Fragments of several Acts related by *Ives* of *Chartres* and by *Gratian*.

His first Letter is directed to the Clergy and Laity of Milan, whom he exhorts to lead a Christian Life.

The second is directed to *Harold* King of *Norway*, whom he exhorts to own the Archbishop of *Breme* as Vicar of the Holy See, and to submit to him as such. He reproves him for that the Bishops of his Kingdom, were either not Consecrated, or else had given Money to be Consecrated.

By the third, directed to the King of *Denmark*, he demands of that Prince the payment of what was due from that Kingdom to the Holy See.

By the fourth, directed to the Archbishop of *Dalmatia* and *Sclavonia*, he sends him the Pall, and gives him some Instructions concerning his Office.

The fifth is the Decree of the Council of Rome, of which we have already spoken.

In the sixth, directed to *Gervais* Archbishop of *Rheims*, he writes to him against *Cadalous*, congratulates him of the endeavours he us'd for the extirpation of Simony; and intrusts him and the Archbishop of *Sens* with the Tryal of the Bishop of *Orleans*, who was Charg'd with Simony, and orders him to turn out the Abbot of *St. Medard* of *Soissons*, excommunicated long before, and to Elect another in his Place.

This Letter is follow'd by a Decree made at Milan by two Cardinal Legates of the Holy See, against the Clergy who were either guilty of Simony, or kept Concubines.

The seventh Letter is directed to the Bishops of *Denmark*, whom he enjoyns to be present at the Synod held by the Bishop of *Hamburg*.

In the eighth, he exhorts *William* King of *England* to pay him the *Peter-pence* which were due to him.

In the ninth, he grants to *Anno* Archbishop of *Cologne*, a Privilege which he had beg'd of him in the behalf of a Monastery.

The tenth is directed to *William* King of *England*: He exhorts him to take into his Protection the Ecclesiasticks of his Kingdom; and advises him to follow *Lanfrank's* Directions, to whom he committed the Determination of the Bishop of *Chester's* Cause, and of the Dispute on foot between the Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishop of *Dorchester*.

In the eleventh, directed to *Landolphus*, he determines that the Man who had vow'd to take upon him the Monastick Life and had forc'd his Wife to consent to it, ought not to be made a Monk, till she should give her voluntary Consent thereto.

The twelfth is directed to *Gervais* Archbishop of *Rheims*: He assures him that he was deeply concern'd for what had befalln him, and invites him to come to a Synod held at Rome.

In the thirteenth, directed to the same Archbishop, he admonishes him to put an End to the Difference on foot between Him and two Clerks of his own Church, and that in the presence of the Legates of the Holy See, and of the Bishop of *Laon*, whom he had Commission'd for that purpose: And he lets him know that he has written to the Lords who molested him, either to do him Justice in the presence of his Legates; or else to appear before his Synod.

In the fourteenth, he admonishes him again to put an end to the Affair of those two Clerks, about whom he had already written.

In the fifteenth, he enjoyns him to Excommunicate those who had unlawfully seiz'd upon the Revenues belonging to a Monastery.

In the sixteenth, he gives the same Archbishop to understand how deeply he was concern'd for the Afflictions which the Church of *Rheims* labour'd under, and promises to send him a Legate to his Assistance.



In the seventeenth, he exhorts him to assist the Bishop of *Laon*, in doing Justice to an Abbess, who was turn'd out of her Monastery of *St. John of Laon*.

In the eighteenth, he forbids him to Ordain *Josselin* Bishop of *Soissons*, who was manifestly guilty of Simony; and orders him to punish the Bishop of *Beauvais* for the outrages he had committed, and to oblige the Bishop of *Amiens*, to let the Abbot of *Corby* live in quiet.

In the nineteenth, he informs him, that he had confirm'd the Privilege of the Abby of *Corby*, and adjusted the difference which was between the Abbot, and the Bishop of *Amiens*, who had given him Satisfaction in the Synod. He refers to him the other Contentts which might be between them, and orders him to give the Holy Chrism and other Rites to the Monastery of *Corby*, if that Bishop refus'd to give it them.

In the twentieth, he lets him know, that he has confirm'd the Privileges of the Abby of *St. Dennis of France*, and put an End to the Difference between the Abbot and the Bishop of *Paris*, after he had heard both Parties at *Rome*.

The one and twentieth directed to the Archbishops of *France*, is the Letter of Legation which he grants to *Peter Damien*, when he sent him into *France*.

In the two and twentieth directed to *Gervais* Archbishop of *Rheims*, he confirms the Excommunication made by that Archbishop and by *Peter Damien* against the Abbot of *St. Medard*, and orders him to turn him out.

In the three and twentieth, he thanks that Archbishop and the King of *France*, for having turn'd out the Archbishop of *Chartres*, who was convicted of Simony; and he desires that they would do the same with respect to the Bishop of *Orleans*.

In the four and twentieth, he refers the Tryal of the Divorce between Count *Radulphus* and his Wife, to the Archbishop of *Rheims* and of *Sens*, and to their Suffragans.

In the five and twentieth, he orders the Archbishop of *Rheims* to cause the Bishop of *Chalons* to restore to the Church of *St. Menne* the Body of that Saint, which he had by force taken away.

In the six and twentieth, directed to the Archbishop of *Treves*, and the Bishop of *Verdun*, he orders, that a Priest who in his Sickness had vow'd to turn Monk, and was of another mind after his Recovery, should be restor'd to the Benefices which he held before.

In the seven and twentieth written to the Clergy of *Naples*, he determines that the Degrees of Kindred ought to be reckon'd according to the Number of the Generations.

In the eight and twentieth, that he who Marries a Relation of his Concubine, who is promis'd in Marriage to another, ought to restore her to him.

In the nine and twentieth, he enjoyns a Priest, who had kill'd another Priest, four years Penance, and suspends him for ever.

In the thirtieth, he imposes ten years Penance on a Laick who had kill'd a Priest, tho' the Priest had been the first Aggressor.

In the one and thirtieth, he moderates the Penance impos'd by the Bishop of *Constance* upon an Abbot, who had given his Servant a blow with a Stick, of which he dy'd within six Months after.

In the two and thirtieth, he determines, that a Man who was ordain'd Deacon and Priest, without having been made Subdeacon, shall forbear performing his Ministerial Functions, till such time as he had been ordain'd Subdeacon.

In the three and thirtieth, he moderates the Penance impos'd on a Man who had been the occasion of Homicide, tho' he had not been an Instrument thereof.

In the four and thirtieth, directed to the Bishops of *Spain*, he declares that they ought not to put the *Jews* to death for their Religion.

In the five and thirtieth, he orders the Clergy and Laity of *Lucca*, not to sell the Offices belonging to the Church.

In the six and thirtieth, he adjudges that a Priest, who is subject to the Falling Sickness, ought to abstain from Celebrating Mass.

By the seven and thirtieth, he declares that he had impos'd seven years Penance on a Man who had kill'd his own Son involuntarily.

In the eight and thirtieth, he explains the manner of reckoning the Degrees of Consanguinity.

In the nine and thirtieth, which is among *Lanfrank's* Letters, he confirms the Privilege of the *English* Monks, to officiate in Cathedral Churches.

The fortieth is the Privilege granted to the Abby of *Vendome*.

The one and fortieth is the Privilege granted to the Monastery of *Peter Damien*.

In the two and fortieth, he enjoyns the Bishop of *Amiens* to forbear disturbing the Monks of *Corby*; otherwise he would Suspend and Excommunicate him, till such time as he should give them satisfaction in the presence of the Archbishop of *Rheims*.

The three and fortieth, directed to the Monks of *Cluny*, is a Privilege which he grants to them, that they should not be excommunicated or interdicted, but by the Sentence of the Holy See.

By the four and fortieth, he permits *Gebehard* Archbishop of *Salzbourg*, to erect a Bishoprick in his Diocess.

By the five and fortieth, he confirms the Establishment made by the Bishop of *Passau*, that the Regular Canons should hold all things in Common.

The greatest part of the Fragments of his other Letters, are his Judgments preferr'd against the Clerks who were guilty of Simony and Fornication; or else his Determinations upon several Points of Discipline, particularly concerning the Degrees of Consanguinity. We likewise gather from them, that an excommunicated Person cannot excommunicate another: That a Priest ought to Celebrate but one Mass a day; tho' some say one for the day, and another for a deceased Person, when 'tis necessary: That those who offer any Violence to Bishops, shall be excommunicated; and that those who offer any to Priests, or to any other Clergymen, shall be enjoyn'd Penance.

## CHAP. V.

*An Account of the Church of Rome under Gregory VII. of the Differences between this Pope, and the Emperor Henry, and other Princes of Europe; With an Abstract of his Letters.*

Here happen'd no disturbance among the People upon the Death of Pope *Alexander*: For *Hildebrand* who had the whole Power in his own Hands, gave such good Orders, that all was still and quiet. He order'd a Fast to be kept, and Prayers to be made for three Days together, before they consulted about the Election of another Pope. But at the very time of Interring the Corps of the deceased in the Church of *St. Saviour*, April 22. in the Year, 1073. being the very Day of his Death; the People being mov'd thereto, proclaim'd *Hildebrand* Pope, and put him into the Possession of the Holy See. The same Day he acquainted the Prince of *Salerno* of his Election, and pray'd him to come to *Rome* to defend him. This is what he says himself about the manner of his Election: But he withal declares that it was much against his Will, and that he was very Angry at it. His Adversaries tell us quite another Story, and say, that they were his Soldiers and other of his Creatures, who made this tumultuary Proclamation: That neither the Cardinals, nor the Clergy, nor the most considerable among the People had any Hand in it. However, there is an Act of Election in the Name of the Cardinals and the Clergy of *Rome*, made in the presence of the Bishops and Laity, which bears date the very Day of his Election. However the Case was, it must be own'd; that this Election was very Precipitate; and that *Didier*

Abbot of Mount *Cassin* and Cardinal, had a great deal of reason for the Reply he made to *Hildebrand*, who check'd him for coming too late, when he told him, that it was himself who was too hasty, since he took possession of the Holy See, before the Pope his Predecessor was lay'd in his Grave: And *Hildebrand* himself has acknowledg'd the Fault of this Election, which he casts upon the People, and maintains that he had no Hand in it. He was of *Tuscany*, of the Borough of *Soana*, the Son of a mean Artificer, if most Historians may be credited. He spent the first Years of his Life in *Rome*, where he had for his Master, *Laurence* Archbishop of *Melfia*, and was extremely in the favour of *Benedict IX.* and *Gregory VI.* He attended the latter in his Banishment to *Germany*, and after his Death retir'd into the Abby of *Cluny*, where he abode till such time as *Brund* Bishop of *Toul*, who was nominated for Pope by the Emperor *Henry*, going through *France* took him along with him to *Rome*, not questioning but by the Acquaintance and Interest which he had in that City, he might be very serviceable to him. He was no sooner return'd but he renew'd his Familiarity with *Theophylact* or *Benedict IX.* and grew within a while so Rich and Powerful, that he became Lord and Master of all Affairs, and the Popes were in a manner his Dependents. It was he who negotiated the Election of *Victor II.* between the Emperor and the Romans; and und-



Gregory VII. der Victor's Pontificate he was sent Legat into France. He turn'd out Benedict IX. and caus'd Nicholas II. to be elected in his Stead, who made him Archdeacon. In a Word it was by his Means that Cadalous was turned out, and Anselm Bishop of Lucca ordain'd Pope under the Name of Alexander II. It was he who supported that Pope's Interest, and having taken upon him the Character of Chancellor of the Holy See, had the absolute Administration of all Affairs both Ecclesiastical and Civil, as well as the entire disposal of the Revenues of the Church of Rome during his Popedom.

Hildebrand foreseeing that his Election might be molested, because it had been carry'd on so precipitately, and without the Consent of Henry King of Germany; he forthwith wrote to him about it, and requested by his Deputies, that he would be pleas'd to confirm it, assuring him that he had been elected against his Will, and that he put off his Ordination till such Time as he was inform'd of his Will and Pleasure. King Henry took some Time to consider on it, and sent Count Eberhard to Rome, to learn after what Manner that Election had been carry'd on. Hildebrand shew'd so many Civilities to this Count, that he wrote to the King in his Behalf: And Henry perceiving that it signified nothing to oppose his Election, because he was more powerful in Rome than himself, gave his Consent to it. By this Means Hildebrand was ordain'd Priest, and afterwards Bishop of Rome, in June, Anno Dom. 1073. At his Ordination he took upon him the Name of Gregory VII. in Honour to the Memory of John Gratian his old Patron who had assum'd the Name of Gregory VI. when he was seated upon the Papal Chair.

No sooner was this Man made Pope, but he form'd a Design of becoming Lord Spiritual and Temporal over the whole Earth; the supreme Judge and Determiner of all Affairs both Ecclesiastical and Civil; the Distributer of all Manner of Graces of what Kind soever; the Disposer not only of Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, and other Ecclesiastical Benefices; but also of Kingdoms, States, and the Revenues of particular Persons. To bring about this Resolution, he made use of the Ecclesiastical Authority, and the Spiritual Sword which God had put into his Hand, not only to maintain the Faith and Discipline of the Church, to reform Abuses, and to punish those who were guilty of Spiritual Offences; but he likewise made use of it to deprive Kings of their Kingdoms, Princes and Lords of their Estates and Revenues; to render them his Tributaries, to dispose at his Pleasure all that belong'd to them, and to force them to do whatsoever he desir'd; to engage Archbishops and Bishops to pay him a blind Obedience, and to do nothing in their own Diocesses without his Order. He liv'd in Times very lucky for him, and very proper to establish his Pretensions; the Empire of Germany was weak; France govern'd by an Infant King, who did not much mind the Affairs of State; England newly conquer'd by the Normans; Spain in Part under the Government of the Moors; the Kingdoms of the North newly converted; Italy in the Hands of a great many petty Princes; all Europe divided by several Factions, so that it was easy for him in such a Juncture to establish his Authority. But this Undertaking created a World of Business to him, and engag'd him in Contests with a great many European Princes. The most considerable was that which he had with Henry King of Germany, which lasted all his Popedom, and was of a very pernicious Consequence, both to the Church and the Empire: The Account of which is as follows.

Henry, the Fourth King of the Germans of that Name, since Henry the Falconer, succeeded (as we hinted before) his Father Henry, in the Year 1056. being then about five Years old. His Father at his Death recommended him to Pope Victor II. and threw him under the Protection of the Holy See. He was at first under the Government and Tuition of the Empress Agnes his Mother, who had the Administration of the Empire in her Hands. But the Princes and Grandees of Germany, being weary of the Government of this Woman, took Henry away from her, and committed the Charge of his Royal Person to Anno Archbishop of Cologne, who had likewise the greatest Share in the Government. These Lords, to retain their Authority the longer, left Henry to his Liberty of doing what he pleas'd, and to live in the Debaucheries common to Youth; and in the mean Time govern'd absolutely under his Name, and dispos'd as they saw fit of the Offices, Revenues, and Affairs of the Empire. Henry was in this Kind of Dependency upon them, till he came to be eighteen or twenty Years old: At which Time he began to take Cognizance of the Affairs of his Estate, and to govern them himself: It was then that he began to be sensible that a great many Things had been done contrary to Justice, and that the Grandees abusing the Confidence which he had repos'd in them, were advanc'd by indirect Means, and regarded more their own private Interests, than those of the State: It was then, he revok'd Part of what they had caus'd to have been done, prohibited the Exactions and Outrages which they had been guilty of, re-establish'd the Course of Justice and the Force of the Laws, and punish'd the Offenders. The Measures

Gregory VII. which he took, made several of his Lords to become Malecontents; for they being us'd to do what they pleas'd themselves, without fearing to be check'd for it, could not be easie under this new Yoke. Thereupon they conceiv'd an Aversion to King Henry, which they continued for ever after, and they took up a Resolution either to Kill him, or to Out him of the Empire. The Saxons were the first who openly rebell'd against him; they set upon him with such an Advantage, and with so great Numbers, that he was forc'd to fly for it. He return'd with an Army, and the Saxons were twice defeated, but still kept to their Resolution. They enter'd into a Confederacy with several Lords of Lombardy, France, Bavaria and Suabia; and finding themselves not strong enough to make open War against him, they charg'd him with several Crimes before Pope Gregory, and intreated that Pope to turn him out of his Throne, and to put up another King in his Place, whose Conduct and Wisdom should be answerable to his Dignity.

Gregory VII. had formerly begun under the Popedom of Alexander II. to form a Process against King Henry, and had caus'd him to be cited to Rome upon the Account of Simony, and other Crimes laid to his Charge. But after Alexander's Death, he thought it would redound to his Interest to manage him, that he might be the more inclinable to confirm his Election. Some Authors say, That he secretly threaten'd that Prince to prosecute him, in case he would not approve of his Election; but this Matter of Fact is not prov'd by any authentick Testimony. What is more certain, is, That before his Ordination, Gregory sent Word to Beatrice and Matilda, That he had a Design of sending some pious Persons to King Henry, to give him some wholesome Advice about his Conduct, and to persuade him to return to that Obedience which he ow'd to the Church of Rome. At the same Time he advises these Princesses not to communicate with the Bishops of Lombardy, who were either guilty of Simony, or favour'd those who were so. This Letter of Gregory, which is the eleventh of his first Book, bears Date May 25. 1073.

The Persons guilty of Simony, of whom he speaks in this Letter, are the Bishops of Lombardy, and particularly Godfrey Archbishop of Milan, who was (as Gregory says) advanc'd to that Dignity by Simony; and even whilst Guy Archbishop of that City was living. He and his Adherents had been excommunicated for this by the Pope in a Council of Rome, but this Excommunication had no other Effect upon him than to incense him; and entering into a League with all the Bishops of Lombardy, they conspir'd together against the Holy See. Gregory VII. being advanc'd to the Papal Chair, had nothing more in his Thoughts, than to bring them to submit, and to cause the Excommunication issued out against them to be put in Execution; as appears by the Letter which he sent on that Subject to all the Faithful of Lombardy, bearing Date July 1. 1073. which is the fifteenth of the first Book. King Henry on the other Hand protect'd the Archbishop of Milan, and the Bishops of Lombardy, and continued in Communion with them; and this gave the first Rise to the Contest betwixt him and Pope Gregory.

The first of September, in the same Year, the Pope advis'd Anselm, Bishop of Lucca Elect, not to receive the Investiture of his Bishoprick from King Henry, till such Time as he had given Satisfaction for his holding Communion with excommunicated Persons, and till he was reconcil'd to the Holy See, which he hop'd would be effected by the Mediation of the Empress Agnes; of Beatrice and Matilda Countesses of Tuscany; and by Radulphus Duke of Suabia, who had undertaken the Accommodation. The same Day Gregory wrote to that Duke, telling him, That he had no particular Ill-will to King Henry; but on the contrary, wish'd him well, as he was oblig'd to do, because he had acknowledg'd him for King; because he had receiv'd several signal Favours from his Father Henry; and because that Prince upon his Death, had recommended him to Pope Victor II. But forasmuch as this Concord between the Empire and the Church, ought to be pure and sincere, it was requisite in the first Place that he should manage the Affair with him, with the Empress Agnes, with the Countess Beatrice, and with Reginald Bishop of Cumie; that for this Purpose he desir'd a Conference with him, and pray'd him to come to Rome. He wrote likewise at the same Time to this Bishop of Cumie, telling him, That he wish'd with all his Heart, that the King were Master of all that Religion and Piety which he ought to be Master of; and that he were in Union and Amity with the Holy See; and to bring this about, he pray'd him to be ready to come to Rome with the Empress, Radulphus, and the Countess Beatrice; that so all Things might be adjusted: That he might hold Conferences with the Bishops of Lombardy, but that he ought not to communicate with them. These three Letters are the nineteenth, twentieth, and the one and twentieth of the first Book. In the four and twentieth written to Bruno Bishop of Verona, bearing Date Sept. the 24th. he declares, that he retains the same Love and Tenderness for King Henry as ever he did. This Prince replies to the Pope's Civilities



Gregory VII. in a very submissive Letter, wherein he declares, That for as much as it was requisite that the Empire and the Papacy should be mutually assisting to each other, it were to be wish'd that they were united together: That he own'd he had not as yet paid all that Respect to the Papacy which he ought, nor punish'd the Guilty with sufficient Severity: That he confess'd his Fault, in order to obtain Pardon for it: That he acknowledg'd, that the Levity of his Youth, or his being jealous of his Authority, or lastly, his being led by evil Councillors, was the Cause of his sinning against Heaven and the Pope, not only by unlawful seizing upon the Revenues of the Church, but also by communicating with unworthy Persons, and such as were guilty of Simony, and by selling of Churches, instead of protecting them as he ought: That he desired he would for the future assist him with his Authority; and that he implor'd his Aid and his Advice for the Reformation of the Churches, and particularly that of *Milan*; assuring him that he would assist him as far as possible, and hop'd he was of the same Mind with respect to him. The Pope seem'd satisfied with this Letter, as he declares in the five and twentieth Letter of the first Book, directed to *Herlembold*, whom he had made Archbishop of *Milan* after the Excommunication of *Godfrey*, wherein he does not stick to tell him, That King *Henry* had sent him such a submissive Letter, as was never in his Memory sent by that Prince, or any of his Predecessors to the Popes of *Rome*. This Letter bears Date *Sept. the 28th.* so that King *Henry's* Letter, which is not related till after the nine and twentieth of *Gregory*, is written some time before. The six and twentieth Letter bearing Date *Octob. the 9th.* is likewise directed to *Herlembold*, whom he advises to use his utmost endeavours to reclaim the Bishops of *Lombardy*, and among the rest, the Bishop of *Vercell*, by treating them with Meekness; and to grant Absolution to those who had communicated with excommunicate Persons, whenever they would repent. In the seven and eight and twentieth, he exhorts the Bishops of *Aix* and *Pavia* to assist *Herlembold*, and to shun excommunicated Persons; these Letters bear Date the 13<sup>th</sup>. of the same Month. However, he would not have the *Germans* to rise up in Arms against *Henry*, he desires that both Parties would refer themselves to his Judgment, as he sent Word to the Archbishop of *Magdebourg* by the nine and thirtieth Letter of the same Book, which bears Date *December the 20th.* in the same Year.

The Council of Rome in the Year 1074.

By the two, and three and fortieth Letters, dated *Jan. 25. and 26. 1074* he summon'd the Archbishops of *Aquileia* and *Milan* with their Suffragans, to a Synod which was to be held at *Rome* in the Beginning of Lent. This Synod being met, the Pope order'd that all those who had been promoted to Ecclesiastical Dignities, or had obtain'd any Benefices by Simony, should be suspended and depriv'd of them: That it should no longer be lawful for Clerks guilty of Fornication to celebrate Mass, nor to wait at the Altar; and that the People should not assist at the Mass, or any other Office of such Priests or Clerks who kept Concubines. In this Council he gave Absolution to *Garnier* Bishop of *Strasbourg*, who had been excommunicated by *Alexander*. This Bishop was the only Person of the *German* Bishops who were guilty of Simony, who came to *Rome* to beg Pardon for his Fault; so that the Pope thought this Submission deserv'd an absolute Pardon: But as for the Bishops of *Placentia*, and the other Bishops of *Lombardy*, who were likewise come to *Rome*, he only granted them the Power of confirming Infants, in Case of Necessity. This is what he gives an Account of to the Princesses *Beatrice* and *Matilda* in the seventy seventh Letter of the first Book, dated *April the 15th. 1074*. A Proposal was likewise made in this Synod to ordain *Anselm* Bishop of *Lucca*, and *Hugh* Bishop of *Dia*; but a Remonstrance was made in Behalf of King *Henry*, that the Pope ought not to consecrate them, till they had receiv'd Investiture. However, the Pope did not stick to ordain the Bishop of *Dia*; but put off for some Time the Ordination of the Bishop of *Lucca*. Notwithstanding, a little Time after he ordain'd him; the People of *Lucca* would not acknowledge him, but turn'd him out in Spite of all the Intreaties the Pope us'd for his Reception. Some Authors say, that *Gregory* in this Council made a Decree, against the Investitures of Benefices by Laicks. It appears by the Letter written by this Pope to *Beatrice* and *Matilda*, the sixteenth of *November* the same Year, that *Robert Guiscard* Duke of *Pozzuolo* was already excommunicated, and 'tis probable that this was done in this Council.

Some Time after the Pope sent to King *Henry* the Bishops of *Ostia*, *Palestrina* and *Cume*, as his Legates, with order to call a Council of Bishops in *Germany*, to reform the Abuses; to communicate to that Council the Decrees of the Council of *Rome* against such Clerks as were guilty of Simony, or kept Concubines; and to oblige King *Henry* to abandon the Interests of the Bishops of *Lombardy*, and to put himself upon the zealous Reformation of the Church. These Legates attended with the Empress *Agnes*, waited

upon *Henry* about *Easter* at *Nuremberg*. He receiv'd them very obligingly, regulated several Abuses, promis'd them to extirpate Simony wholly out of his Dominions, and to submit to the Holy See. But he would not separate himself from the Communion of the Archbishop of *Milan*, and return'd this Answer upon that Subject, That he hop'd that when the Pope should be fully inform'd of the Matter, he would revoke what he had done against that Archbishop, and the Bishop of *Lombardy*. Nor would he promise the Legates to call a Council, under a Pretence that it did not belong to them, but to the Archbishop of *Mayence*, in *Germany* as Vicar of the Holy See, since he had receiv'd that Privilege from the Predecessors of *Gregory*. It was *Liemar* Archbishop of *Breme* who furnish'd King *Henry* with this Reply. The Legates insisted, and remonstrated, that the Power which had been granted to the Archbishop of *Mayence*, ended at the Death of that Pope who had given him the Grant; that besides they had a Commission or Power which that Archbishop had not; but they were not hearken'd to, and were oblig'd to return, after they had suspended the Archbishop of *Breme*, and cited him to a Council to be held at *Rome* about the Feast of *St. Andrew*.

The Legates having brought this Answer back to *Gregory*, he wrote Word to *Henry*, That tho' he had not satisfied him in the Business relating to the Archbishop of *Milan*, yet he was very well pleas'd with his Submission, and with the Civilities he shew'd to his Legates: That he was willing to have another Hearing of that Affair, to see whether any Alteration ought to be made in the Judgment that had been pronounc'd against that Archbishop. By this very Letter, he gives him to understand, that he had cited to the Synod to be held at *Rome* the Beginning of the next Lent, *Sigefroy* Archbishop of *Mayence*, and the Bishops of *Bamberg*, *Strasbourg* and *Spires*; to give an Account of their Advancement to the Episcopacy, and of their Morals: He desires that he would oblige them to come, and send Deputies along with them, who should give in their Testimony of their Lives and Conversations. This Letter is dated *December 7th. 1074*. There is likewise another Letter of the same Date directed likewise to *Henry*, wherein he expresses a great Deal of Affection to him, and prays him not to hearken to their Counsels, who were willing to sow Dissensions between them. He tells him of the Afflictions which the Eastern Christians labour'd under, and assures him that he had provided several *Italian* Lords to go to their Assistance, and that he had already fifty thousand Men who were ready to follow him, if he would head them, and march as far as our *Saviour's Sepulchre*. That he is the more inclin'd to undertake this, because it would be a Means of reuniting the *Greek* Church to the *Latin*, and of reducing the *Armenians* and all the other Orientals into the Bosom of the Church. But forasmuch as it was a Business of great Consequence, he ask'd his Advice and Assistance, and declares that if he should go, he would leave him protector of the Church of *Rome*. These two Letters are the thirtieth, and one and thirtieth of the second Book.

Some Days before this, the Pope had summon'd to the Synod of *Rome*, by the twenty eighth, and twenty ninth Letters of the second Book, *Liemar* Archbishop of *Breme*, *Sigefroy* Archbishop of *Mayence*, *Otho* Bishop of *Constance*, *Garnier* of *Strasbourg*, *Henry* of *Spires*, *Herman* of *Bamberg*, *Imbric* of *Augsburg*, and *Adilbert* of *Wirtzburg*.

The pope's Decree against those who were guilty of Simony, and against the Clerks, who either kept Concubines or were marry'd, remov'd in *Germany*, *Italy* and *France* a great many Ecclesiasticks out of their Places, who were found guilty of Simony, or of having unlawful Converse with Women. These Men not only complain'd of this Yoke which the Pope would impose upon them, but they likewise inveigh'd against him, and accused him of advancing an insupportable Error, and such as is contrary to the Words of our Saviour, who says that all Men are not able to live continently; and contrary to the Words of the Apostle, who enjoins those who cannot live continently, to marry. They added, that this Law he would impose on them, which oblig'd them to live like Angels by offering Force to the ordinary Course of Nature, would be the Cause of great Disorders: That moreover if the Pope persisted in his Resolution, they had rather renounce the Priesthood than Marriage, and let him see if he could get Angels to take Care of their Flocks, since he would not make use of Men. This was the Language of these corrupted Ecclesiasticks, according to the Account of an Historian of that Time. But the Pope for his Part press'd the Execution of his Decree, and wrote very warm Letters to the Bishops, to oblige them to take strict Care of it. The Archbishop of *Mayence* doing his utmost therein, found how difficult it was to root out an Abuse so inveterate and so general as this was; and before he proceeded against the Refractory, he gave them six Months Time to reclaim. Lastly, having call'd a Synod at *Erford* in *October*, he told them in express Terms, that he was oblig'd to put the Pope's Decree into Execution, and that they were oblig'd either to renounce their

Gregory VII.



Gregory VII. their pretended Marriages, or else their Attendance on the Altar. When they found they could not by their Prayers prevail upon him to alter his Resolution; they withdrew from the Council in a great Rage, threatening the Archbishop either to turn him out, or to kill him. The Archbishop to pacify them, order'd them to be call'd back again; and promis'd when an Opportunity should offer, he would send to Rome, and endeavour to work the Pope over to another Mind. The next Day he propos'd to them the Question about the *Tenth*.

The Decree of Gregory met with no less Opposition in France, Flanders, England and Lombardy, than it did in Germany, as we are inform'd by several Letters sent by this Pope to the Princes and Bishops, of these Countries; and this Opposition rose so high at Cambray, that they caus'd a Man to be burnt who had asserted that those who were guilty of Simony, and the marry'd Priests ought not to celebrate Mass or any Divine Office; and that no Man ought to assist them therein. This we find related in the twentieth Letter of the fourth Book.

This Opposition did not discourage Gregory VII. in the least; on the contrary he wrote several Letters to the Bishops and Princes; whereby he enjoyns them to put his Decree in Execution, and not to tolerate Clerks guilty of Simony, nor such as were marry'd or kept Concubines. Upon this Head, we may consult the thirtieth Letter of the first Book directed to the Archbishop of Salzburg, dated Nov. 15. 1073. the five and fortieth of the second Book directed to Radulphus Duke of Saxony, and to Berthold Duke of Carinthia, dated Jan. 11. 1075. The sixty first directed to Dietwin or Theodwin Bishop of Liege, whom he charges with Simony: The sixty second directed to Sicard Bishop of Aquileia dated March 23. The sixty sixth to Burchard Bishop of Halberstat, of the same Month: The sixty seventh to Anno Archbishop of Cologne: The sixty eighth to the Archbishop of Magdebourg bearing the same Date: The tenth and eleventh of the fourth Book directed to the Count and Countess of Flanders, dated Nov. 2. 1076. the twentieth of the same Book: Lastly, he order'd an Apology of his Decree to be issued out in the Nature of a Manifesto, wherein he very much exalts the Authority of the Holy See, and the Decretals of his Predecessors.

The Synod call'd at Rome by the Pope the Year before, was held there about the End of February this Year. He therein excommunicated five Persons belonging to King Henry's Court, who were the Instruments of that Prince in selling of Benefices: He suspended from their Episcopal Functions Liemar Archbishop of Breme, Garnier Bishop of Strazbourg, Henry of Spire, and Herman of Bamberg. He likewise therein suspended William Bishop of Pavia, and Cunibert Bishop of Turin, and depos'd Dennis of Placentia, without any Hopes of being re-establish'd. Some of these Bishops went to Rome for Absolution: The Bishop of Bamberg was likewise in the Way thither, and sent Deputies beforehand by Presents to corrupt the Bishops who were his Judges; but seeing he had no Hopes left, he return'd again, after Promise made of retiring into a Monastery. Upon his Return, instead of performing his Promise, he enter'd again into the Possession of his Church, and committed there new irregularities. This oblig'd the Pope to renew his Sentence of Condemnation issu'd out against him, and withal to excommunicate him. This is what Gregory wrote to the Clergy and Laity of Bamberg, to Sigefroy of Mayence, and to King Henry by three Letters of the third Book, dated July 20. 1075. In the last he commends that Prince for opposing those who were guilty of Simony, and for using his utmost Endeavours to oblige the Clergy to live in Celibacy.

King Henry willing to hold a fair Correspondence with the Pope, whom he thought fit to keep his Friend, as long as the War between him and the Saxons lasted, sent two Embassadors to him before August. By them he sent him Word, that since all the Princes of his Dominions wish'd more to see them at Variance than in Peace, he sent him these two Persons privately, to manage the Peace between them. That he would not have any one know any Thing of it, but his Aunt Beatrice and Matilda. That when he return'd from his Expedition against the Saxons, he would send other Embassadors to him to acquaint him of his Mind, and to testify to him the Respect he bore to the Holy See. The Pope having receiv'd this Letter, return'd him this Answer, That he was heartily glad to find he had trusted this Negotiation to Persons of Piety, and that he was ready to receive him into the Bosom of the Church, without exacting any Thing else from him, but that he would follow the wholesome Counsels which he had to give him. At the Close of his Letter he exhorts him to use the Saxons with Clemency, to turn the Bishop of Bamberg out of his Bishoprick, and to put another in his Place. This Letter which has no Date, is the seventh of the third Book.

When Henry had conquer'd the Saxons, he began to put a Slight on the Pope's Favour; and instead of sending a private Embassy to him according to his Promise, he resolv'd to make it publick. This gave the Pope to under-

stand, that he did not care how the Affair was canvass'd, as he sent Word to Beatrice and Matilda by the fifth Letter of the third Book, which bears Date Sept. 11. 1075.

Much about the same Time, he who was in Possession of the Archbishoprick of Milan against the Pope's Will, dy'd, and Henry put up in his Place a Clerk of the Church of Milan nam'd Tedald, without taking any Notice of the Person whom Gregory pretended to be the lawful Archbishop of the Place. Immediately upon this the Pope wrote to Tedald, and to the Suffragans of the Archbishoprick of Milan, to prevent his Ordination; and cited him to the Synod which was to be held at Rome. These Letters are the eighth and ninth of the third Book, dated Sept. 7th. and Octob. 10th. 1075. That very Day he wrote a long Letter to King Henry, by which he exhorts him to separate himself from the Communion of those who were excommunicated by the Holy See, and to receive immediate Absolution from some Bishop who had receiv'd Commission from him to grant it to that Prince. He tells him, that he is surpris'd to see, that tho' in his Letters he expresses all Manner of Respect and Submission to the Holy See, yet he opposes the Canonical and Apostolick Institutions thereof; and particularly that he had not kept to the Promises which he made to him by the Princess his Mother, and by his Legates concerning the Church of Milan; and that on the contrary he had bestow'd the Bishopricks of Spoleto and Fermo to the Prejudice of what had been enjoyn'd by the Holy See: He exhorts him to a sincere Submission to the Sanctions of the Holy See, and to put them in Execution: And he promises him however that if he could shew him by Persons of Prudence and Piety, how an Accommodation might be found out, he would very readily lay hold on it for his Satisfaction.

About the End of this Year, the Pope fell out with Cincius, Son of Alberic, the Prefect of Rome; and after he had excommunicated him, he cast him into Prison; if Benno may be credited in the Case. Cincius having made his Escape, conspir'd against the Pope; and having rais'd a Troop of Soldiers, set upon him unawares on Christmas-day, whilst he was celebrating Mass in his Pontifical Robes, seiz'd upon his Person, drew him out by Violence out of Church, and shut him up in a strong House. No sooner was this News spread about Rome, but the People flock'd in great Multitudes to the House of Cincius to storm it, and to oblige him to release the Pope. Cincius finding that he was constrain'd to do it, made the Pope to promise him, before he set him at Liberty, that he would not do any Thing to him, or his Accomplices. But the People being intrag'd, burnt and pillag'd the Revenues belonging to Cincius both within and without the City. Cincius for his Part burnt and demolish'd all that belong'd to the Church of Rome. This Contest held for some Days, being fomented by Guilbert Archbishop of Ravenna, who had excited Cincius to this Undertaking. But at last Cincius was constrain'd to leave off, and to depart from Rome, to go to the Emperor. Guilbert likewise retir'd, pretending to be reconcil'd to the Pope, tho' his Design was to create him new Troubles. This he did by joining himself with Tedald Archbishop of Milan, the Bishop of Lombardy, Cardinal Hugh, and several others of the Clergy of Rome.

King Henry being very much dissatisfied with the Pope, who had treated his Embassadors unkindly, and had sent him a Nuncio who had discours'd with him in an haughty and threatening Air, was easily persuaded by Cardinal Hugh, and the other Bishops and Lords, the profess'd Enemies of Gregory, to abandon the Interests of a Man who treated him with an intolerable Severity. To bring this about, he wrote a circular Letter to the Bishops and Princes of the Empire, by which he implores their Assistance in the urgent Necessity he lay under, and in that Oppression under which both the Empire and Church labour'd through the Tyranny of Hildebrand, who design'd to take upon himself alone the Regal and Sacerdotal Authority contrary to Divine Institution, which has committed the One to Princes, and the Other to Bishops: To the Prejudice of which Institution he design'd to deprive him of the Kingdom and his Life, after he had depriv'd the Bishops of their Priesthood. That in this publick Grievance both of Church and State, he invites them to meet at Worms about Septuagesima, to take such Measures as might conduce to the Good of the Church, and the Honour of the State. Thierry Bishop of Verdun, wrote likewise a circular Letter in his own Name to all the Prelates and Princes of the Empire, which was full of Invectives against Gregory VII. in which he declares that they ought to proceed to the Election of a new Pope. Engelbert nominated to the Archbishoprick of Treves, wrote likewise another Letter no less abusive than the former. Lastly, all the Bishops of Germany were so dissatisfied with Gregory VII. because he had declar'd publicly that there was not one single Man among them who was a lawful Bishop, and that he would oblige all of them to resign their Bishopricks to him, and to hold them from him, as he had already serv'd several of them; that they all declar'd openly against him. They thereupon met together in great Num-

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The Pope arrested by Cincius.

King Henry's Letters.

The Letter of Thierry Bishop of Verdun.

The Letter of Engelbert Archbishop of Treves.

The Council of Rome in the Year 1075.



Gregory VII. in the Year 1076.

bers at Wormes on the Day appointed; where Cardinal Hugh, (whom the Pope had depos'd and excommunicated a few Days before) with Guilbert of Ravenna met, and preferr'd several Things against the Life, Conduct, Election, and Constitutions of Gregory. Upon this Charge, the Assembly declar'd that Hildebrand could no longer be look'd upon as lawful Pope, and all the Bishops subscrib'd to his Condemnation. Herman of Metz, and Adelbert Bishop of Wirtzbourg, were the only Persons who made any Scruple: But William Bishop of Utrecht, who very warmly maintain'd the Interest of the King, oblig'd them to subscribe, by saying, That they must either do that, or renounce the Allegiance which they ow'd to their Prince. Afterwards they wrote a Letter to Gregory, in the Name of the Archbishops of Mayence and Treves, and of four and forty Bishops of Germany, by which they declar'd to him, That tho' they knew he had been advanc'd to the Papal Chair contrary to all Manner of Right, yet they had thought fit to tolerate his Intrusion, in Hopes that he would have made Amends for these criminal Beginnings, by his Probity, and the good Services he would do the Church: But that the miserable Estate of the Universal Church, was a sufficient Demonstration that the sequel of his Actions was answerable to these unhappy Beginnings. That tho' our Saviour had recommended Peace and Charity as the principal Character of Christians, yet he on the contrary, sow'd Divisions in the Church by his Novelties, and tore it in Pieces by his proud Cruelty, or rather by his cruel Pride. That he was the Head of the Schism, and that he had created Confusion and Trouble to the Members of the Church, who before his Time liv'd in Union and Peace, by blowing up the Flames of Discord in all the Churches of Italy, Germany, France and Spain. That he was desirous to strip the Bishops of that Power which they receiv'd in their Ordination from the Holy Ghost; and had deliver'd them up to the Fury of the People, who could not endure any Bishops or Priests, but those who had by an unworthy Complaisance beg'd their Power and their Priesthood from his Pride. That he had been the Cause of great Confusions between the Members of Jesus Christ; subverted the Subordination which was requisite to be observ'd among them; and destroy'd the Rights and Privileges of all other Bishops, by asserting that as soon as ever he should have Notice of the Offence of any one of their Diocesans, the Bishops should have no farther any Power of binding or loosing them. That since they could not find in their Consciences to leave the Church in the Danger to which it was expos'd by his continued Outrages, they thought it proper to acquaint him with that, which they were hitherto willing to pass by in Silence, viz. That he had never been capable of being lawfully seated upon the Holy and Apostolick See, because he had taken an Oath in the Life-time of the Emperor Henry of blessed Memory, that he would never be Pope, nor suffer any other to be advanc'd to that Dignity, without the Consent of that Emperor, or his Son after him. That he had formally renounc'd the Popedom, in Order to bring over the other Cardinals to do the like. That in the Time of Pope Nicholas II. he himself had been the Author of a Decree made in a Council of one hundred and fifteen Bishops, importing, That no Pope should be made, but who was elect'd by the Cardinals, acknowledg'd by the People, and approv'd of by the King. That he had transgress'd all these Promises, and all these Sanctions: That moreover he gave a great Scandal to the Church, by holding too great a Familiarity with a Woman (meaning Matilda) and that it became a general Complaint, that all the Affairs of the Church were manag'd by the Counsels of Women. That one cannot complain too much of the unworthy Treatment he shews to Bishops. Therefore, forasmuch as 'tis evident, that by Perjury he entred upon the Papacy; that he has disturb'd the Church by his dangerous Novelties; and scandaliz'd it by the irregularity of his Life, they renounce that Obedience which they never promis'd him, and would no longer esteem him as an Apostolick Pope, since hitherto he has not esteem'd them as Bishops. Rowland a Clerk of the Church of Parma, was fixt upon to carry this Letter to Rome; to declare to Gregory that he should renounce the Popedom; and to protest, that all he should do or injoin for the Future should be null. This Clerk attended by the Envoys of King Henry, came to Rome the Day before the Pope held his Synod, which was immediately before the first Week in Lent. He deliver'd the Letter of the Assembly of Worms to Gregory, and made those Declarations and Protestations, which he had been order'd.

The Council of Rome against Henry. in the Year 1076.

Gregory without being startled at it, held his Council on the Morrow, and caus'd the Letter which had been brought him, to be read in the Presence of those who assisted therein. Rowland did there renew the Denunciation he had made, threatening that if he would not obey and relinquish the Holy See, the King should be at Rome before Whitsuntide, and turn him out by Force, because he was a Wolf, and not a lawful Shepherd. King Henry's Envoys made the same Protestations. But for all this, the Courage of Gregory VII.

Gregory VII.

was not abated; on the contrary, fir'd by this Affront, he began by excommunicating Sigefroy Archbishop of Mayence, and by suspending the other Bishops of Germany, who had any hand in this Undertaking; he pronounc'd likewise a Sentence of Excommunication against the Bishops of Lombardy, and against several Bishops beyond the Mountains, who were charg'd with Simony or other Crimes; and lastly, he declar'd King Henry to have forfeited the Kingdoms of Germany and Italy, and his Subjects absolv'd from the Oath of Allegiance, and thundred out a Bull of Excommunication against that Prince.

The Pope immediately publish'd this Sentence, and directed it to all the Faithful, with a very warm Letter against the Proceedings of the Bishops and King of Germany. This is the sixth Letter of the third Book, where 'tis misplac'd among the Letters of the Year 1075. whereas it was not written 'till after the Council held the first Week in Lent, in the Year 1076.

This Excommunication made an Impression on a great many Peoples Minds. The Enemies of King Henry made use of it to promote their Designs, and it serv'd as an Umbrage to the League which the Princes and Lords of Germany renew'd against him. It likewise shock'd some of those who assisted at the Assembly of Worms; and among others, Udo Archbishop of Treves, who went express to Rome, to procure his Absolution, and be reconcil'd to Gregory; and went express to Rome, to procure his Absolution, and be reconcil'd to Gregory; and being return'd to Germany, he was one of the first who maintain'd, That they ought not to communicate with the King, till such Time as he should be reconcil'd to the Pope. The Archbishop of Mayence and a great many more became of the same Mind, and there were but a very few of the Prelates who would venture to stand to what they had done. The Pope for his Part, made sure of the Forces and Places belonging to Matilda, the Widow of Godfrey Duke of Lorrain, who dy'd this Year in his Dutchy, being parted from his Wife a long Time before. This Princess was Daughter to Beatrice the Sister of the Emperor Henry III. and to Boniface Lord of Lucca. She was possess'd of a very considerable Estate in Italy, having the Sovereignities of Lucca, Parma, Reggio, Mantua, and a Part of Tuscany under her. She was wholly wedded to the Interests of Gregory VII. who likewise espous'd her Interests with all the warmth imaginable.

Whilst Affairs stood in this Posture, Gregory thought that before he broke out into an open War, it was advisable to use his fresh Endeavours to bring over King Henry to submit to what he was minded to require of him. To forward this Design he directed a Letter to all the Bishops, Abbots, Priests, Dukes, Princes, Knights, and in general, to all the Faithful of the Roman Empire, wherein after he had declar'd what he had done in Favour of Henry, and the base Returns he had receiv'd for it; he exhorts them to prevail upon this Prince to do Penance, that so he might be reconcil'd to the Church, declaring, that if he would not hearken to their Counsels, they ought to convene together to consult the Welfare of the Universal Church. He puts them in Mind of holding no Correspondence with those who were not separated from Communion with Henry. To conclude, he calls God to witness, that he had no temporal Advantage in his Eye, but the Welfare of the Church was the only Motive of what he did. This Letter which is the first of the fourth Book, bears Date July 25. in the Year 1076.

Within a while after, Herman Bishop of Metz, who kept Neuter in this Affair, wrote to Gregory, to ask him, whether the Bishops who communicated with Henry were excommunicated; and at the same Time he takes Notice to him, that there were some Persons who maintain'd, that a King could not be excommunicated. Gregory answer'd him by the second Letter of the same Book, written at Trivoli, August 25. That there was no Question to be made but that all those who communicated with King Henry (if it be lawful to call him King) were excommunicated: And that with Respect to those who say, that a king ought not to be excommunicated, there was no need to return them an Answer, since their Opinion was so ridiculous. However, he did not stick to prove, that Kings might be excommunicated, from the Example of Pope Zachary, by whom he says the King of France had been depos'd, and his Subjects absolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance to him: From several Privileges which are among the Letters of St. Gregory, wherein he declares the Kings and Princes excommunicated, and depriv'd of their Dignity, who shall infringe them. He subjoins the Instance of Theodosius; and lastly he alledges as a convincing Argument, that when Jesus Christ gave St. Peter the Power of feeding his Sheep, and the Power of binding and loosing, he excepted no Person from it. Afterwards he gives Herman to understand, That he had granted some Bishops a Power of absolving the Bishops and Grandees, who would separate themselves from Communion with King Henry; but that he had forbidden



Gregory VII. bidden them to grant Absolution to that Prince till such time as he was assur'd by good creditable Witnesses of his Repentance, and the satisfaction he would make, since he knew very well that there were Bishops enow who would not scruple to absolve him, if he had not forbid it.

'Tis much in the same Air he wrote eight Days after a second Letter to the Prelates and Grandees of Germany, wherein after protestation made that it was neither Pride nor Interest which mov'd him to excommunicate King Henry, but only for the welfare of the Church, he prays them to be tender of him, if he did sincerely Repent: Upon Condition however that he would turn out of his Council those excommunicated Persons who were guilty of Simony, and for the future follow the Advice of those who value the welfare of the Church above their own Interests: That he would look upon the Church as his Mistress; and use her no longer as a Servant: That he would no longer defend such Customs as were contrary to the Liberties of the Church; but follow the Doctrine of the Holy Fathers: That if he gave them an assurance of performing these and other things which with Reason might be required of him, they shall give him Notice thereof by their Deputies; that so they might consult together what is best to be done on that Occasion; but that he absolutely forbids them to absolve him from his Excommunication, till they had receiv'd an Approbation in writings from the Holy See for it. That if he would not repent, they ought to proceed to the Election of a Prince, who would discharge the Duties aforementioned, and that they ought to inform him of the Conversation and Manners of the Person they shall elect, that so he might confirm their Election: That with regard to the Oath which they had taken to the Empress Agnes, in case her Son should dye before her, they ought not to be concern'd about it, because they might very well perceive that she had no longer a Right thereto, whether she oppos'd or consented to his being deposted: That upon the whole, they should let him know who the Person was whom they design'd for Emperor, after they should have resolv'd to Out Henry. This is the third Letter of the fourth Book. It was no sooner receiv'd in Germany, but the Princes and Grandees of the Empire resolv'd to meet at Tribur or Oppenheim, to consult of the measures they ought to take. Radulphus Duke of Suabia, and the Dukes of Bavaria and Carinthia, with the Bishops of Wirtzburg and Worms, having held a Conference at Ulma, appointed this Convention to be on the twenty sixth of October, and acquainted therewith all the Princes of the Empire, and the Pope, who sent thither two Legates, to wit Sigehard Patriarch of Aquileia, and Alman Bishop of Passaw. These Legates declaim'd against the Conduct of Henry, and desir'd that they would elect another King in his stead. Henry for his part sent every Day his Deputies to promise the Legates, that he would correct what he had hitherto done amiss, and that he would make reparation for it by consulting the Welfare of the Church for the future: That if they mistrusted his Promise, he was ready to confirm it by his Oath, and to give Hostages for a security thereof. They return'd him this Answer, that they could not tell how to rely on his Words, since he had falsify'd them so often already. That nothing but the very utmost extremity could have brought the Holy See to use such Methods, after it had try'd all other: That it had waited his leisure as long as possible; but that at present it could not forbear laying hold of an Opportunity which offer'd it self of placing on the Throne a Person worthy to fill it. After several Conferences of this Nature, both Parties were ready to Engage, for the two Armies were over against each other, on either side of the Rhine, when the Lords of Suabia and Saxony sent their Deputies to the King with this Declaration, that tho' he had behav'd himself very ill towards them, and tho' the Crimes laid to his Charge were evident, yet they were willing to submit the Determination thereof to the Holy See. That they would prevail upon his Holiness to come to Augsburg about the Feast of the Purification, to determine this Affair in a general Assembly of the Princes of the Empire: That if he could not get his Absolution in a Year's time, he should be depriv'd of his Right for ever: That in the mean time he should disband his Army, and withdraw to Spire with the Bishop of Ferden, and several other Ministers, who were not excommunicated; that he would lay aside all his ensigns of Royalty; and forbear going to Church; that he should restore the Church of Worms to its Bishop; and that he should order the Garrison which he had thrown into that City to march out. The King finding his Forces to be in a bad Condition, esteem'd it a Happiness to extricate himself out of these Difficulties, tho' upon such dishonourable Terms. He thereupon promis'd to gratify them in their demands, took his leave immediately of the Archbishop of Cologne, and of the Bishops of Bamberg, Stratzbourg, Basil, Spire, Namburg, Osnabruck, and others who were excommunicated; caus'd the Garrison of Worms to march out, disbanded his Forces, and withdrew to Spire. The Princes of Suabia and Saxony being satisfied with his

The Convention at Oppenheim.

King Henry's Journey into Italy.

Submission, sent the Pope word of all that happen'd in their Convention, and pray'd him to come to Augsburg to put an End to this Affair. The King whose Interest it was to be beforehand with the Pope, and to get his Absolution as soon as possible, set forward on his Journey to the Pope about the End of the Year; and understanding that his Enemies had seiz'd upon the Passes which open'd into Italy, to apprehend him, he went through Burgundy and Savoy, and with much ado enter'd Italy. He was there receiv'd very honourably by a great many, who promis'd him all manner of Assistance. In the mean time the Pope upon the Intelligence he had receiv'd from the Princes of Germany set forward on his Journey, and came as far as Verceil, where having understood that King Henry was come into Italy, and had rais'd some Forces, he withdrew to the Castle of Canossa in the Diocess of Reggio, which belonged to the Princess Matilda. Whilst he was there, a great many Bishops and several Lords of Germany waited upon him, to receive their Absolution at his Hands. He enjoin'd them to Fast for some time in Cells, and afterwards gave them Absolution according to their request, upon Condition that they should hold no Correspondence with Henry, till such time as he was reconcil'd to the Holy See. In the mean time the King carry'd on his Reconciliation by the Mediation of Matilda, the Abbot of Cluny and several other Lords, and very earnestly requested that he would take off the Excommunication issu'd out against him, promising that he would always be ready to answer the Accusations of his Enemies, and to refer all to the Pope's Determination. At last Gregory consented to grant him Absolution, provided he would come in Person, and humbly sue for it. This Prince resolv'd to submit to it, rather than be entirely dispossest of the Empire by the Princes of Germany. He thereupon came to Canossa, and entered the Outworks of that place bare-footed, without any ensign of Regal Dignity. He waited three Days together at the Castle Gate, without receiving any Answer from the Pope. On the fourth Day, after several Conferences, the Pope granted him Absolution, upon Condition that he would appear at the time and place which he should appoint, to answer to the Accusations brought against him by the Princes of Germany, whereof the Pope shall be Judge; and that he shall either leave or keep his Kingdom, according to the Sentence he shall pronounce: That till that time, he shall not assume to himself any Character of the Royal Dignity; nor perform any Act of Sovereignty, unless receiving of such Revenues as were necessary for his Subsistence: That all his Subjects should be absolv'd from their Allegiance both before God and Men: That he should remove Robert Bishop of Bamberg, and Ulrich Bishop of Coesheim from his Person; and that if he fail'd in the Observation of any one of these Articles, the Absolution which he receiv'd should be Null and Void: That from thenceforth he should acknowledge himself to be Guilty, and should not require any longer to be heard in his own Defence: Lastly, He bound himself by Oath to submit to the Judgment which the Pope should make, or come to the Agreement which he desir'd; and if the Pope should cross the Mountains, he should give him free Liberty of coming and going, without offering him any Molestation. These Articles were Sign'd and Sworn to by Henry, January the 28th. in the Year, 1077. and as Guarantees of his Word, he offer'd the Princess Matilda, Hugh Abbot of Cluny, the Bishops of Verceil, Namburg, and several Lords. Afterwards the Pope celebrated Mass, and having taken a consecrated Host in his Hands, and directing his Discourse to King Henry, he told him, that for a proof of his being Innocent of the Crimes laid to his Charge, he would take the Sacrament upon it; and if his Majesty were as Innocent of the Crimes laid to his Charge, he conjur'd him to do the Like. This proposal somewhat puzzled the King; who perhaps was not very much dispos'd to communicate. Some Historians relate that he shifted it off by saying, that this proof of his Innocence would not perhaps be satisfactory to the German Princes; who were not there present: Others say, that he did receive the Communion from the Hands of the Pope. Let the Case be how it will, 'tis certain that after Mass, he was treated very nobly, and sent away with manifest tokens of Friendship and Reconciliation. These Matters of Fact are apparent from the Relation of contemporary Authors, and from the Letter which Gregory wrote immediately after to the Princes of Germany, which is the twelfth of the fourth Book.

Henry repented of this Action as soon as he had done it; The Com: for the Italians of Lombardy perceiving how disadvantageous the Agreement would be to them, ridicul'd him for which the what he had done, and cast reproaches upon him for it, Lombards telling him, that for their parts, they did not value the Ex- made of communication of a Man, who had himself been very Henry's justly excommunicated by the Bishops of Italy; who was Conduct: posses'd of the Holy See by Simony; who had stain'd it by several Murders, and polluted it by his Adulteries: That his Majesty had receiv'd a Treatment unworthy of himself,

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and

Gregory VII.



Gregory  
VII.

and cast such a Blot upon his Honour, as could never be wip'd off, by submitting to an Heretick, and to an infamous Person: That they were very unfortunate in having made choice of one for the Protector of the Justice and Laws of the Church, who had by this dishonorable Submission betray'd the Catholick Faith, the Authority of the Church, and the Dignity of the State. These and such like were the common Discourses of the Princes and Grandees of Italy, and which they ventur'd to speak publicly. This render'd Henry so odious, that they propos'd to make his Son their King, and to carry him to Rome with an Army, there to have him Crown'd by a Pope of their own choosing. Henry to clear himself, represented to them that he was necessitated to do what he did; that he had not done it but only for the good of the Publick, and because he could not otherwise satisfy the Pope, and the German Lords, who had declar'd against him: That at present being in a place of safety, he would make use of all his Strength to revenge the Affront which had been offer'd him. He had much ado after all to pacify them, and perceiv'd himself abandon'd by many, and despis'd by others. This put him upon resolv'ing to break entirely with the Pope, by not observing the Articles agreed upon betwixt them. He recall'd the excommunicated Bishops, and declar'd publicly that Gregory had betray'd him, and that he would be reveng'd of the Affront which had been offer'd him.

The Con-  
vention at  
Forcheim,  
where Ra-  
dulphus  
is elected  
King.

On the other side the Archbishop of Mayence, and the Bishops of Wirtzburg and Mentz, the Duke Radulphus, and a great many other Princes and Grandees of Germany, appointed a Convention to be held at Forcheim the 13th. of March, and invited the Pope thither, who was still at Canossa, where he was detain'd three Months by the Princess Matilda. Having receiv'd this Intelligence, he sent Cardinal Gregory to King Henry, to give him notice that the Time was come for the performing of what he had promis'd: That the German Princes were to meet March the 13th. at Forcheim, to regulate the Affairs of the Empire: That he ought to be there, to clear himself of the Accusations prefer'd against him. The King return'd him this Answer, That since this was the first time of his coming to Italy, he had too much Business upon his Hands to think of returning so suddenly and in so short a Time. The Pope having receiv'd this Answer, immediately dispatch'd away his Legates to Forcheim, to declare to the Convention, that he could not safely go into Germany, or return back to Rome, because Henry had caus'd all the Passes to be block'd up: And that therefore they should in his Absence consult the Necessities both of Church and State, and do what they thought most proper for the Welfare of both.

This Convention was held at the place and time appointed. Radulphus Duke of Suabia caus'd himself to be elected King, and was consecrated by Sigefroy at Mayence. He immediately sent one to the Pope to acquaint him of his Election, and to assure him of his Obedience. Henry for his part, pray'd the Pope to assist him against Radulphus, to declare his Election Null, and to Excommunicate him. Some Authors report that Gregory approv'd of the Election of Radulphus, and acknowledg'd him for King: But he himself assures us of the contrary in the eight and twentieth Letter of the ninth Book, where he calls God to witness that this Election was carry'd on without his Consent and Knowledge; and that the Answer which he had return'd to Henry, was to this effect, that he would do him Justice, after he had heard the Arguments on both sides, to know which had the most Right on his side. Upon this he resolv'd to go to Germany, and for this end wrote the last of May, in the Year, 1077. two Letters, the one directed to the Legates which he had in that Country, and the other to the Princes of Germany, wherein he acquaints them of his Intention of coming to Germany to decide the Difference. That they ought to take all necessary Security of the two contending Parties, for his free passage thither; and that if either of the two Parties should oppose his coming, they should esteem him as an excommunicated Person, and acknowledge him as lawful King, who should submit to the Holy See, and was willing to refer himself to its Determination. These two Letters are the three and four and twentieth of the fourth Book.

Henry foreseeing that if the Pope went into Germany, he would not fail of passing a Sentence contrary to his Interests, resolv'd to stop his Journey, and to engage in a War against Radulphus, and the other Rebels. The Pope having caus'd several Bishops of King Henry's Party to be apprehended, that Prince by way of reprisal, order'd Cardinal Gerard Bishop of Ostia, who was Legate in Lombardy, and Bernard Abbot of Marseilles, one of the Pope's Legates in Germany to be apprehended. Gregory being concern'd that the Affairs of Germany did not go according to his desires, complain'd of it to Udo Archbishop of Treves, and his Suffragans, and exhorts them to do all they could to divert the Storm which was coming upon Germany. The Letter which he wrote to them upon this Subject, bears date the last of September, in the Year, 1077. and is the seventh of the first Book.

The beginning of the next Year, the Pope cited Guilbert Archbishop of Ravenna and his Suffragans, with the Bishops and Abbots of la Marche, Fermo and Camerine of Pentapolis, of Emilia and Lombardy, to the Council which was to be held at Rome according to Custom the first Week in Lent, and assures them by his Letter, (which is the thirteenth of the fifth Book, dated January 28.) That he would do them no harm, and that he would be as indulgent towards them as in Conscience he could be. These Bishops did not think it proper to appear at this Synod, which consisted of almost one hundred Bishops. The Pope did therein renew his Anathema issu'd out already against Tedald Archbishop of Milan, and against Guilbert Archbishop of Ravenna, and suspended them from all Episcopal and Sacerdotal Functions. He therein depos'd (without any hopes of being re-establish'd) Arnulphus Bishop of Cremona, who was there present, and had own'd himself guilty of Simony, and excommunicated him till such time as he should do Penance. He therein likewise depos'd Rowland Bishop of Trevisi, for having acquir'd his Bishoprick by taking upon him the Deputation of the Assembly of Worms, which had been the cause of the Schism between the Empire and the Papacy, and excommunicated him for ever, if he did not do Penance. He serv'd after the same Manner Cardinal Hugh of St. Clement, as one condemn'd thrice by the Holy See: First, For having favour'd and supported the Schism of Cadalous: Secondly, For having joyn'd himself, when Legate, with Hereticks and Persons condemn'd by the Holy See for Simony: And Thirdly, for having stir'd up Schisms and Dissensions in the Church. He therein renew'd the Excommunication issu'd out by his Predecessors against the Archbishop of Narbonne; and after he had thus determin'd Matters with relation to Bishops, he orders with reference to the Affairs of Germany, that two Legates should be sent into that Country, to hold there an Assembly of Prelates and Grandees of the Empire, wherein they should endeavour to bring things to an Accommodation, or to pass a definitive Sentence in favour of him who had the best Title. And that no Person might disturb the Execution of this design, he excommunicates all such as shall oppose it, and shall hinder his Legates from going into Germany. He therein likewise excommunicates the Normans of Pozzuolo, and interdicts all the Bishops who did not appear at his Synod. Lastly, He prohibits under the penalty of Excommunication, the detaining of those who had been cast away at Sea, or seizing of their Effects. He therein declares the Ordinations made by excommunicated Persons to be Null, and absolves from the Oath of Allegiance all such as had taken it to excommunicated Persons, and prohibits them from paying any Obedience to them. But that the great Number of Excommunications might not be the cause of the Damnation of those, who by ignorance, simplicity, fear or constraint were oblig'd to communicate with excommunicated Persons, he exempts out of the Excommunication all Women, Children, Servants, and other Subjects, who had no Hand in the Crimes which the others committed, and in general all those who communicated with excommunicated Persons without knowing them to be so. He likewise gives Travellers leave, who are in the Country of excommunicated Persons, to buy what they want of them; and he does not hinder any Man from assisting or shewing any Acts of Charity towards the excommunicate. These Decrees are of the third of March, in the Year, 1078.

This Council being broke up, the Pope wrote to the Bishops, Princes, and other Lords of Germany, sending them word what had been resolv'd upon with relation to the Affairs of Germany: And after having excommunicated all those who should hinder the Execution thereof, he gave them to understand, that the Bearer of his Letter shall agree with Udo Archbishop of Treves, who is of King Henry's party, and with some other Bishops of the party of Radulphus, about the Time and Place of their Assembly, that so his Legates may be there with Safety. He wrote likewise in particular to the Archbishop, recommending to him the making up of the Peace, and the putting in Execution what had been enjoyn'd in the Council of Rome; and that he might take such Measures as were most equitable, he advises him to consult with him who should be chosen Mediator of the other party. These two Letters dated March 9. in the Year, 1078. are the fifteenth and sixteenth of the Book.

The Pope wrote and disturb'd himself in vain about the holding of this Convention; Henry would not agree to it, and prepar'd himself for carrying on the War; and even those of the Party of Radulphus suspected the Pope's Sentence. Thereupon he wrote another Letter dated the first of June into Germany, wherein after he had declar'd that all the Care or Pains which he had taken to procure Peace were in vain, because the Enemies of God and the publick Good, who only minded the gratifying of their Ambition, by destroying the Empire, and ruining Religion, hinder'd the holding of the Convention which was propos'd: He in-joyns

Gregory  
VII.  
The Coun-  
cil of  
Rome, in  
the Year  
1078.



Gregory VII. joins all the Germans not to assist these Enemies of the publick Peace, and not to communicate with them, giving them to understand that they were excommunicated. Lastly, he assures them that he would never favour the Party which was unjust, and prays them not to harbour any such thoughts of him, whatever might be said or written to them about it; for he was one who fear'd God, and who suffer'd every Day for his Sake. This Letter is the first of the sixth Book.

In the mean Time King Henry without minding all these Excommunications, being march'd into Germany at the Head of an Army, and became Master of the Countries of Bavaria and Suabia, which Radulphus had left to retire into Saxony. Radulphus did there raise some Forces, and came before Wirzburg, and besieg'd it. Henry being come to its Relief, gave Battle to him, which did not prove successful to him, for several of the Horse, who pretended to be on his side, falling upon him to kill him, put his Army into confusion. The Cavalry fled, the Infantry were cut in pieces, and the Town was taken; but Henry retook it within a short time after.

Gregory VII. About the end of November, Gregory held a Council at Rome, wherein he excommunicated Nicephorus Botoniatus, who had seiz'd upon the Empire of the East, after he had outed Michael Ducas. The Envoys of Henry and Radulphus, took an Oath in the Name of their Masters, that they would not hinder the Legates of the Holy See from holding an Assembly in Germany, to put an End to their Contests. Lastly, The Pope made in this Council twelve Canons concerning Benefices, and Ecclesiastical Revenues.

In the first, he excommunicates all Laicks who were possess'd of Ecclesiastical Revenues, and in particular those who had seiz'd upon the Revenues belonging to the Monastery of Mount Cassin. This Decree was made upon the account that Jordanes Duke of Capua, had taken away from that Monastery a Sum of Money which had been deposited there by the Bishop of Roscella.

The seconds imports, That having understood that several Laicks granted in several Places the Investitures of Churches, contrary to the Constitutions of the Holy Fathers, and that this was the cause of great Disturbances, he orders that no Ecclesiasticks shall receive Investiture of any Bishoprick, Abby or Church, from the Hands of an Emperor or a King, or any other Laick whatever, and declares that if any shall receive it, his Investiture shall be Null and Void, and he shall be excommunicated, till such Time as he has given Satisfaction for his Offence.

The third imports, That if any one sell any Prebends, Archdeacons, Provostships, or any other Ecclesiastical Benefices, or disposes of them otherwise than the Holy Canons direct, he shall be suspended from his Functions, because 'tis requisite that he who receives the Dignity of a Bishop gratis, should likewise dispense the Things which belong to it gratis.

The fourth declares those Ordinations to be Null, which are made for Money, or at the Solicitation of any one, or in Consideration of any Service done for that Purpose; and all such as are not made by the joynt Consent both of Clergy and Laity, or such as are not approv'd of by those to whom the Consecration of elected Persons does belong.

The fifth imports, That such Penances as are not proportion'd to the Quality of the Crimes committed are insignificant; and that they who cannot bear Arms, or exercise a Trade without falling into Sin, ought to quit their Profession or Trade: And that those who bear any Malice to, or detain any Goods of their Neighbour, shall be reconcil'd and make full restitution to him, before they shall be admitted to Communion.

The sixth, prohibits Laicks from possessing Tenths, what Title soever they may have thereto.

The seventh, enjoins Abstinence from Meats every Saturday, unless some solemn Festival fall thereon.

The eighth imports, That no Abbot shall be possess'd of the Tenths, or other Ecclesiastical Revenues which of Right belong to the Bishop, unless by the Authority of the Pope, or by the Licence of the Bishop of the Place.

The ninth, that Bishops shall not impose any new Burden on the Abbots or Clergy.

The tenth, That all those who are possess'd of any Revenues belonging to the Holy See, or know of any who do possess them, shall be bound to discover it, under the Penalty of paying Fourfold.

The eleventh, That the Bishops who shall permit the Priests, Deacons, or Subdeacons of their Dioceses to live Marry'd, shall be suspended of their Functions.

The twelfth, That all Christians shall endeavour to offer something at the Celebration of the Mass.

The next Year Gregory held another Council the beginning of Lent, in which Berenger abjur'd his Error. After this the Envoys of Radulphus complain'd to the Council, that King Henry offer'd great Violences to the Ecclesiasticks of Germany. Several Bishops of the Council propos'd to excommunicate him; but the Pope thought it more ad-

visable to put it off, and contented himself with taking an Oath from his Envoys, who, swore that their Master should send Persons with Pass-ports for the Pope's Legates to go safely into Germany, and should submit to their Judgment. The Envoys of Radulphus took likewise an Oath, that their Master should either come, or send Deputies to the Assembly, which the Pope or his Legates should appoint; and that he should submit to the Judgment of the Holy See. The Archbishop of Aquileia likewise promis'd to be faithful for the future to Pope Gregory, and his Successors; to make no attempt on their Persons or Estates; and to be in all things submissive to them. In this Synod were excommunicated and depos'd, without any Hopes of being re-establish'd, Tedald Archbishop of Milan, the Archbishop of Narbonne, Sigefroy Bishop of Boulogne, Rowland Bishop of Trevis, and the Bishops of Fermo and Camerine. Lastly, The Bishop of Reggio promis'd on the Holy Evangelists to quit forthwith his Bishoprick, if the Pope or his Legate should order him to do it.

Gregory upon the Oath taken by the Envoys of the two Competitors, sent away his Legates, as he hints in a Letter written to the Princess Matilda, March 3. in the Year, 1079. But King Henry finding he had the better of his Enemy, whom he defeated in a Battle near Fladesheim, would not permit any Assembly to be held, wherein his Right might be call'd in Question; and the Pope's Legates perceiving the success of his Arms, not only abstain'd from acting any thing against him, but likewise seem'd to favour him. Those who were of Radulphus's Party preferring their Complaints to the Pope about it, and taking notice that it was suspected that he had alter'd his Mind, he return'd them this Answer, that tho' all the Latins who were of King Henry's Party accus'd him of too much severity us'd towards that Prince, he had always objected to them, and declar'd that he would be of no Party, but of that which had Justice on its side; that if his Legates had done any thing contrary to the orders which he had given them, he was very sorry for it, and that he understood that they were constrain'd to do it, either by Fraud or by Force; that he had only given them Orders to appoint the Time and Place, that so he might send his Legates to determine this great Affair; to re-establish the Bishops, and to forbid them communicating with excommunicated Persons. This Letter dated October 1. in the Year, 1079. is the third of the seventh Book.

Lastly, Gregory in the Council held the beginning of Lent in the Year 1080. after he had renew'd the prohibition of receiving Investitures of Benefices from Laicks; Rome, anathematiz'd those who granted them; reiterated the Excommunications issu'd out against Tedald Archbishop of Milan, Guilbert of Ravenna, Peter of Narbonne, Rowland Bishop of Trevis and others; prohibited the Normans of Pozzuolo from invading the Revenues belonging to the Church of Rome; repeated and enlarg'd the Decrees made in the Council of the foregoing Year, concerning Penances proportion'd to the greatness of the Crimes, and the Elections of Bishops: He thunder'd out a terrible Excommunication against King Henry, wherein he anathematiz'd Him and all his Adherents; declar'd him to have forfeited the Kingdoms of Germany and Italy, and all Regal Dignity; forbid all Christians to obey him; and bestow'd the Kingdom of Germany on Radulphus, Elected by the Princes of Germany: And Lastly, Exhorts all of them to take up Arms against Henry, to divest him of his Dominions.

When the News of Henry's Excommunication was brought to Germany, it incens'd those of his Party against the Pope, who meeting at Mayence about Whitsuntide, resolv'd to endure him no longer on the Papal Chair. But that his Deposition might be the more Solemn, they appointed a Council to be held at Bresse, which was made up of thirty Bishops, and a great many Princes of Germany and Italy. They there unanimously depos'd Hildebrand, against because, say they, it is manifest that it was not God who Gregory Elected him, but that he caus'd himself to be Elected by Fraud and for Money; because he overthrew the Order of the Church; disturb'd the Empire; threaten'd Death to a Catholick King, and a lover of Peace; defended a perjurd King; sow'd discord among those who were at Peace, and scandaliz'd the Church. They likewise cast Reflections upon him, calling him Obstinate, Perverse; a Preacher up of Sacrileges and Combinations; a Protector of perjurd Persons and Homicides; a Disciple of Berenger, who call'd in Question the reality of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist; a Sorcerer; a Necromancer possess'd by an evil Spirit; an Heretick; an Infidel. For these Reasons they thought that he ought to be depos'd and turn'd out of the Chair, and that if he did not recede of his own accord, he ought to lay under a perpetual Condemnation. They Elected in his stead Guilbert Archbishop of Ravenna, one of the principal Actors in this Tragedy, who took upon him the Name of Clement III. All this was done June 25. in the Year, 1080.



Gregory VII.

The Letter of Henry to Gregory VIII.

After the Assembly, Henry wrote a Letter to Hildebrand (for so he calls Gregory) in these Terms: 'Henry by Divine Providence, and not by Usurpation, King, to Hildebrand who is no longer Pope, but a wicked Monk. You very justly deserve this Title, having been the cause of that Confusion, which the Church at present labours under, and which is so great that there is scarce a Man but has had his share in your Curses. For without making mention of other Things, you have lay'd under your Feet Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and others of the Lord's Anointed, to get the Applause of the People, and to make them believe that you know every thing, but that they know nothing. . . . We have born with you as long as We thought We might with Safety do it without Prejudice to the Holy See; but you fancy'd that We did that out of Fear, which Humility put Us upon doing. You have advanc'd your self against the Regal Power; you have dar'd to threaten to divest Us thereof, as if it were you who had bestow'd it on Us, and as if We had not receiv'd it from God, who has call'd Us to the Empire, but not you to the Papacy; for you were advanc'd there to by Craft and Fraud, and by your Money gain'd the Favour you had. This Favour you thus gain'd has put you upon making use of the Sword to ascend the Throne of Peace, and being mounted thereon, you have disturb'd the Peace, by Arming the Subjects against those whom they ought to obey, by bringing a Contempt on those Bishops whom God hath call'd, even you who had no call. . . . You your self have assaulted Our Royal Person, though an Anointed King, and one who could not be call'd to Account but by God alone, nor be depos'd for any other Crime but that of Apostatizing from the Faith. . . . For as much therefore as you are Anathematiz'd and Condemn'd by Our Sentence, and by the Sentence of Our Bishops, quit the Holy Apostolick See which you have unjustly usurp'd, and let another take your Office, who exercises no Violence under the Umbrage of Religion; but who Teaches the pure Doctrine of St. Peter. We Henry by the Grace of God King, with all our Bishops, enjoin you to descend from the Papal Chair,

Henry at the same time wrote likewise to the Laity and Clergy of Rome, that Hildebrand being depos'd, he order'd them to turn him out of the Holy See, and to receive him in who had been elected in his Place. He sent likewise Embassadors to the Christian Kings and Princes, to prevail upon them to Recognize Clement, and to withdraw their Obedience from Gregory.

From Words they came at last on both sides to Blows. The Pope, to make his party good against Henry, reconcil'd himself with Robert Guiscard Duke of Pozzuolo, who promis'd him all Manner of Assistance and Obedience; and by way of Retaliation receiv'd the Investiture of the Countries which he possess'd, with a permission of enjoying (durante beneplacito) Salerno, Melfa, and part of the March of Fermo, which he had invaded. This Accommodation gave the Pope a Right of imploring his Aid by the Letter, which is the fifth of the eighth Book, dated July 21. Afterwards, to fall particularly on Guilbert, he nominates another Archbishop of Ravenna, declares he would come with the Assistance of the Normans of Pozzuolo to turn out Guilbert, and exhorts those of Ravenna, Fermo, and Spoleto to abandon him, and to place him whom he had nominated, into Possession of that Archbishoprick. These are the seventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth Letters of the eighth Book. He wrote likewise to the German Rebels, by the ninth Letter of the same Book, dated September 22. by which he exhorts them to behave themselves like Men, and vindicate the Honor of the Church of Rome.

Henry for his part, prosecuted his design against the Saxons, with whom he had hitherto engag'd without Fortune's declaring her self absolutely on either side. But at last Octob. 15. in the same Year, there was a bloody Engagement between Henry and Radulphus. The Engagement was very sharp on both sides, and Radulphus seem'd to have the better of it, till such time as being hot in the Engagement, he receiv'd a Wound in his Arm. This oblig'd him to retreat, and leave the Field to his Enemy: He was carry'd to Mersburg, where he dy'd within a short time after, shewing a great deal of concern for having swerv'd from his Allegiance to his King. Henry entred Saxony, and made there great Havock, and upon his return re-took all Suabia.

Gregory was the more concern'd for the Death of Radulphus, because it expos'd him to the Mercy of Henry, who prepar'd to fall down into Italy. He had the Princess Matilda at his Devotion; but the Forces which she had, were weak in Comparison of Henry's. A great many advis'd him to adjust Matters with that Prince: But being resolv'd to try his utmost before he came to that, he wrote to the Bishop of Passaw, and to the Abbot Richenon, who still held out against Henry; to learn of them, whether they were in a Capacity of giving him any Assistance; and

exhorted them to choose instead of Radulphus, a King entirely devoted to the Interests of the Holy See, sending Gregory them likewise the Form of an Oath, which he would have him take. He wrote likewise at the same time to the Abbot of Mount Cassin, to desire Assistance from Robert Guiscard, and he himself desir'd the same of that Prince, as appears by the eleventh and seventeenth Letters of the same Book.

In the mean time Henry after he had given necessary Orders for the Affairs of Germany, march'd into Italy in the Year, 1081. at the Head of any Army. He march'd directly to Rome without meeting any opposition, only when he came near that place he engag'd with the Forces of Matilda, which he quickly defeated. But the City of Rome and the adjacent Countries as he retreated to Lombardy. The next Year he return'd and laid Siege to that City, which he vigorously assaulted during all Lent: But Easter coming on, and the Heat being insupportable, he quarter'd his Forces round about Rome, and return'd to Lombardy, leaving Guilbert at Tivoli to Command the Blockades. The next Campaign he return'd, and took the Town Leonina, where he caus'd Guilbert to be ordain'd, some say by the Bishops of Modena and Rimini; others by the Bishops of Bologna, Vincenza, and Cervia. Afterwards he carry'd on a vigorous Assault against the City. At this time the Romans being weary of so long a Siege, advis'd Gregory to call a Council to put an end to these disasters. Henry consented to it, and promis'd to grant a free Pass-port to all the Prelates, who should come to that Synod. But he Arrested by the way the Deputies of the German Rebels, and Otho Cardinal Bishop of Ostia who came along with them. Notwithstanding this, the Pope held that Council in November; and tho' his Affairs were so desperate, yet they had much ado to prevent him from pronouncing a new Sentence of Excommunication against Henry, so full of Passion was he. He would not so much as hearken to an Accommodation, so that this Synod which lasted three Days, determin'd nothing, and was wholly taken up with Complaints and Invektives against Henry. In short, the Romans perceiving themselves very much incommoded by the Army of that Prince, and won over by the Money he distributed among them, surrender'd the City to him the beginning of the Year, 1084. and Gregory fled into the Castle of St. Angelo, where he was besieg'd by Henry. That Prince being Master of Rome, caus'd himself to be Crown'd Emperor by Guilbert on Easter-Day in the same Year. Gregory in this Exigency had recourse to Robert Guiscard, who return'd with all Expedition from Greece, (whither he had went to Fight the Emperor Alexis) in order to set the Pope at Liberty. Henry did not stay for his coming, whether it was for Fear that he was not strong enough to oppose him, or rather because the present State of his Affairs call'd him back again to Germany (for the German Rebels had elected in the Year, 1082. one Herman in the place of Radulphus) he left Rome, took Guilbert along with him, and re-pass'd the Mountains, to go in all haste to Germany. The Pope was still besieg'd by part of his Army, and by the Romans: But Robert Guiscard rais'd the Siege; and having entred Rome in Triumph with his Army, he laid part of the City in Ashes, and restor'd it to the Pope's Authority. Henry's Party was likewise worsted in Lombardy. In Germany that Prince laid Siege to the City of Augsburg, which the Rebels had seiz'd upon, and re-took it from them. Afterwards he made it his Business to punish those who had declar'd against him, and turn'd those Bishops who had been his Adversaries, out of their Churches.

The Year 1085. was more quiet, the two Parties being contented to have several Conferences, and to hold Conventions one against the other. There was one the beginning of the Year at Goslar or Berchbach, where Otho Cardinal Bishop of Ostia appear'd. Tho' it chiefly consisted of those of Herman's Faction, yet there came some of Henry's Deputies to maintain his Right. The Question discuss'd, was; Whether the Pope had a lawful Power to excommunicate King Henry, and deprive him of his Dominions. It was debated by Gebhard Archbishop of Salzburg on the behalf of Herman, and by Wiceline, who had succeeded Sigefroy in the Archbishoprick of Mayence, on the behalf of Henry. The one strongly maintain'd the Negative, the other the Affirmative: But each continu'd obstinate in his Opinion, and nothing was determin'd in that Convention.

There was another held after Easter at Quintileneburgh, in the Presence, and by the Order of Herman, and the Cardinal of Ostia, compos'd of Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates and Lords of their Party, who began by determining that it was not lawful to Question whether the Pope's Judgment were lawful or no, and that no Body could meddle with it. Gunibert Clerk of Bamberg, being willing to argue upon this Proposition, was contradicted by the whole Assembly, and forc'd to withdraw. In this Convention, they declar'd the Ordination of Wiceline to the Archbishoprick of Mayence, that of Sigefroy to

VII.

Henry's Expedition into Italy, Siege of Rome.

Henry's return from Germany.

Gregory VII. at Liberty by the Saxons.

The Convention at Berchbach.

The Convention at Quintileneburgh.



Gregory VII. to the Bishoprick of *Augsburg*, that of *Norbert* to the Bishoprick of *Chur* or *Coire*, and in general all the Ordinations and Consecrations made by excommunicated Persons, to be null and void. They there condemn'd *Wiceline*, as one who maintain'd, that Laicks when dispossest of their Estates, could not be subject to the Judgment of the Ecclesiasticks, nor be excommunicated; and that those who were excommunicated for their Temporal Estates, might be receiv'd into Communion, without being reconcil'd. They there prohibited the receiving such into Communion, who had been excommunicated by their Bishops, unless they had receiv'd Absolution. They there renew'd the Law which enjoyn'd Celibacy to Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons. They prohibited Laicks from meddling with the consecrated Vessels or Coverings of the Chalice belonging to the Altar, and from possessing of *Tenth*s. They order'd that the *Ember-Week* in the Spring should be observ'd the first Week in Lent; and *That* in Summer the Week after *Whitsuntide*; that no Person shall eat Eggs or Cheese during Lent. They there ratified and confirm'd all that *Gebehard* Bishop of *Constance* had done as Legate of the Holy See. But there arose some Difficulty about the Legality of the Marriage of King *Herman*, who they said had married his Kinswoman. He said he would refer the Determination thereof to the Synod; but that Affair could not there be try'd, because there were not any of his Accusers. Lastly, They pronounc'd an *Anathema*, by lighted Candles, against *Gilbert*, whom they call'd *Arch-Heretic* and Intruder into the Holy See; and against Cardinal *Hugh*, John Bishop of *Porto*, Peter the Chancellor, *Liemar* Archbishop of *Breme*, *Utho* of *Constance*, *Burchard* of *Basil*, *Husman* of *Spires*; and against *Wiceline* Archbishop of *Mayence*, *Sigefroy* Bishop of *Augsburg*, *Norbert* of *Coire* and their Accomplises. This Decree is sign'd by *Herman*, by Cardinal *Utho*, by the Archbishops of *Salzburgh*, and *Magdeburgh*, by twelve Bishops of *Germany*, who were most of them ordain'd Bishops in the Room of those of King *Henry's* Party, who had been depos'd. For at that Time there were several Churches which had two Bishops; the one of King *Henry's* placing, and the other of the Pope's: And he of the two whose Party was most prevalent in the City, was in Possession.

The Convention at Mayence. Henry soon reveng'd himself on this Convention, for in May he held another more numerous Convention at *Mayence*, at which assisted the Bishop of *Porto*, and two Priests of *Rome*, who took upon them the Character of the Legates of *Clement III.* the Archbishops of *Mayence*, of *Treves*, of *Cologne* and of *Breme*, twenty Bishops of *Germany*, and a great many other Bishops of *France* and *Italy*. *Hildebrand*, his Legate *Utho*, and his adherents were there condemned, together with the fourteen Prelates of the Assembly of *Quinsileneburgh*, whom they depos'd, as being guilty of Perjury, Rebellion and Homicide. They excommunicated *Herman*, *Eckbert* of *Saxony*, and the Lord *Welpho*; prohibited all Christians from holding any Correspondence with them, and plac'd other Bishops in the Room of those who were of *Herman's* Party.

The Death of Gregory VII. Whilst these Things pass'd in *Germany*, Gregory VII. not finding himself secure enough in *Rome*, because the *Romans* look'd upon him as the Cause of that Desolation which they endur'd; went to Mount *Cassin*, and from thence retir'd to *Salerno*, where he dy'd May 24th. of the Year 1085. Authors do not agree about what were the last Thoughts he had concerning his Difference with *Henry*. Some say, that he testified a great deal of Regret for what he had done; and others on the contrary tell us, That he continued fix'd in the same Mind to his very Last; and that he said, that he dy'd in Exile, because he had lov'd Justice and hated Iniquity. However the Case stood, 'tis plain that his Death did not put an End to that notorious Quarrel which he had rais'd, and which had drawn along with it such dreadful Consequences, as were the Cause of a World of Mischiefs, both to the Church and to the Empire, as we shall shew in the sequel; after we have done with that which relates to Gregory VII.

The Difference between Gregory VII. and Philip I. King of France. The Emperor was not the only Person with whom Gregory VII. was engag'd; He had likewise Contests with the Kings of *France* and *England*, and his Aim was to bring all the crown'd Heads under his Subjection, and to oblige them to hold their Kingdoms as Fiefs from the Holy See, and to govern them at his Discretion.

Philip I. was then King of *France*: And since the Death of *Baldwin*, who had been Regent of the Kingdom during his Minority, he took the Government into his own Hands; but he administr'd it so remissly, that *France* was full of Disorders and Disturbances. The Churches, which have always greater Sufferings than other Societies, when Justice is not maintain'd in a State, were the first who were oppress'd. Gregory VII. who never slip'd an Opportunity of making himself the Judge and Reformer of Princes, cast several Reproaches upon him for it, and threatned to punish severely his unjust Proceedings against the Churches. The King assur'd him by *Alberic*, that he would reform his Conduct, and govern the Churches according to such Rules as his Holiness should prescribe him. Gregory who was not

satisfied with empty Words, required that he would begin to demonstrate the Reality of his Promises, by permitting that the Archdeacon of *Autun*, elected Bishop of *Mascon*, after a long Vacancy, by the Clergy and People, and even by the Consent of the King, should be put into the Possession of that Church, without giving any Thing for it. To this Purpose he wrote to the Bishop of *Chalon* upon the *Scyne*, and to the Archbishop of *Lyons*. And at the same Time acquaints them, that in case the King should refuse to do what he desir'd, and would not permit the Churches of *France* to be supply'd with Bishops without Simony, he should be oblig'd to excommunicate all the *French* Nation, if they continu'd in their Allegiance to *Philip*. He likewise enjoyns the Archbishop of *Lyons* to ordain that Archdeacon Bishop of *Mascon*, what opposition soever he might meet with, either from the King, or the other Competitor. These two Letters are dated *December 4th. 1073.* and are the thirty fifth, and the thirty sixth of the first Book. The Bishops of *France* would not venture to ordain the Bishop of *Mascon*, whereupon the Pope ordain'd him himself, as he sent Word to the Archbishop of *Lyons*, by the seventy sixth Letter of the same Book, dated *August the 4th. 1074.* Two Days before, he had written expressly to King *Philip*, to oblige him to make reparation for the Wrong he had done the Church of *Beauvais*; And he had absolv'd those of that City, who had abus'd their Bishop. See the seventy fourth, and the seventy fifth Letters of the same Book.

That same Year Gregory VII. renew'd his Complaints and his Threatnings against *Philip*, with a great deal more Noise, by writing a large Letter to all the Bishops of *France*, wherein after he had given a Description of the Disorders of that Kingdom, he says that the King whom he ventures to call *Tyrant*, is the Author and Cause of all; because his whole Life being one continu'd Debauch, he took no Care to punish the Crimes, whereof he himself gave so bad an Example. That he not only converted the Revenues of Churches to profane and criminal Uses, but within a little while ago exacted a very considerable Sum of Merchants, who were come from all Parts, to import their Effects into *France*, under the publick Faith. He likewise accuses the Bishops of contributing to these Disorders, either by their Approbation or Connivance: He upbraids them for their Remissness, and exhorts them to meet, and to tell the King plainly of his Faults, that he may correct them, and regulate the Affairs of his Kingdom; and in his Name to declare, that if he does not do it, he can no longer shelter himself from the Censure of the Holy See: That afterwards they should separate themselves from Communion with that Prince, and forbear performing Divine Service in all *France*: That if he does still hold out, notwithstanding this Punishment, he would have the whole World take Notice, that he would use his utmost Endeavours to deprive him of the Kingdom of *France*. This Letter, dated *Sept. the 10th. 1074.* is the fifth of the second Book.

Sometime after he wrote likewise to *William* Duke of *Aquitain*, against King *Philip*, and pray'd that Duke to do all he could to bring the King to change his Conduct; declaring, that if he did not reform, he would excommunicate him and all the Subjects who paid him any Obedience; and that he would lay this Excommunication on *St. Peter's* Altar, in order to reiterate it every Day. This Letter dated *November the 13th. of the same Year*, is the eighteenth of the second Book.

He continu'd these Menaces in the two and thirtieth Letter of that Book, dated *December the 8th.* directed to *Manasses* Archbishop of *Rheims*.

However, it does not appear that Gregory has acted any Thing more against the Person of the King of *France*; but he took upon him the sole Jurisdiction over the Bishops and the Ecclesiastical Affairs of that Kingdom; and sent thither *Hugh* Bishop of *Dia*, with other Legates, who took Cognizance of the Life, Manners and Elections of the Bishops; took upon them the Liberty of citing them to the Synods, which they call'd; of passing Sentence upon them; of injoyning them Penance; and even of deposing them, in case they would not make their Appearance: And lastly, Of disposing absolutely the Affairs of that Kingdom, without minding whether the King concern'd himself with the defending of them, or with vindicating the Liberty of the Churches of *France*. So that these Bishops were oblig'd to go to *Rome* to beg the Pope's Favour for their Re-establishment, and upon such Terms as he saw fit; which Gregory did not scruple to grant them. There are a great many Instances of this Nature; and the seventeenth Letter of the fifth Book furnishes us with a great many. For *Hugh* Bishop of *Dia* having cited to a Synod, which he held at *Autun*, the Archbishops of *Rheims*, *Besanson*, *Sens*, *Bourges* and *Tours*, and having inflict'd several Penalties upon them, because they had not made their Appearance; they were forc'd to wait upon the Pope, who absolutely re-establish'd the Archbishoprick of *Rheims* and the rest, upon Condition that they would clear themselves before his Legate. This is what he orders by the foremention'd Letter, dated *March the 9th. in the Year 1078.* That Legate having excommu-

The Judgments pass'd by Hugh Bishop of Dia.



Gregory VII. nicated the Bishops of *Paris* and *Chartres*, they went like-  
wise to *Rome*, and obtain'd a favourable Sentence from the  
Pope. See the fifteenth and sixteenth Letters of the ninth  
Book.

But *Gregory* was not satisfied with taking Cognizance of  
the Ecclesiastical Affairs of *France*; he likewise endeavour'd  
to make them his Tributaries, as he had made *England* and  
all other Countries. 'Tis upon this Account that he wrote  
to the Bishop of *Albania*, and the Prince of *Salerno*, his Le-  
gates in *France*, that they acquaint all the *French*, and en-  
joyn them in his Name, that each House pay at least a Penny  
every Year to St. *Peter*, as an Acknowledgment of his  
being their Father and Pastor. He pretends that *Charle-  
magne* rais'd every Year upon his Subjects a Tax of twelve  
hundred Livers for the Use of the Church of *Rome*, and  
that he had offer'd *Saxony* to the Holy See. These are two  
such Matters of Fact as are only grounded on the Imagi-  
nation of *Gregory VII.* This is the three and twentieth  
Letter of the eighth Book.

The Let-  
ters of  
Gregory  
relating to  
England.

This is what relates to the Kingdom of *France*; we now  
proceed to what concerns *England*, which met with a little  
better Treatment from *Gregory*; because King *William* took  
care to ingratiate himself with him by a seeming Submission  
and Respect. That Prince, to give him some Signs there-  
of, took care to send him a complimentary Letter on his  
Advancement to the Popedom, wherein he declares to him,  
That tho' he was very sorry for the Death of *Alexander II.*  
yet he was as glad to see him in his Place. *Gregory* answers  
him by the seventieth Letter of the first Book, dated *April*  
the 4<sup>th</sup>. 1074. wherein he tells him, That he is oblig'd to him  
for the Affection which he express'd towards him; and ex-  
horts him to demonstrate the Submission which he bore to  
the Holy See by its Effects. At the same Time he acquaint-  
ed him of the Dangers to which the Church of *Rome* was  
expos'd. He confirm'd the Privilege of the Monastery of  
St. *Stephen*, and recommended to that Prince to take care  
of the Revenues which the Church of *Rome* possess'd in  
*England*. He wrote likewise to *Matilda* Queen of *England*  
the seventy first Letter, by which he exhorts her to perse-  
vere in Virtue, and to give her Husband good Counsel.

By another Letter written to the Bishops and Abbots of  
*England*, dated *August* the 28<sup>th</sup>. in the same Year, he ex-  
horts them to come to *Rome* to his Synod, and to put in  
Execution the Ecclesiastical Laws concerning the Marria-  
ges of Kindred. This Letter is the first of the second  
Book.

The King of *England* would not suffer the Bishops of his  
Kingdom to go to *Rome*. This very much displeas'd the  
Pope, who complain'd of it by the first Letter of the se-  
venth Book, directed to *Hubert* his Legate, who was sent  
into that Kingdom to collect the *Peter-Pence*. He therein  
presses that Legate to return with all Speed, and orders him  
to admonish the King of *England* to pay, and cause to be  
paid the Deference which is due to the Holy See; withal  
threatning him, if he did not do it, he should incur his Dis-  
pleasure. He orders him to prevail upon the Prelates of  
*England* and *Normandy* to send to *Rome*, to the approach-  
ing Synod, at least two Bishops out of each Archbishoprick.  
This Letters bears Date *Sept.* the 23<sup>d</sup>. 1079.

The three and twentieth, and the four and twentieth  
Letters of the same Book, dated *April* the 25<sup>th</sup>. and *May*  
the 5<sup>th</sup>. in the Year 1080. are full of Exhortations to the  
King of *England*, to bear a due Submission to the Church  
of *Rome*, and to govern his Kingdom with Justice, and in  
the Fear of the Lord. The six and twentieth is a Letter  
of Compliment to the Queen of *England*; and the seven  
and twentieth a Letter to *Robert*, the Son of the King of  
*England*, whereby he exhorts him to be subject to his Fa-  
ther, and to follow his Advice.

In the fifth Letter of the ninth Book, he order'd *Hugh*  
Bishop of *Dia* to restore the Bishops of *Normandy*, which he  
had depos'd, for not appearing at his Synod. This he did  
that he might not exasperate King *William*, who paid greater  
Deference to the Holy See, than any other Prince. And  
he order'd him to behave himself more tenderly towards  
that Prince's Subjects, and to grant Absolution to the Sol-  
diers which had kept back some Tithes.

The Pre-  
tensions of  
Gregory  
upon Spain.  
Part of *Spain* being (as we said before) in the Hands of  
the *Moors*, *Gregory VII.* from thence took an Occasion of  
becoming Lord of those Countries, which could be taken  
from these Infidels. To this Purpose he pretended that the  
Kingdom of *Spain* formerly belong'd to the Holy See; and  
that tho' the *Pagans* had since seiz'd upon it, yet the Right  
of the Holy See was not thereby disannul'd; because no  
Prescription can take Place to the Prejudice of the Church.  
'Tis upon the Account of this Pretension, that he granted  
to *Ebold* Count of *Roccy*, all the Country which he could  
recover from the *Barbarians*, upon Condition that he would  
hold it in Fee from the Holy See, and pay him a certain  
Duty. He likewise granted the same Donation to those  
who would assist that Count, or undertake the same Thing  
upon the same Conditions. And that this Agreement might  
be put in Execution, he gave Orders to Cardinal *Hugh* the

*White* to go into *Spain*, and wrote to the Princes of *Spain*  
to aid the Count of *Roccy*. This is the Subject Matter of  
the sixth and seventh Letters of the first Book, dated *April*  
the 30<sup>th</sup>. 1073.

*Gregory VII.* had not only a Design of bringing the Pro-  
vinces of *Spain*, which were newly conquer'd, under his  
Subjection, but likewise sought to establish an absolute Do-  
minion over the ancient Churches of that Kingdom. It was  
upon this Account that he wrote the sixty third and fourth  
Letters of the first Book to *Sancho* King of *Aragon*, and  
to *Alphonso* King of *Castile*, recommending to them the Sub-  
mission which they ought to bear to the Holy See, and to  
order the *Roman* Office to be receiv'd in their Kingdoms.  
These two Letters are dated *March* the 19<sup>th</sup>. and 20<sup>th</sup>. 1074.  
He wrote upon the same Subject to *Simeon* a Bishop of that  
Kingdom, by the eighteenth Letter of the third Book.

In the eighth and twentieth of the fourth Book, directed to  
the Kings and Princes of *Spain*, he renews the Pretensions  
which the Holy See made to that Country, as being a King-  
dom which belong'd to it before the *Sarazens* were Masters  
thereof; and exhorts them to pay the Tribute which he pre-  
tended was due from them to the Church of *Rome*. This  
Letter is dated *June* the 28<sup>th</sup>. 1077.

The sixth Letter of the seventh Book, dated in *October*  
1079. is directed to *Alphonso* King of *Castile*, whom he com-  
pliments for his good Intentions towards the Holy See,  
sending him a small golden Key with St. *Peter's* Chain  
affix to it, by a Legate whom he recommended to him.

Some Time after that Prince, hearkening to the Advice  
of a Monk nam'd *Robert*, would no longer be so subject  
to the Pope as he had been, and openly took upon him to  
grant the Investitures of the Benefices in his Kingdom. This  
provok'd *Gregory* very much: He excommunicated *Robert*,  
and order'd him to be confin'd in the Monastery of *Cluny*.  
He wrote to *Alphonso*, willing him, To hearken no longer  
to his Counsels; to make Reparation for the Ill he had done;  
to part from the Relation of his Wife, whom he had marry'd,  
and to do what *Richard* his Legate should advise him. See  
the second, third, and fourth Letters of the eighth Book,  
which are dated in the Year 1080.

That Prince very probably submitted to the Counsels of  
*Gregory*: For by the second Letter of the ninth Book, the  
Pope wrote to him, as to a Prince entirely devoted to the  
Holy See; who had introduc'd the Service of the Church  
of *Rome* into his Dominions; who refer'd the Choice of  
the Archbishops of his Kingdom to the Pope; and who ask'd  
his Advice upon some Cases of Conscience, and upon what  
concern'd the Churches of *Spain*. *Gregory* by this Letter  
admonishes him, not to tolerate the *Jews* to have *Christian*  
Slaves, and grants Absolution to him and his Adherents of  
all their Sins, and wishes them an absolute Victory over  
all their Enemies.

*Spain* was not the only Kingdom of *Europe* which *Gre-  
gory VII.* pretended did formerly belong to the Holy See; The Pre-  
tensions of  
Gregory  
to the  
Kingdom  
newly con-  
quered.  
he maintain'd the same Pretension with Respect to most of  
the other Countries of *Europe*; and was of Opinion, that  
those who were in Possession of them, ought to hold them  
as Fiefs from him. He more especially carry'd this Pre-  
tension to the most remote Countries whose Kings were  
newly converted to the Christian Religion. This he ground-  
ed upon the Account that these Princes, at the Time of  
their Conversion, had either remitted their Crowns into the  
Hands of the Pope to receive them again from him, or  
thrown their Kingdoms under the Protection of the Holy  
See. Or lastly, permitted the Raising of a certain Contri-  
bution for the Church of *Rome*. He establish'd upon these  
Demonstrations of Submission, and upon these Alms or  
Liberalities, a certain Tribute to be paid to the Holy See.  
'Tis upon this Principle that he took it ill that *Solomon* King  
of *Hungary* had receiv'd that Kingdom from the Hands of  
King *Henry*: Because (as he pretended) *Stephen* formerly  
after his Conversion had offer'd and given it to the Holy  
See; and the Emperor *Henry* after he had conquer'd it, had  
sent to *Rome* its Lance and its Crown: From whence he  
concludes that he ought to receive the Scepter from his  
Hands, and threatens him, if he did it not, he would make  
use of the Apostolick Authority against him. This is the  
Subject of the thirteenth Letter of the second Book, di-  
rected to that Prince, dated *October* the 28<sup>th</sup>. 1074. *Gregory*  
wrote likewise a consolatory Letter to Queen *Judith* his  
Wife, who was the Daughter of the Emperor *Henry*; it is  
the four and fortieth of the second Book, dated *June* the  
10<sup>th</sup>. 1075.

*Solomon* had a Kinsman nam'd *Geisa*, who was at War  
with him. This *Geisa* sent Ambassadors to *Gregory*, to gain  
him on his Side. The Pope by his Letters express'd Kind-  
ness to him, and exhorts him to be entirely devoted to the  
Holy See; assuring him that his Kinsman [*Solomon*] had  
not fallen into the Misfortunes he labour'd under, if he had  
receiv'd the Crown from the Holy See, and not from the  
Hands of the King of *Germany*. He advises him to make  
Peace with *Solomon*; withal giving him some Hopes that he  
would enter into his Interests, so soon as he was assur'd  
what



Gregory VII. what Overtures he would make to the Holy See. You may consult the fifty eighth Letter of the first Book, and the sixty third and seventieth of the second.

In the five and twentieth of the fourth Book, he exhorts the Archbishop of *Strigonia* to bring it about, that he who is elected King of *Hungary*, should be made sensible of the Duty he ow'd to the Holy See. It bears Date *June 9th. 1077.*

In the nine and twentieth of the sixth Book, he extols the Piety of King *Ladislans*, and his Submission to the Holy See. He recommends to him several Persons who were unjustly banish'd, and exhorts him to take the Churches into his Protection; and to send him forthwith Embassadors, if he had not already done it.

The Letters of Gregory VII. to the Kings of Denmark. All the Kings of *Europe* receiv'd either Reprimands or Admonitions from Gregory. The King of *Denmark* had neglected to write to him in the Beginning of his Pontificate; he checks him for it in the fiftieth Letter of the second Book, and gives him some Instructions about the Government of his Kingdom. He tells him likewise, that he had sent him Legates upon the Affairs about which he had written to the Holy See, in the Time of Pope *Alexander*: But that they could not get to him, because of the Wars of *Germany*. That therefore if he were deeply concern'd for any one of these Affairs, he ought to send Deputies to him with full Instructions, that so he might consult with them what ought to be done in the Case. Lastly, He prays him to send Word what Assistance the Holy See could expect from him, against her Enemies; and acquaints him that there is a Province not far from *Rome*, held by Heretics, which one of his Sons, if he would come into *Italy* with a small Force, might easily Conquer. This Letter bears Date *January the 27th. in the Year 1075.* In the seventy seventh Letter of the same Book, he offers to grant that King, all that in Justice he could, of the Things which he should desire of him by his Envoys, or by the Legates which were dispatch'd to his Kingdom. This Letter is dated *April the 17th. in the same Year.* That King being dead, and his Son succeeding him, Gregory VII. continues his Exhortations to him, to be submissive to the Holy See, by the tenth Letter of the fifth Book, dated *November the 6th. in the Year 1077.* He likewise gave the like Exhortation to King *Canute*, who was in Possession of that Kingdom, by the fifth Letter of the seventh Book, dated *Octob. the 15th. 1079.* and by the one and twentieth of the same Book, dated *May the 19th. 1080.*

The Letters of Gregory VII. sent to Poland and Russia. The Sovereigns of *Poland* and *Russia* felt likewise the Effects of the Desire which Gregory VII. had to have an Hand in the Affairs of all Kingdoms. He recommended to them, as well as to others, the being devoted to the Holy See, and wedded to its Interests; gave them Instructions about the Methods of administering the Government; sent them Legates to regulate the Ecclesiastical Affairs of their Countries: Enjoyns *Boleslaus* Duke of *Poland*, to restore to *Demetrius* King of *Russia*, the Money which he had taken from him; and to the Holy See, the Lands which belong'd to it; and undertook to bestow the Kingdom of *Russia*, on the Son of *Demetrius*. This is what we gather from the seventy third and fourth Letters of the second Book, the first of which, directed to *Boleslaus*, is dated *April the 15th. in the Year 1075.* and the second, directed to *Demetrius*, bears Date the 17th. of the same Month.

The Letters of Gregory VII. sent to Norway and Dalmatia. Gregory VII. was no less careful even of *Norway*; for he wrote to *Olaus* the King of that Country, exhorting him to get himself fully instructed in the Christian Faith, and for that End to send some of his Nation to *Rome*, that he might send him back necessary Instructions, how he ought to demean himself towards the Holy See. He forbids him siding with either of the two Brothers, who pretended to the Crown of *Denmark*, and orders him to procure a Peace to be made between them. This Letter, which is the thirteenth of the sixth Book, is dated *December the 15th. 1079.*

He gave a King to *Dalmatia*; and a Lord of that Country intending to rise up in Arms against him, he enjoyns that Lord to acknowledge and obey him, under Pain of Excommunication, by the fourth Letter of the seventh Book, dated *October the 4th. in the Year 1079.*

The Letters of Gregory VII. concerning Bohemia. *Uratislaus* Duke of *Bohemia*, was intirely in Pope Gregory the VIIth's Interest. He had admitted into his Dominions the Pope's Legates, in Spight of *Jeromir* Bishop of *Prague*, as appears by the seventeenth Letter of the first Book. In a grateful Acknowledgment of this, the Pope confirm'd to him, by the eighth and thirtieth Letter of the same Book, dated *Dec. the 16th. 1073.* all the Privileges which had been granted him by *Alexander II.* his Predecessor, and exhorts him to persevere in his Obedience; assuring him that he himself will determine such Causes, as his Legates could not pass a definitive Judgment upon.

The Bishop of *Prague*, who had been interdicted and divested of the Revenues of his Church by the Sentence of the Pope's Legates, having sent Word to *Rome* that he could not come thither, because he had not wherewithal to defray the Charge of his Journey; the Pope gave Orders that he should be put into Possession of his Revenues, except those to which *John* Bishop of *Moravia* laid Claim: And he desires the Duke of *Bohemia*, by the five and for-

tieth Letter of the first Book, dated *Jan. the 30th. in the Year 1074.* to cause them to be restor'd to that Bishop, and to send him to *Rome*, with the Bishop of *Moravia* and some Embassadors, that with them he might regulate all the Ecclesiastical Affairs of his Dominions. By another Letter of the same Date, which is the four and fortieth of the Book, he acquaints the Bishop of *Prague*, that he had written to the Duke to put him in some Possession of the Revenues of his Church.

*Sigefroy* Archbishop of *Maience*, at the Instance of *Jeromir* Bishop of *Prague*, who was afraid of the Pope's Judgment, was minded to take Cognizance of the Difference between him and the Bishop of *Moravia*: Gregory being advertis'd thereof, wrote forthwith to *Sigefroy*; that he should not dare to concern himself in an Affair, which was reterr'd to the Holy See, and at the same Time he sent Word to *Uratislaus*, that he should not be concern'd at the rash Proceedings of that Archbishop. These two Letters dated *March the 18th. 1074.* are the sixtieth and sixty first of the first Book.

At last the Bishop of *Prague* perceiving that he could no longer shift off the Pope's Sentence, went express to *Rome*, and when he appear'd before Gregory, he acknowledg'd Part of what was laid to his Charge, declaring that he was ready to make Satisfaction; and justified himself with Respect to other Things, particularly as to the ill Usage which was said that he offer'd to the Bishop of *Moravia*, or his People. The Pope who requir'd nothing more than such a Submission, sent him back to his own Country reconcil'd and re-establish'd, with a Recommendatory Letter to the Duke of *Bohemia*, which is the seventy eighth of the first Book, dated *April the 16th. 1074.* wherein he takes Notice to him, that he could not put an End to the Difference between that Bishop and the Bishop of *Moravia*, because of the Absence of the latter; but that he would decide it in the first Council: That in the mean Time he allow'd Provision to be made in Behalf of the Bishop of *Moravia* for the Territory that was in Dispute. He advises the Duke to silence the Complaints of the Bishop of *Prague*, concerning the Right which he pretended to have to a certain Castle; if not, he orders him to send his Deputies to the first Synod, to examine whether he has any Right to it, or no.

The Bishop of *Prague* being return'd to his own Country in Triumph for his Re-establishment, seiz'd upon the Lands which were in Dispute between him and the Bishop of *Moravia*, being confident that the Pope had adjudged them to be his. Gregory being inform'd that he thus abus'd the Levity he had shewn him, wrote him a Letter full of Investives about it, and enjoyns him to restore to the Bishop of *Moravia* the Castle which he had seiz'd on; and orders Duke *Uratislaus* to cause him to restore it to the Bishop, whom he comforts in a particular Letter. These three Letters are the sixth, seventh, and eighth of the second Book, dated *October the 22d. in the Year 1074.* In the second Letter he thanks the Duke of *Bohemia*, for having sent him the Tribute which he paid to the Holy See. This Affair between the Bishops of *Prague* and *Moravia* was again discuss'd in the Year 1075. and ended at *Rome* by an Agreement between them, by which they agreed to divide into equal Shares the Lands which were in Dispute, till either of them could produce more authentick Titles; which they continu'd to do for the Space of ten Years. And this Accomodation was approv'd of by a Bull of Gregory, dated *March the 2d. which is the fifty third Letter of the second Book.*

The seventy first Letter of the second Book, is written to *Uratislaus*, in Favour of his Nephew *Frederick*, for whom the Pope demands of that Prince the Lands which his Father had left him. At the same Time he exhorts him to live peaceably with his Subjects. This Letter is dated *April the 14th. 1075.* By the next Letter written the Day after, he exhorts all the Faithful of *Bohemia* to lead a Christian and Innocent Life.

Since Gregory VII. had Pretensions to Kingdoms so remote as those we have been speaking of, it is not to be wondred that he should imagine that all *Italy*, and the Islands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Corfu* belong'd to him; that he might dispose of them as he thought fit; and that all the Lords of these Countries were oblig'd to take an Oath of Allegiance to him. It was no difficult Matter for him to bring the petty Princes round about *Rome* under his Subjection; because being weak, they desir'd nothing more, than the Support of the Holy See: But he had much ado to bring his Designs about upon the *Normans*, whose Power became formidable in *Italy*, forasinch as they were establish'd so firmly there, as we shall now relate.

Several *Norman* Lords having been invited to the Relief of the *Greeks* and *Italians* against the *Sarazens* of *Sicily*, upon Condition that they should have Share in their Conquests; after they had done wonderful Things against these Infidels, were dealt falsely with by the *Greeks*, who refus'd to give them what they had promis'd. But these Braves knew very well how to do themselves Justice, and seiz'd on *Pozzuolo* under the Conduct of *William Firebrass* their General, who in a short Time after defeated the *Greeks* in



Gregory VII. a great Engagement, and weaken'd them so far, that in a small Time they lost all that they had left in *Italy*. The Normans afterwards turn'd their Arms against the Lords of *Italy* their Neighbours, and seiz'd upon some Lands which belong'd to the Holy See. The Popes, who could not without Jealousie behold so formidable an Enemy so nigh at Hand, declar'd against them, and *Leo IX.* engag'd in a War with them: But the Forces of that Pope having been defeated, and himself taken Prisoner, as we formerly said, that Respect which they shew'd him, by setting him at Liberty, and reconducting him to *Rome* with all the Demonstrations of Honour and Submission, inclin'd that Pope to grant them by Way of Recompence, all the Lands which they had conquer'd from the *Greeks* and *Sarazens*. *Robert Guiscard*, in League with *Onfroy*, Brother to *William Firebrass*, extended these Conquests, and having made an End of taking *Calabria*, caus'd himself to be call'd Count thereof for the Space of two Years, and afterwards took upon him the Title of Duke. His Brother *Roger* undertook to conquer *Sicily* from the *Sarazens*, and having at first taken *Panormia* and *Messina*, he open'd himself a Way to become Master of the whole Island, of which he took upon him the Quality of Count.

The Differences and Agreements of Gregory VII. with the Normans.

It was very difficult for these Warriors to forbear contesting with the Lords their Neighbours; and their Forces who were us'd to Plunder, could not forbear seizing upon the Lands, Castles, and Territories of private Persons; upon Churches, upon Abbies; and even upon the Holy See it self. This was the Cause of the many Anathemas thunder'd out against them by *Gregory*, who from the very Beginning of his Popedom excommunicated *Robert*, *Roger*, and all the Normans who made any Attempts upon the Revenues of Churches, or of the Holy See, or upon those Lords who were under its Protection. But afterwards foreseeing that he might stand in Need of their Assistance, he grew milder, and by his Letter dated *March* the 13th. 1076. which is the eleventh of the third Book, he grants the Bishop of *Cirezza* Power to absolve *Roger* and all his Soldiers, upon Condition that he would promise to obey the Holy See; do Penance for his Offences, and abstain for the Future from all capital Crimes. At the same Time he advis'd that Bishop, that if Count *Roger* should speak to him about his Brother Duke *Robert*, he should declare to him, that the Church of *Rome* was ready to shew Mercy to those who being affected with true Repentance, would give Satisfaction for the Scandal, which they had given: That therefore if Duke *Robert* would be obedient to the Holy See, he was ready to give him Absolution, and to receive him into the Communion of the Church: But that if he would not, *Roger* ought not to communicate with him: Lastly, he order'd that Bishop to give the Bishop of *Melpha* Absolution. In the fifteenth Letter of the same Book to *Wifroy*, Lord of the *Milanais*, he sends Word that the Affairs of the Normans were in a hopeful Way of Accommodation, and that he hoped shortly to render them faithful to the Church of *Rome*. However this Accommodation was not so soon concluded; and we see by a Letter dated *October* the 31st. of the same Year, directed to the same *Wifroy* and to two other Lords of the same Country, that the Normans were still contesting with the Pope about the Revenues of the Church, which they had seiz'd upon; but that he hop'd to reclaim them as soon as *Henry*. This Letter is the seventh of the fourth Book.

At last *Robert* thought fit to submit to the Pope, to take an Oath to him to be always faithful to the Holy See; to assist it in the Defence of the Pope's Person and its Revenues; to pay him an annual Rent for the Church Lands which he held; to permit the Churches of his Dominions to enjoy quietly their Revenues, and to procure a free Election of a Pope, in Case *Gregory* should dy before him. This Rent amounts to twelve Pence, the Coyn of *Pavia*, payable every Year at *Easter*. In Pursuance of this Treaty, the Pope invest'd Duke *Robert* with all the Lands which the Popes *Nicholas II.* and *Alexander II.* his Predecessors had formerly granted him: And as to others which he unjustly held; to wit, *Salerno*, *Melpha*, and Part of the March of *Fermo*, he left them to him by Way of Connivance. This Treaty was made *June* the 29th. in the Year 1080.

In the same Year *Michael Ducas* being turn'd out of the Empire of the East, sent into *Italy* to beg Assistance of the Pope and Duke *Robert*. The Pope wrote to the Bishops of *Pozzuolo* and *Calabria*, by the sixth Letter of the eighth Book, desiring them to exhort the Faithful to engage in this Expedition with Duke *Robert*; and before they went away, to enjoin them Penance for their Faults, and to give them Absolution.

*Gregory* soon after had himself need of the Assistance of *Robert*, to protect him against *Henry*. Whereupon he wrote to the Abbot of Mount *Cassin*, to know of him whether he could bring him any Assistance about *Easter*, or send him some. This is the Subject Matter of the fourth Letter of the ninth Book, which doubtless belongs to the Year 1081.

*Henry* at his coming into *Italy*, wisely foreseeing that the greatest Enemy he had to fear was Duke *Robert*, propos'd to come to an Accommodation with him, upon Condition that his Son should marry that Duke's Daughter, and give him the March of *Ancona*. The Pope being inform'd of this Proposal, by the Princess *Matilda*, was very much surpriz'd at it, and forthwith wrote to *Didier* Abbot of Mount *Cassin*, to prevail upon *Robert* to keep his Word to him. This is the Subject Matter of the eleventh Letter of the ninth Book.

By the seventeenth of the same Book, written to that Duke, he exhorts him to come to the Assistance of the Church of *Rome*, which was annoy'd by King *Henry*.

In the mean Time, whilst *Robert* was in the East with all his Forces, the Normans of *Italy* perceiving that *Henry* was like to become Master of *Rome*, and being afraid what the Consequence would prove to them, endeavour'd to bring about the Peace between the Pope and the Emperor, and sent *Didier* Abbot of Mount *Cassin*, with the Prince of *Capua*, and several Deputies to *Henry*, to treat with him. But neither the Pope nor the Emperor were inclinable to it; and the latter receiv'd some Money from the Emperor of *Constantinople* to carry on the War against *Robert*. That Duke understanding this, and being sent for by the Pope, left his Son in the East, and immediately return'd to *Italy* to the Pope's assistance, whom he relieved, as we formerly have declar'd.

*Gregory VII.* was likewise willing to make the Islands of *Corfu* and *Sardinia* his Tributaries. For Part of the former having been retaken by the Christians from the *Sarazens*, he immediately sent a Legate thither to govern absolutely, and promis'd them Succours to conquer the rest; upon Condition that this Island should be dependent on the Holy See. This appears by the second and fourth Letters of the fifth Book, dated *Sept.* the 1st. and 16th. in the Year 1077. He afterwards bestow'd this Legation on *Landulphus* Bishop of *Pisa*, and his Successors, with one Moiety of the Revenues of that Island, reserving the other Moiety for the Holy See, together with all the Fortresses, whose Governors however he was willing should still be dependent on that Legate, as appears by the twelfth Letter of the sixth Book, dated *November* the 30th. in the Year 1079.

With Respect to *Sardinia*, he was so strongly persuaded that it belong'd to the Holy See, that writing to the Sovereign of that Island, he shew'd that Prince what a Piece of Service he [the Pope] had done, in having refus'd to give it to the Normans and Lombards, who had demanded it of him, tho' they offer'd him the Moiety of their Conquests; till such Time as he should see after what Manner that Prince would receive the Pope's Legate, and how he was inclin'd to the Holy See. By this Means he suppos'd, that if that Prince would not be subject to the Holy See, he was so far the Disposer of his Estates, as to give them to whom he pleas'd. This is the Subject of the tenth Letter of the eighth Book, dated *October* the 5th. 1080.

After all this, 'tis no wonder, that he should treat all the Lords near *Rome*, as his Vassals, and exact from them Oaths of Fidelity. We have one made by *Landulphus*, Duke of *Benevento*, by which he engages himself to forfeit his Duchy, if he fail'd in his Duty to the Holy See, or to *Gregory* and his Successors, and if he did any Wrong to the Church of *Rome* or its Members. This Treaty sign'd by the Bishops of *Porto*, *Frescati*, *Palestrina*, by *Didier* and *Peter*, Cardinals of the Church of *Rome*, is in the first Book of *Gregory's* Letters, after the eighteenth, and is dated *August* the 11th. in the Year 1073.

He also exacted the like Oath from *Richard* Duke of *Capua*, by which that Prince was engag'd to enter into no League against the Pope, upon all Occasions to defend the Revenues and Rights of the Church of *Rome*, and of his Holiness; to make no Pillage on its Territories, and to suffer no Body else to do it; to pay yearly the Rent which he ow'd for the Lands which he held in *St. Peter's* Patrimony; to be faithful to King *Henry*, and his Successors; yet without Prejudice to the Fidelity he owes to the Holy See: And lastly, that whenever the Pope should die, he should do his utmost to get him to be elected and ordain'd Pope, who should have the Suffrages of the major Part of the Cardinals, Clergy, and Laity. This Oath dated *Sept.* the 24th. 1073. is after the one and twentieth Letter of the first Book.

There is another Oath of this Nature taken by *Bertran* Count of *Provence*, after the twelfth Letter of the ninth Book.

Lastly, *Gregory VII.* not willing to omit any one Means of aggrandizing the Church of *Rome*, had resolv'd upon a *CROISADE*, to go into the East at the Head of an Army, to assist the Christians, and to fall upon the Infidels. *SADE* Big with this Design he wrote to *William* Count of *Burgundy*, by the six and fortieth Letter of the first Book, dated *Feb.* the 2d. in the Year 1074. ordering him to be ready, and to give Notice to his Allies, to furnish him with Forces, that so he might, after he had reduc'd the Normans

Gregory VII.

The Pretensions of Gregory to Sardinia and Corfu.

The Oath of Fidelity exacted by Gregory from the Princes of Italy.

The Project of the CROISADE, set on foot by Gregory.



Gregory VII. of Pozzuolo to their Duty, march directly with an Army to Constantinople, and relieve the Christians of the East. By the nine and fortieth Letter of the same Book, dated March ensuing, he exhorts all the Christians of the West to unite together for the Relief of the Christians of the East against the Infidels. He did the same Thing by the seven and thirtieth Letter of the second Book, which bears date the 16th. of December of the same Year.

This Project of Gregory had not that Success which he desir'd: But he engag'd Duke Robert to lead an Army into the East, under Colour of placing Michael Ducas again upon the Throne of the Eastern Empire. This Duke gave Battle to the Emperor Alexis in Thrace, and became Master of the Field, tho' the Enemy were much superior in Number. The Difficulties which the Pope's Affairs labour'd under, and the War with the Emperor Henry prevented that Duke from pursuing his Conquests in the East, and from extending the Limits of the Roman Church, and the Authority of the Holy See by his Victories: The which Gregory had attempted in vain, by the way of Accommodation, in sending to the Emperor Michael (who had writ to him, and made Proposals on his part for the Re-union of the two Churches) Dominick Patriarch of Venice, to treat with him  *viva voce*  concerning this Peace; and in remonstrating to that Emperor, by his Answer, that the Division which had been between the Roman and the Greek Church, had done great Prejudice to the Affairs of the Holy See, and the Empire of the East. This Letter is the eighteenth of the first Book, dated June the 5th. 1073.

The Letters of Gregory VII. sent into Africk. Gregory VII. was no less Sollicitous about the Churches of Africa; and having understood that the Christians of Carthage, tho' persecuted by the Sarazens, quarrell'd among themselves, and that some of them had betray'd Cyriacus their Archbishop into the Hands of those Infidels, who had very much abused him: He wrote a neat Letter to the Clergy and Faithful of that City, whereby he exhorts them to suffer patiently the Persecution of the Sarazens, and to live in Peace and Unity one with another; and after he had in a very lively manner represented to them the Enormity of the Offence committed in betraying Cyriacus, he exhorts them who were guilty of it, to do Penance. This Letter dated September the 15. 1073. is the two and twentieth of the first Book.

In the next Letter of the same date, he comforts that good Bishop, extolls his Constancy, and exhorts him to rejoyce in his Sufferings, and to persevere in the Faith; assuring him that he would continually offer up his Prayers to God, that he would be pleas'd to look down with an Eye of Pity and Compassion upon the Church of Africa, which has so long groan'd under the Pressures of Persecution and Distress.

Some time after the Church of Africa being reduc'd to the Government only of two Bishops, the Africans were oblig'd to send one Servandus to Rome, whom they had elected Bishop of Hippo, to be ordain'd by the Pope. Gregory ordain'd him, and sent him away with Recommenda-tory Letters directed to the Archbishop of Carthage, to the People of Hippo, and to Auzir King of Mauritania. These are the three last Letters of the third Book, and belong to the Year, 1076.

The Letters of Gregory VII. against the Errors charged upon the Armenians. In the first Letter of the eighth Book directed to the Archbishop of Synnada Patriarch of the Armenians, dated June the 6th. in the Year, 1080. Gregory reproves several Errors, or rather several Practices contrary to the Discipline of the Church, wherewith the Armenians were charged: Namely, That in their Churches they did not mix Water with the Wine in the Celebration of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass; that they made the Holy Chrism with Butter, and not with Balsome; and that they had a regard to the Memory of Dioscorus. The Deputy of the Archbishop of Synnada, who was come to cause an Armenian Heretick, who was fled to Italy, to be driven thence, had assur'd the Pope that all these Things were only groundless Surmises: But for his better Satisfaction Gregory desires that that Archbishop would inform him by Writing what were his Thoughts, and send him a Profession of Faith. At the same Time he advises him to leave out these Words in the TRISAGION,  *who was crucified for us* , because they were not us'd in any other Church of the East, no more than they were in the Church of the West; and because they might be perverted to an ill Sense. He commends the Practice of their Churches in making use of Unleaven'd Bread, and Fortifies them against the Objections of the Greeks.

As to the Churches of the West, we may safely say that Pope Gregory VII. govern'd almost all of them, as if they belong'd to his own Diocess, either by sending to them his Legates a Latere; or by nominating Vicars to them; or by citing the Bishops to Rome, to give an account of their Conduct; or by confirming or approving their Elections; or by receiving the Appeals of their Decisions; or by admitting the Complaints of their Diocesans; or by appointing Judges upon the Place; or by deciding several Points of Discipline: In a Word, by having an hand in

the particulars of all that happen'd in the Churches of Europe.

In the first place as to Legates, 'tis certain that nothing conduc'd more to establishing the absolute Authority of the Popes, than the sending Legates a Latere to reside upon the Spot. At first the Popes were satisfied with nominating the Bishops of the Country for their Vicars, or for their Legates, and granted them a Commission to call Councils, and to act in their Names; But for as much as these Prelates might have particular Interests to carry on, and were not entirely devoted to the Will and Pleasure of the Popes, the Court of Rome thought it more advisable to send upon the Places Legates who were Strangers, with full Commission of calling Councils, of making Rules of Discipline, of judging Priests, and even Bishops themselves; of excommunicating those whom they thought fit, upon Condition that they would return a faithful Account of all their Proceedings to the Pope; and provided that those who thought themselves injur'd by their Decisions, might come Personally to Rome, to complain to the Pope himself. By this Means the Holy See judg'd the same Cause twice over, and kept all the World in Awe. For those who had been Condemn'd by the Legates, hoping to meet with kinder Usage from the Pope, went to Rome in the Nature of Suppliants and Penitents, and seldom fail'd of clearing themselves, or of receiving their Absolution; which on the one side, advanc'd the Authority of the Holy See, and on the other, made them its Creatures. This Custom of sending Legates a Latere into the Provinces, began to prevail in the foregoing Century, and became very common in this, especially in Italy, and France: However, it met at first with some Opposition in Germany; where they maintain'd that no other Legate of the Holy See ought to be acknowledg'd beside the Archbishop of Mayence; but Gregory VII. play'd his Part so well as to introduce it there. In the Church of France, the Archbishop of Rheims pretended, by virtue of his Privileges, to be exempt from the Jurisdiction of the Legates, at least of those who were not Romans, and were immediately come from Rome; and for this Reason would not appear before Hugh Bishop of Dia and the Abbot of Cluny, whom Gregory had nominated to be his Legates in France. But the Pope sent him word by the second Letter of the sixth Book, dated August 22d. 1078. that the Holy See had always a Liberty of sending Legates immediately from Rome, or of nominating those who liv'd upon the Place, or of taking them whence it pleas'd. England maintain'd its Right much longer, and rejected Foreign Legates; for we read in the History of Eadmerus, that Pope Urban Successor to Gregory VII. having sent in the Year, 1100. Guy Archbishop of Vienna as Legate of the Holy See to England, all the Kingdom was startled at this Legation, which was look'd upon as a dangerous Innovation; because it was too well known; that there could be no other Vicar of the Holy See in England, beside the Archbishop of Canterbury; that thereupon the Archbishop of Vienna return'd just as he came, without having been acknowledg'd by any one as Legate, and without doing any Thing in that Quality.

Gregory VII. who himself had been Legate in France, had no Mind to abrogate this Custom; on the contrary, the first Thing he did after he was elected Pope, was to continue the Legates sent by his Predecessors, and to send new ones into those Parts, where there were none. By the sixth Letter of the first Book, he confirms the Legation of Gerard Cardinal Bishop of Ostia; and of the Subdeacon Rainbold Legates in France, orders them to do their utmost in making up the Breach between Hugh Abbot of Cluny and his Monks, and sends them Hugh the White a Cardinal, to go into Spain, if they thought fit.

In the eighth Letter, he likewise continues the Legation of Hubert and Albert; and exhorts them to execute the Commission which his Predecessor Alexander had given them.

In the sixteenth, he shews how he would have his Legates demean themselves towards him, by writing to Cardinal Gerard of Ostia, that he was very much surpriz'd at his not sending him word by an Express, what had been done in the Synod which he had held in Spain, because it was Customary, and withal necessary that when a Legate of the Holy See held a Council in a remote Country, he should come and give an Account of what he had done, or at least send one to do it for him: That tho' that Cardinal had acquainted him with Part of the Proceedings, yet since there was no Person, who either saw or heard, how Things went in that Synod, to inform him about it, he was very much at a stand what Answer to give those, who complain'd of having been excommunicated, depos'd or interdicted unjustly; for Fear he should either be deceiv'd by the Intricacy of the Causes, or should not fully exercise his Authority: That however, 'tis look'd upon as a Piece of Cruelty and Contempt, to defer giving these kind of Answers, because of the Dangers they are in, who are under Ecclesiastical Censures: That as to the Business of William



Gregory VII. Archbishop of *Archie*, whose re-establishment he desir'd him to grant; he had himself rais'd perplexities in his mind, by taking notice to him that he had been depos'd only for having voluntarily communicated with an excommunicate Person; and that yet he had not clear'd himself Canonically, but only offer'd to do it before Pope *Alexander*: That after this Affair had been debated, at last they came to this Resolution, that if the Archbishop of *Archie* were Guilty of nothing else, but of having communicated with an excommunicate Person, he ought not to be depos'd; but that if he were charg'd with any other Crimes of which he was not clear'd, the determination thereof ought to be refer'd to the Holy See: That *Posinus* Bishop of *Beziers*, who (as he sent word) had been depos'd for the same Offence, was come to *Rome* to make his Complaint; but that he had declin'd giving him any Answer out of Respect to him: That however, since the like Sentence ought to be pass'd on Cases that are alike, if he were Guilty of no other Fault, he ought to re-establish him. The Archbishop of *Archie* was re-establish'd, and the Pope wrote in his behalf to the Bishop of *Beziers*, and to the other Suffragans, that they should acknowledge him, and shew him the Respect which they ow'd him. This is the five and fiftieth Letter of the first Book, dated *March 16th. 1074.*

The Pope's Legates did not meet with the same Reception in all Places. These whom he sent into *Bohemia*, were not much regarded, particularly by the Bishop of *Prague*, whom they had reprimanded and condemn'd as one Guilty of Simony. *Gregory* thereupon wrote to the Duke of *Bohemia*, and thank'd him for the Respect which he shew'd to his Legates; but withal told him, that he had great Reason to complain of their being slighted in his Country, because formerly Legates were not sent so frequently; which he says happen'd through the remissness of his Predecessors. In particular, he accuses the Bishop of *Prague*, and threatens to confirm the Interdiction pronounc'd against him by his Legates, if he did not obey them, by doing what they requir'd of him. This Letter is the seventeenth of the first Book, dated *July the 8th. in the Year, 1073.*

In the fortieth of the Second Book, *Gregory VII.* charges all the Faithful to Respect his Legates: And in the one and fortieth, he sends them to be present at the Election of the Bishop of *Exgubio*.

He sent his Legates even to the most remote Countries; as for instance to *Poland*, as appears by the sixty third Letter of the second Book; to *Sclavonia*, *Russia*, *Denmark*, &c. as appears by several other Letters.

Of all the Legations, none was more considerable than that of the two *Hughs* in *France*, nor were there any Legates who exercis'd it with greater Authority, or dispatch'd more Affairs. The one was Bishop of *Dia*, and the other Abbot of *Cluny*. The former had been elected Bishop of *Dia* by the Clergy and Laity of that City, with the Approbation of *William* their Count. After his Election, he had taken an Oath of Fidelity to that Count: But not being forward to pay him the Sum of Money which was usually exacted for the Right of Investiture, he disoblig'd him so much, that he was no sooner gone to *Rome* to be consecrated, but the Count seiz'd of the Revenues of his Church. The Pope having read over the Act of *Hugh's* Election, consecrated him, but upon condition that he would not tolerate any Simony in his Diocese, nor Consecrate any Church that had its dependence on any Lay Patrons. This is what he acquaints that Count with, by the sixty ninth Letter of the first Book, wherein he upbraids him for having seiz'd on the Revenues of the Church of *Dia*. This Letter bears Date *March the 16th. 1074.*

By the three and fortieth Letter of the second Book, dated *January the 5th. 1075.* he orders that Bishop to accept of the Restitutions which those of his Church should make him, and to absolve them, upon condition that they would come and appear before the Synod of *Rome*.

*Gregory VII.* reposing a great deal of Confidence on this Bishop, made him his Legate or Vicar in *France*; and in that Quality refer'd to him a great many Affairs: Among others, that which related to the Bishop of *Cambray*, who after he had been elected, had receiv'd the Investiture thereof from King *Henry*. The Pope orders his Legate by the two and twentieth Letter of the fourth Book, to examine this Affair in a Council, with *Hugh* Abbot of *Cluny*, and several Bishops of *France*: And that if he who was elected to the Bishoprick of *Cambray*, would swear, that when he receiv'd the Investiture from *Henry*, he did not know that he was excommunicated, or that the Pope had prohibited such Investitures, he should confirm his Election. By the same Letter he likewise committed to him, the taking Cognizance of the Affairs which related to the Bishop of *Chartres*, the Churches of *Chartres*, *Puy* and *Cherbourg*, and that of the Monastery of *St. Dennis*. This Letter is dated *May the 2d. in the Year, 1077.*

This Legate in pursuance of his Commission, held several Councils in *France* in the Year, 1077. Among the rest

he held one at *Clermont*, wherein he depos'd the Bishop of that City, and the Bishop of *Puy* in *Velay*: Another at *Gregory VII. Dijon* against the Simoniacal: A third at *Autun*, to which he cited most of the Archbishops of *France*, and condemn'd all those who would not appear; to wit, *Manasses* Archbishop of *Rheims*, accus'd of Simony by his Clergy; the Archbishop of *Sens*, because he would not acknowledge the Legate; the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, because he had not appear'd at the Council of *Clermont*, and because after he had been Suspended, he still continu'd to discharge his Functions; the Archbishop of *Bourges*, for having relinquish'd his Church; the Archbishop of *Tours*, accus'd of being Vexatious and Simoniacal; the Archbishop of *Lyons*, convicted of Simony, in whose Place *Gebuin* Archdeacon of *Langres*, was elected and ordain'd; the Bishops of *Sens*, *Chartres*, *Auxerre*, for having receiv'd the Investiture from the King; the Bishop of *Noyon*, who own'd himself Guilty of Simony; and the Bishop of *Autun*, for not assisting at the Council.

The next Year *Hugh* Bishop of *Dia*, held another Council at *Poitiers*, in spite of the Prohibitions of the King of *France*, who perceiving how roughly his Bishops were handled, had written to the Count of *Poitiers*, and to the Bishops of his Kingdom, not to suffer the Pope's Legate to hold such Councils, which he Nicknames *Conventicles*. The Archbishop of *Tours* and the Bishop of *Rennes* came to this Council, but it was to disturb it; for which the Legate suspended both of them. However, they still spoke boldly against the Legate's Proceedings, and even offer'd some Violence to him. Afterwards they withdrew with the Suffragan Bishops of the Archbishoprick of *Tours*, and left him with a very small Number of Prelates. The next day he held a Council in the Church of *St. Hilary*: The Archbishop of *Tours* persisted to inveigh hotly against the Legate, who suspended him; and appeal'd to the Holy See. The Legate refer'd him to the Pope. Afterwards he depos'd the Abbot of *Bergues*, as being Guilty of Simony. The Archbishop of *Bezancon* was suspended for not appearing at the Synod of *Autun* and *Poitiers*. The Judgment of the Bishops of *Beauvais* and *Noyon*, accus'd of Simony, was refer'd to the Pope. He who had intruded into the Church of *Amiens* was likewise refer'd to the Pope, together with the Bishops of *Laon*, *Sens* and *Souffons*, who had ordain'd him. The Absolution of the Count of *Angers*, was likewise refer'd to the Holy See. *Hugh* of *Dia* in this Council, heard the Cause between the Bishops of *Terrouane* and *Poitiers*, and after he had discuss'd these Personal Causes, he made ten Canons upon the Discipline of the Church.

In the first, Ecclesiasticks are prohibited from receiving the Investiture or Collation of Benefices, from the King, or any Lay Patron. The Laicks who held any Churches in their Possession, were excommunicated, and these Churches interdicted.

In the second, It is prohibited, to hold two Benefices in two different Churches.

The third imports, That no Person shall pretend to hold Ecclesiastical Benefices, by right of Succession.

The fourth imports, That Bishops shall take nothing for Ordinations, nor for Consecrating Churches.

The fifth, That neither Abbots nor Monks shall administer the Sacrament of Penance, without the Commission of the Bishop first had.

The sixth, That neither Abbots, Monks, nor Prebendaries shall purchase Churches, or get the Inappropriation of them by any Method whatsoever, unless it be with the Consent of the Bishop, in whose Diocese these Churches are: That however, they shall still hold, and quietly possess the Benefices which they already have; but that the Priest who serves them, shall be answerable to the Bishop for the Charge of Souls, and for his Ministry.

The seventh, That the Abbots, Deans, and Archpriests who are not Priests, shall enter into Priest's Orders, or lose their Benefices: And that the Archdeacons shall be Deacons, under the same Penalty.

The eighth, That the Children of Priests, and Bastards, shall not be admitted into Holy Orders, unless they be Monks, or live in a regular Convent: But that they shall not hold any Ecclesiastical Preferments. That Slaves cannot be admitted into Orders, unless their Masters give them their Freedom.

The ninth, That the Subdeacons, Deacons and Priests shall have no Concubines, or any other suspicious Women in their Houses; and that all those, who shall wittingly hear the Mass of a Priest who keeps a Concubine, or is Guilty of Simony, shall be excommunicated.

The tenth, That Clerks who bear Arms, or are Usurers, shall be depos'd.

Most of the Prelates, who were condemn'd by *Hugh* Bishop of *Dia*, had recourse to the Pope, who releas'd them from their Condemnations, upon condition (as we said before) that they would clear themselves before his Legate. For this, you may consult the Letters of *Hugh* of *Dia* to *Gregory VII.* those of *Manasses* to the same; and the



Gregory VII. the Letter of that Pope by which he re-establishes them, which is the seventeenth of the fifth Book, dated *March the 8th. 1078.*

Of all these Prelates, *Manasses* was almost the only Person who persisted in his Resolution of not owning *Hugh of Dia* as Legate, who continued to prosecute him till he had pronounc'd a definitive Sentence against him, in the Council which he held at *Lyons* in the Year, 1080. wherein he depos'd him; and his Judgment was confirm'd by Gregory VII. as appears by this seventh Letter of the fifth Book.

The same Year this Legate held two other Councils: The one at *Avignon*, wherein *Achard*, who had intrud'd into the Church of *Arles*, was turn'd out, and *Gibelin* put into his place; And the other at *Meaux*, wherein he depos'd *Ursion*, Bishop of *Soissons*, and caus'd *Arnulphus*, Monk of *St. Medard*, to be elected in his Room.

In the Year, 1082. he held another Council at *Meaux*, wherein he ordain'd *Robert* Abbot of *Rebas*, Bishop of that City. But because this Ordination was done without the Approbation of *Richerus* Archbishop of *Sens*, the Bishops of the Province would not own him; and *Richerus* ordain'd another Bishop, after he had excommunicated *Robert*.

The Pope reterr'd to *Hugh of Dia*, the Absolution of *Robert* Count of *Flanders*, excommunicated by the Bishop of *Langres*, with Commission to put other Persons in his place; this appears by the seventh Letter of the sixth Book, dated *November the 25th. 1079.*

By the sixteenth Letter of the seventh Book, dated *March the 26th. 1080.* he orders *Hubert* Bishop of *Terrouane*, whom *Hugh of Dia* had cited twice before him, to justify himself before that Legate.

*Hugh of Dia* as a Recompence of the good Services he had done to the Holy See, was translated from the Bishoprick of *Dia*, to the Archbishoprick of *Lyons*, in the Year, 1083. and became so powerful, that after the Death of *Gregory VII.* he was one of those who pretended to the Popedom; and upon that Subject, had contests with *Victor III.* who had been; reterr'd before him. That Pope excommunicated him: However, in the Popedom of *Urban II.* *Hugh* was re-taken again into Favour, and continued to exercise his Legation in *France*, as we shall shew in its proper place. He dy'd in the Year, 1106. in *October*, at *Susa*, in his Journey to the Council which Pope *Paschal II.* held about the end of that Year at *Guastalla*, in the Dukedom of *Mantua*.

There are a great many other Affairs relating to *France*, *Normandy*, *Flanders*, *England* and *Bretagne*, which *Hugh* and his Colleagues took Cognizance of, and pass'd Sentence upon either Definitively, after it had been reterr'd to them by the Pope, or else Provisionally for any to have liberty of appealing to the Holy See. We shall have Opportunity of speaking more largely of these Things hereafter.

Gregory VII. to add the more Strength to his Authority, thought it expedient to make choice of one of the most eminent Sees of *France*, on which he might confer the perpetual Vicarship or Primacy of the Holy See. The Vicarship of the Popes in *France*, (by virtue of which those, to whom it was granted, pretended to a Jurisdiction above Metropolitans), and the Quality of Primates, had till then pass'd from Church to Church, according as they had been more or less favour'd by the Holy See. The Church of *Arles* is the first on whom this Privilege was conferr'd by Pope *Zozimus*, in Consideration of the Merits of *Patroclus*, who was Archbishop of that Place. Pope *Symmachus* confirm'd this Privilege in favour of *Cesareus* Archbishop of *Arles*, as to that Part of *Gaul*, which was then under the Dominion of the *Goths*; But at the same Time he made *St. Remy*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, his Vicar in the Kingdom under *Clotivis*. However, afterward the Vicarship of the Archbishop of *Arles* spread it self in the Kingdom under *Childebert*, and even through all *France*, by the favour of the Popes *Agilinus*, *Pelagius I.* *Gregory the Great*, and *John VIII.* But *Adrian I.* reterr'd this Honour to the Archbishop of *Rheims*; and the Popes *Benedict III.* and *Nicholas I.* confirm'd it. Pope *Sergius* granted it to the Bishop of *Metz*, in Consideration of the Person of *Dreux*, the Emperor's Uncle. But the Bishops of *France* would not acknowledge him, and we do not find that his Successors have pretended thereto. *Ansegisus* Archbishop of *Sens*, obtain'd the same Privilege from *John VIII.* and his Successors retain'd the Quality of Primates of *Gaul* and *Germany*, tho' the Bishops of *France* would not acknowledge it in the Council of *Pontyon*, and ever since it has been disputed with them.

At last Gregory VII. made choice of the Church of *Lyons*, as the Church of most Note, to Honour with this Quality, and granted it the Primacy over four Provinces of *France*; namely, of *Lyons*, *Roan*, *Tours*, and *Sens*, by the four and thirtieth Letter of the sixth Book, directed to *Gebwin* Archbishop of *Lyons*; and by the five and thirtieth Letter of the same Book, directed to the Archbishops of *Roan*, *Tours* and *Sens*, which are both dated *April the 20th. in the Year, 1079.* To establish this, he supposes that the Distinction of Diocesses, Provinces, Primacies, and Me-

ropolitanships was made by the Apostles themselves, or by the Holy Apostolick See, and that the Dignity of Primate had been granted by his Predecessors to the Archbishop of *Lyons*. However, it would be a hard matter to prove this out of any Authentick Record. Besides, the Archbishops of *Sens* and *Roan*, would not acknowledge the Archbishop of *Lyons* for Primate: Which oblig'd *Urban II.* in the Council held at *Clermont*, in the Year, 1095. to suspend *Richerus* Archbishop of *Sens* from the Use of the Pall; to enjoin his Suffragans not to obey him; and to threaten the Archbishop of *Roan* with the same Punishment, if he did not within three Months acknowledge the Primacy of the Archbishop of *Lyons*.

The Rights or Privileges annex'd to the Pope's Vicars or Primates in *France*, have been of a greater or less extent, according to the difference of the Times. Pope *Zozimus* granted three Things to the Archbishop of *Arles*, viz. (1.) That all the Bishops who were minded to come to *Rome*, shall be oblig'd to take along with them recommendatory Letters from the Archbishop of *Arles*. (2.) That the Ordinations in the Provinces of *Vienna* and *Narbonne* shall be his Peculiars. (3.) That he shall have the same Jurisdiction over the Churches, which he has had over them for a long Time, tho' they be not in his Territory. Of these three Privileges, the two last belong to the Archbishop of *Arles* as Metropolitan; and the first was granted him as Vicar of the P. e. *Symmachus*, besides these, granted him a Power of calling Councils of the Bishops of *France* and *Spain*: *Vigilius* added thereto the Honour of wearing the Pall; but he desires that if he should meet with any difficult Point, which could not be determin'd by the Councils, he should make his Report thereof to the Holy See. *Pelagius* granted him in general, a Power of Acting in *France*, with respect to every thing which concern'd the Administration of Ecclesiastical Affairs. Lastly, Pope *Gregory* took notice in Particular, wherein this Power consisted, which is, (1.) To cause all the Canons to be Religiously observ'd, and to maintain the Faith. (2.) To call a Synod when 'tis necessary. (3.) To make his Report to the Holy See, of the Controversies of Faith, and of the most Momentary and difficult Causes. The Privilege granted by the Popes to the Archbishops of *Rheims*, consists chiefly in being immediately Subject to no other than the Holy See, and in having the Right of Ordination and Inspection in the whole compass of his Vicarship. The Bishop of *Metz* had a Commission to call general Councils; to receive the Judgments pass'd in the Provincial Synods; to hear upon the first instance, the Causes of Appealing to the Holy See; to inform himself of the Lives of the Abbots and Bishops, and to provide for the Necessities of the Church. The Privileges granted to the Archbishop of *Sens*, are to call Councils, and to examine into all the Ecclesiastical Affairs of *France* and *Germany*; to receive and publish the Decrees of the Holy See, and to make his Report to it, of all the Affairs of Moment and Consequence.

Gregory VII. does not enter into the particulars of the Privileges of the Archbishop of *Lyons*; but only says in general, that the Ecclesiastical Affairs or any Consequence ought to be brought before him; and that it belongs to him to confirm and disannul the Judgments of the Ordinaries, and to judge the Causes of Bishops, and the Affairs of Importance, but without Prejudice to the Holy See.

Before Gregory VII. was Pope, *Manasses* was Archbishop of *Rheims*. That Prelate being very powerful, thought that the Monks of the Abby of *St. Remy* of that City, ought to pay an entire Submission to him. He was for giving them such an Abbot as he thought fit, and took part of their Revenues into his Possession. These Monks having prefer'd their Complaints to *Alexander II.* that Pope wrote to *Manasses*, and admonish'd him to put an end to these Complaints, and to give Orders that that Abby should be provided with a regular Abbot, who should have the Administration both of Spirituals and Temporals in his own Hands. Gregory VII. continued the same Remonstrances: But being inform'd that *Manasses*, notwithstanding all the Promises which he had made by his Deputies, to give him Satisfaction, continu'd his Abuses to those Religious, and enjoy'd their Revenues, He wrote a Letter to him full of Invectives, wherein he threatens to shew him the utmost Severity, if he did not immediately cause a Regular Abbot to be put into that Abby, and if he did not give such Orders as that the Religious might have no further Reason to complain of Him: And at the same Time he orders *Hugh* Abbot of *Cluny* to convey that Letter to him, and to learn his Answer. These are the thirteenth and fourteenth Letters of the first Book, dated *June the 29th. 1073.* and the first which Gregory wrote after his Ordination.

*Manasses* obey'd the Pope's Orders, and caus'd *William*, Abbot of *St. Arnulphus* of *Metz*, to be elected also Abbot of *St. Remy* of *Rheims*. The Pope approv'd of the Choice of the Person; but he thought it hard that one Man should have the Charge of two Abbies. However, he permitted

Gregory VII.

The Rights or Privileges of France.

The Cause of Manasses Archbishop of Rheims.

The Councils of Avignon and Meaux in the Year, 1080.

The Council of Meaux, in the Year, 1082.

Vicars of the Popes in France.

The establishment of the Primacy of Lyons, by Gregory VII.



Gregory VII.

mitted *William* to hold, or relinquish that of *Remy*, as he thought fit. He held it for some time; but not being able to endure the Tyranny and Oppression of *Manasses*, he resign'd that Abby. The Pope wrote to *Manasses* to order another Abbot to be elected, and gave at the same time notice to *Herman* Bishop of *Metz*, that Abbot *William* was willing to reside in the Abby of his Diocese. This is the Subject Matter of the fifty second and third Letters of the first Book, dated *March* the 14th. 1074.

The next Year the Pope, by the fifty sixth Letter of the second Book, dated *March* the 4th. committed to *Manasses*, the Execution of the Sentence pass'd against the Bishop of *Chalons*, who had been depos'd for not appearing before the Synod of *Rome*, to which he had been cited; upon the account of some Differences between him and his Clergy. And by the fifty eighth dated the fifth of the same Month, he orders him to cause the Bishop of *Noyon* to restore to the Bishop of *Utrecht*, a Church which he had unlawfully seiz'd upon.

*Hugh* Bishop of *Dia*, Legate of the Holy See in *France*, having cited *Manasses* to a Council, which he had call'd at *Autun*, that Archbishop thought it beneath him to appear there; which caus'd the Legate to Condemn him. *Manasses* went immediately to *Rome* to clear himself; and by the Pope's Order waited there three Months together for *Hugh* of *Dia*. But when that Bishop came not, the Cause of *Manasses* was argu'd in a Council, between Him and the Deputies of *Hugh* of *Dia*. *Manasses* having no Body to Accuse him, did with ease justify himself; and having affirm'd that it was not in Contempt of the Holy See, that he did not appear before the Council of *Autun*, the Sentence pass'd against him in that Council was declar'd invalid, upon Condition that he would appear before the Pope's Legate, whenever he should be summon'd: But he declar'd that he would not admit the Bishop of *Dia* to be his Judge. The Pope ask'd him whom he was willing should be his Judge; *Manasses* reply'd, *The Abbot of CLUNY*: Whereupon the Pope deputed that Abbot to be the Judge in the Cause of *Manasses*; after he had made him promise, that if he were call'd to any Synod by the Holy See, or to any by that Legate, he would not fail to make his Appearance. *Manasses* being return'd to *France*, was summon'd in the Name of *Hugh* of *Dia* and the Abbot of *Cluny*, to a Council to be held at *Troyes*; he went thither with Part of his Clergy: But the Clerks who accus'd him not daring to come thither, he was countermanded, and the Legates of the Pope were not at that Council. *Manasses* appear'd there, notwithstanding the Orders to the contrary, and thought he had discharg'd the Promise which he had made to the Pope. He pretended likewise that according to the Promises he made, he was oblig'd to appear before none beside the Pope, or before the *Roman* Legates sent immediately from the Holy See, and not before the Bishops on the other side the Mountains. He wrote to the Pope about it, and at the same time complain'd of the Archbishop of *Vienne*, who had depos'd and re-establish'd several Priests of the Diocese of *Rheims*; and of the Bishops of *Laon* and *Soissons* his Suffragans, who had ordain'd a Bishop of *Amiens* without consulting him, and even whilst he was at *Rome*. Gregory reply'd to him by the second Letter of the sixth Book, dated *August* the 22d. 1078. That he ought to acknowledge the Legates nam'd by the Holy See upon the Place, as well as those who were sent immediately from *Rome*; and that he ought forthwith to clear himself of the Things laid to his Charge before *Hugh* of *Dia* and the Abbot of *Cluny*; and that they should do him Justice, with respect to the Complaints which he had made. This is what he acquaints the Bishop of *Dia* with, by the next Letter dated the same Day.

The Cause of *Manasses* Archbishop of *Rheims*.

In the mean time *Hugh* of *Dia* caus'd *Manasses* to be summon'd twice to a Council to be held at *Lyons*, to answer to the Accusations which Count *Manasses*, and several Clerks of the Church of *Rheims*, prefer'd against him. The Archbishop of *Rheims* refus'd to come to that Council, and publish'd an Apology or *Manifesto*, wherein he alledges several Reasons for his not Appearing. The first is, Because there is no mention made of the Abbot of *Cluny* in the Order, by which he was summon'd to that Council. The second, Because that Council was held in a City, which was not in that Part of *France*, wherein he ought to be judg'd. The third, Because the Province which lay between that of *Rheims* and that of *Lyons*, and through which he must pass, was engag'd in a War; so that he could not come without Danger of being made Prisoner. The fourth, Because he understood that that Council was to consist of the same Persons, who had already condemn'd him rashly and unjustly. The fifth, Because according to the Canons, it was requir'd that such a Place should be made choice of to Try any one, as was near to his own Country, where one might produce Witnesses, and pass a definitive Sentence. That besides, he was reconcil'd to Count *Manasses*, and to all those who were at Difference with him, except *Bruno*, who was neither his Clerk, nor Born

nor Baptiz'd in his Diocese, but a Prebendary of *St. Cusibert* of *Cologne*, for whom he was not much concern'd; and who had serv'd him basely, tho' under particular Obligations to him; and except another Clerk, nam'd *Pontius*, whom he had convicted of Falshood in the Council of *Rome*. That if he had no Accusers, he was not oblig'd to come and clear himself before the Council, by the Testimony of six Bishops of an unblameable Life: That when he would have done it, he could not, because of the shortness of the Time that was allow'd him; and that it would be difficult to find in his Province six Bishops, who were not his Enemies, and without Reproach: That when he had promis'd to the Pope to appear before the Council which should be held by his Legates, he meant only such a Council as should be held in *France*, and in case he had not lawful Reasons to excuse his Non-appearance: Lastly, That for his part, he did not acknowledge *Hugh* of *Dia* to be Legate; since the Pope had granted him the Favour of refusing him for his Judge: That however, to shew his Submission to the Holy See, he offer'd him to appear at a Synod which should be held in some City near to *Rheims*, either in *Lent* or at *Easter*; and that he would there receive him with all the Honour that was due to the Legates of the Pope: That he exhorted him to accept of this Offer; because it would be more advantageous to the Holy See, to attract the Respect and Submission of the *French* by Acts of Moderation, than by Acts of Severity to keep them at a distance: That if notwithstanding this Remonstrance, he still would persist in the same Mind, and pronounce a Sentence of Deposition and Excommunication against him, the Popes *St. Gregory* and *St. Leo* had instructed him that he ought not to look upon such an Excommunication as issuing from the Holy See. These are the Reasons contain'd in the Apology of *Manasses*, which is a very fine Piece, and written in a very elegant Style, and publish'd by Father *Mabillon* in the first Tome of his Treasury of *Italy*.

*Hugh* of *Dia* had no regard to this *Manifesto*, but in the Council of *Lyons* pronounc'd a Sentence of Deposition against *Manasses* and the Pope confirm'd it in the Synod of *Rome*, held the beginning of the Year, 1080. and gave *Manasses* notice of it by the twentieth Letter of the Seventh Book, dated *April* the 7th. of the same Year; allowing him notwithstanding further Time till the Feast of *St. Michael* to justify himself, either at *Rome*, or before his Legates; by producing as an Evidence of his Innocence some Bishops his Suffragans; by restoring to the two Persons who had accus'd him, the Revenues which he had taken from them; and upon Condition that he would retire to *Cluny* or some other Monastery till *Ascension-day*, and forbear till then all Episcopal Functions.

*Manasses* did not hearken to this Sentence, and continued in Possession of his Archbishoprick without submitting in the least to the Pope; who wrote immediately to the Clergy and Laity of *Rheims*, to the Suffragans of that Metropolitanship, to King *Philip* and to Count *Ebold*, ordering them no longer to acknowledge him for Archbishop of *Rheims*, to turn him out of that Church, and to elect or cause to be elected another in his Stead. This is the Subject Matter of the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth Letters of the eighth Book, dated *Dec.* 27th. in the same Year.

This *Manasses* is accus'd by the Authors of that Time of having attain'd to the Archbishoprick of *Rheims* by Simony, and of having exercis'd an insupportable Tyranny and Oppression over his Clergy; of having rifled Churches, plunder'd Monasteries, exacted Money from his Clergy, persecuted Men of Estates; of seizing the Revenues of the richest Abbies; of having liv'd more like a great Lord, than a Bishop; of having greater Care of his Soldiers, than of his Clergy; of having more Concern for the Temporalities, than for the Spiritualities of his Archbishoprick; and of being so impious as to say, That the Archbishoprick of *Rheims* would be a very pretty Thing, if no singing of Mass were required. 'Tis thus that he is set out by *William* Abbot of *St. Arnulphus* of *Metz*, *Guilbert* Abbot of *Nogent*, and *Hugh* of *Flaviany*. However, *Fulcoius* Subdeacon of *Meaux*, has made his Elogy; and the Clergy of *Noyon* (in a Letter which they wrote at that very Time to the Clergy of *Cambray*, to prove that the Sons of Clerks and Priests might be admitted into Priests Orders) maintain, That the Excommunication of *Manasses* had been made by a Motive of Envy; and that it was rash and unjust. This Letter is related by Father *Mabillon*, after the Apology of *Manasses*. All this makes it appear, That tho' *Manasses* had been as guilty as they would have him thought to be, yet he was not condemn'd in due Form.

There had been for several Years past a Contest between the Archbishop of *Tours* and the Bishop of *Dol*, who pretended likewise to the Dignity of an Archbishop, or the Right of Metropolitan over the Bishops of *Bretagne*. The Popes always declar'd themselves in Favour of the Archbishop of *Tours*. Gregory VII. seem'd at first to favour the Bishop of *Dol*; for the Clergy and Laity having sent to the Pope

Gregory VII.

The Cause of the Archbishop of *Tours* and the Bishop of *Dol*.



Gregory VII. Pope him whom they had elected to be Bishop, he refused to ordain him, because he was too young: But having chosen *Yves* Abbot of *St. Melaine*, who was come to *Rome* with the Deputies of *Dol*, he consecrated him by their Consent, and granted him the Pall, upon Condition that he would come to *Rome* whenever he should be sent for thither, to regulate the Contest which was between the Church of *Dol* and that of *Tours* about the Right of Metropolitanship. The Archbishop of *Tours* thinking that the Pope had by this prejudiced his Right, complain'd of it; but *Gregory* sent him Word, that he had no Occasion to complain, since he had taken such Measures, that what he had done should be no Prejudice to him, and that he would do him Justice, when that Affair was in a Posture of being try'd. This is the Subject Matter of the fourth, fifth, and thirteenth Letters of the fourth Book, of which the two first, about the Ordination of *Yves*, are directed, the one to the People of *Dol*, and the other to the Bishops of *Bretagne*, dated *Sept. 27.* in the Year 1076. and the last to *Radulphus* Archbishop of *Tours*, dated the first of *March*, 1077.

The Pope was deceived in the Choice of the Man whom he had ordain'd to the Church of *Dol*. He soon receiv'd Complaints of his bad Conduct: And after he had examin'd the Accusations brought against him, he was just ready to depose him; when he received a Letter from *William* King of *England*, who interceded for him. This caus'd the Pope to supersede the Execution of that Sentence, till he should send upon the Place *Hugh* Bishop of *Dia*, and two other Legates, to inform themselves more fully about that Affair. This appears by the seventeenth Letter of the fourth Book, written to the King of *England*, and dated *March* the 2d. in the Year 1077. He committed the Determination of that Affair to *Hugh* of *Dia*, to the Abbot of *Cluny*, and to two other Clerks, by the two and three and twentieth Letters of the fifth Book, dated *May 22d.* 1078.

At last the Contest between the Churches of *Tours* and *Dol*, for the Right of Metropolitanship, having been debated in the Council held at *Rome*, the Beginning of the Year 1080. And the Archbishop of *Tours* having made it appear, by good Titles, That *Bretagne* belong'd to his Metropolitanship; whereas the Bishop of *Dol* not being able to produce such authentick ones, was pleas'd to say, That he had forgot behind him several of his Titles: The Pope granted him a farther Time, and declar'd that he would send Legates upon the Place, to determine that Affair: And that if it appear'd that the Bishop of *Dol* had sufficient Titles whereon to ground his Exception, he should still remain in Possession of it; if not, that then the Bishop of *Dol* and the other Bishops of *Bretagne* shall be subject to the Archbishop of *Tours*, as to their Metropolitan; upon Condition however that the Bishop of *Dol* shall still enjoy the Privilege of wearing the *Pall*. This is what he intimates to the People of *Tours* and *Bretagne*, by the fifteenth Letter of the seventh Book, dated *March 8th.* in the Year 1080.

The Cause of the Bishop of Toul. The Bishop of *Toul* having refus'd to one of his Clerks a Church, which he pretended to belong to his Prebendship, and having absolutely suspended him, that Clerk was incens'd against him, and accus'd him of selling Benefices and sacred Things; of holding a shameful and dishonourable Commerce with a certain Woman, and of having bought his Bishoprick. The Bishop's Friends, to avenge his Quarrel, threaten to be even with that Clerk, if ever they could catch him. Whereupon that Clerk not thinking himself secure, absconded, and the Bishop immediately caus'd all that he had to be sold. That Clerk having made his Complaints thereof to *Rome*, *Gregory VII.* by the tenth Letter of the second Book, dated *Octob. the 14th.* 1074. commission'd the Archbishop of *Treves*, and the Bishop of *Metz*, to try this Cause. He enjoins them in the first Place to put that Clerk into the Possession of his Benefice; afterwards to make Inquiry into the Life of the Bishop: If he were innocent, to punish the Clerk who had scandaliz'd him; and if he were guilty, to depose him.

The Cause of William Duke of Aquitaine. *William* Duke of *Aquitain*, and Count of *Poitiers*, having marry'd one of his Relations, the Legate of the Holy See, and the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, call'd a Synod, to oblige him to part from her. *Issembert* Bishop of *Poitiers* disturb'd that Assembly, and offer'd Violence to those who were there. However, the Duke of his own accord parted from his Wife. *Gregory* no less pleas'd with his Submission, than he was offended at the Action of the Bishop of *Poitiers*, complimented the Duke upon it by the third Letter of the second Book, and cited the Bishop to the Council of *Rome* by the second Letter of the same Book, threatening to depose and excommunicate him; and by the fourth of the same Book advises the Archbishop of *Bordeaux* to come to *Rome*, or to send some body thither to accuse *Issembert*. These three Letters are dated *Sept. the 2d.* 1074. *Issembert* not appearing at the Synod, the Pope not only confirm'd the Suspension which his Legate had pronounc'd against him, but likewise excommunicated him, till such Time as he should come to the Synod, to be held at *Rome* the Beginning of *Lent*, as appears by the three and four and twen-

tieth Letters of the same Book, dated *Nov. the 16th.* in the same Year.

Gregory VII. The Letters of *Gregory* are full of Instances of Bishops whom he cited to *Rome*, to give an Account of their Conduct, or condemn'd for not appearing; or absolv'd when they did appear; or depos'd or enjoyn'd to do Penance. We may consult beside those already mention'd, the fifty sixth Letter of the first Book, by which he summons the Bishop of *Chalons*, to come and clear himself at *Rome*: The fifty seventh, by which he orders the Bishop of *Pavia*, to come to him with the Marquis *Aso*, accus'd of Incest with that Bishop's Sister. This Woman's Name was *Matilda*, which gave Occasion to some Authors to think her to be the same with the Princess *Matilda*, the Wife of *Godfrey*. But she was quite another Woman; for the whom we speak of, was the Sister of *William* Bishop of *Pavia*, who had marry'd her Kinsman *Aso*, before the Death of *Godfrey*, the Princess *Matilda*'s Husband. The Pope wrote to her by the thirty sixth Letter of the second Book, to part from *Aso*, till such Time as she should prove in the Synod of *Rome*, that the Marquis was not her Kinsman. And by the thirty fifth Letter, he likewise cited *William* Bishop of *Pavia* upon the same Account. These two Letters are dated *Dec. the 16th.* 1074.

Sometimes *Gregory VII.* commission'd Bishops upon the Places to pass a definitive Sentence upon the Affairs in dispute. Thus he committed to the Archbishops of *Bourges* and *Tours*, the Determination of the Process between the Monastery of *Dol*, and the Abby of *St. Sulpicius*, by the ninth Letter of the second Book, to *Richerus* Archbishop of *Sens*, by the twentieth Letter of the same Book, the correcting of *Lancelin*, who had injur'd the Archbishop of *Tours*.

By the sixteenth Letter of the fourth Book, he refer'd to *Hugh* Bishop of *Dia*, the Trial of the Difference which was between the Clergy of *Romagne*, and the Archbishop of *Vienna*.

In the twentieth of the same Book, he refer'd to *Josefroy* Bishop of *Paris*, the Absolution of several Persons excommunicated by the Archbishop of *Rheims*, and granted him Power to absolve them, in Case he found them innocent, if that Archbishop would not do it.

In the one and twentieth, he refer'd to *Herman* Bishop of *Metz*, the Trial of the Process between the Bishop of *Liege*, and the Abbot of *St. Laurence*, who having been turn'd out of his Monastery by the Bishop, had appeal'd to the Holy See.

In the fourth Letter of the sixth Book, he refer'd to the Archbishop of *Treves* and the Bishop of *Metz*, the Cause of one who complain'd that he had been unjustly excommunicated by the Bishop of *Liege*.

In the fifth of the same Book, he advises *Herman* Bishop of *Metz*, to assist the Bishop of *Toul*, whom he had order'd to call a Council of six Bishops, to clear himself canonically of what had been laid to his Charge.

By the thirty ninth of the same Book, he refer'd to the Bishop of *Cuma*, the Trial of the Election of the Bishop of *Pergamo*.

By the eight and twentieth Letter of the seventh Book, he committed to the Bishop of *Benevento*, and the Abbot of *Mount Cassin*, the Trial of an *Armenian* Heretick.

By the nineteenth Letter of the ninth Book, he refer'd to the Archbishop of *Lyons*, the Trial of the Cause of an Abbot, who produc'd a Grant of *Alexander II.* which prov'd that he had been falsly accus'd.

By the two and twentieth of the same Book, he refer'd to a Council of the Province, to be held in the Presence of his Legates, the Trial of the Count of *Angiers*, excommunicated by the Archbishop of *Tours*, upon the Account of a Concubine which he kept.

He refer'd to the same Archbishop, by the thirty second Letter of the same Book, the Cause of the Bishop of *Terrouane*, who being favour'd by the Count of *Flanders*, had broke open the Church, and offer'd several Violences. You may consult on this Subject the thirteenth, two and thirtieth, three and thirtieth, and four and thirtieth Letters of the ninth Book, and the first of the eleventh.

By the thirty first of the same Book, he refer'd to a Bishop the Trial of the Difference which was between the Clergy of *Autun*, and the Monks of *Fleury*, about a Privilege which the latter pretended to.

To conclude, there were scarce any Controversies in the Diocesses between the Bishops and their Clerks, or Monks, and even Laicks themselves, which *Gregory VII.* was not minded to take Cognizance of, to try at *Rome*, and to oblige the Bishops to put his Sentence into Execution, as may be seen by a great many Letters, about several Subjects.

In the fifty fourth of the first Book, he orders against the Bishop of *Poitiers*, that the Canons of that City shall observe their usual Custom concerning their Stations upon the Feasts of *St. Hilary*, and *All-Saints*. In the one and twentieth of the second Book, he enjoins the Abbot of *Beaulieu*, to be obedient to the Archbishop of *Tours*; and that if he thought he had any Reason not to be subject to him, he should



**Gregory VII.** should come to *Rome*, and make his Pretensions good. In the two and twentieth, he enjoyns *Hugh*, Knight of *St. Maur*, to restore to the Archbishop of *Tours* the Revenues of his Church, which he had taken away from him: And in Case that he thought that they belong'd to him, to come to *Rome* to demand Justice in the Case. In the five and twentieth, he orders the Bishop of *Cologne* to try the Difference which was between the Bishop of *Osnaburg* and the Abbot of *Corbey* in *Saxony*, upon Condition that if he could not determine it, he would send them to his Synod of *Rome*. In the thirty third, he reproves the Bishop of *Turin* for not coming to the Synod of *Rome*, and for having offer'd an Injury to the Monastery of *St. Michael*.

By the sixty fourth and sixty fifth Letters of the second Book, dated *March* the 25th. in the Year, 1075. he orders, that the Accusation which the Monks of *St. Dennis* in *France* had brought against their Abbot, shall be try'd by his Legates, or in a Synod of *Rome*. He likewise call'd to *Rome* by the sixty ninth, the Contest which was between the Bishop of *Turin*, and the Monks of the Monastery of *St. Michael*; this Letter is dated *April* the 9th. in the same Year. By the thirtieth Letter of the third Book, he determines a Difference which was between the Church of *Roscelle* and the Church of *Piombino*, in Favour of the former.

*The Cause of Everard Dean of Orleans.* There was at that Time a great Contest in the Church of *Orleans*, concerning a Deanery, between the Bishop and his Prebendaries. The Cause having been brought before Pope *Alexander*, he had determin'd it in Favour of *Josceline*, whom the Prebendaries were for, and excommunicated *Everard* whom the Bishop had favour'd. Notwithstanding this Sentence, the Bishop of *Orleans* had still supported *Everard*, and was likewise accus'd of having receiv'd Money for the Collation of a Prebendship, the Revenue whereof was appropriated to the Maintenance of the Poor: *Gregory VII.* being inform'd of it, in the first Place cited *Everard* to *Rome*, by the fifty second Letter of the second Book, dated *March* the 1st. 1075. and afterwards having confirm'd the Sentence pass'd by his Predecessor against him, he wrote to the Bishop of *Orleans* to turn him out, to put *Josceline* into Possession of the Prebendship then in Question, and to suffer the Poor to enjoy the Revenue of that Prebendship which belong'd to them; if not, he threatned to excommunicate him; and at the same Time he order'd *Richerus* Archbishop of *Sens* to do it, if he did not submit. These two Letters are the sixteenth and seventeenth of the third Book, dated in *April* 1076. The Bishop of *Orleans* returning no Answer to *Gregory*, that Pope wrote a second Time to the Archbishop of *Sens*, ordering him to thunder out the Excommunication against that Bishop, unless he assur'd him upon Oath, that he had not come to the least Knowledge of the Pope's Letter; and he order'd him to come to *Rome* along with the Parties concern'd in that Affair. He likewise by this Letter commissions *Richerus* Archbishop of *Sens*, not only to take Cognizance of this, but also of several other Matters which concern'd the Churches of *France*. This is the Subject Matter of the ninth Letter of the fourth Book, dated *Nov.* the 2d. in the same Year.

The Bishop of *Orleans* did not much regard all these Menaces of the Pope, and caus'd the Person who brought his Letters to be apprehended. *Gregory* enrag'd at this Proceeding, wrote to the Archbishop of *Sens* and *Bourges*, ordering them to cite him before them at a Place which they should appoint him; and if he continu'd Refractory, to depose him, and put *Sanzon* in his Place: He likewise advertis'd the Bishop of *Orleans*, that he had given this Order. These are the eighth and ninth Letters of the fifth Book, dated *Octob.* the 6th. 1077. This *Sanzon* was elected in Pursuance of this Order, and the Pope by the fourteenth Letter of the same Book, dated *Jan.* the 28th. in the Year, 1078. orders the Clergy and Laity of *Orleans* to acknowledge him: However, by another Letter dated *April* the 24th. which is the twentieth of the same Book, he writes to *Rainier*, who was the depos'd Bishop of *Orleans*, ordering him to appear at the Synod which should be appointed by *Hugh* Bishop of *Dia*, and *Hugh* Abbot of *Cluny*, in order to receive a final Sentence. Lastly, by the three and twentieth of the sixth Book, dated *March* the 5th. 1079. he acquaints the People of *Orleans* that he approv'd of the Election of *Sanzon*, but that he could not confirm him in Form, till such Time as he should send Legates upon the Place.

*The Cause of Robert, nominated to the Bishoprick of Chartres.* *Robert* Abbot of *St. Euphemia* in *Calabria*, had been nominated by the King of *France* to the Bishoprick of *Chartres*. *Gregory VII.* who lik'd not such Sort of Nominations, and look'd upon them as Simoniackal, charg'd him by his Legate to quit his Bishoprick. But *Robert* was not very forward to obey; whereupon the Pope declar'd him to have forfeited his Title to it, order'd the People of *Chartres* to elect another Bishop, and enjoyn'd *Richerus* Archbishop of *Sens* and his Suffragans to see this Order put in Execution. You may consult the fourteenth and fifteenth Letters of the fourth Book, dated *March* the 4th. 1077. However, by a Letter directed to *Hugh* of *Dia*, which is the eleventh of the fifth Book, he gave that Bishop Orders

to examine into that Business, and to make his Report thereof to him.

*Stephen* Bishop of *Anzcy* had the same Fortune. *Hugh* of *Dia* the Pope's Legate excommunicated him, and *Gregory* ratified his Sentence by two Letters; the one written to the Clergy of *Anzcy*, and the other to the Bishops of *France*, which are the eighteenth and nineteenth of the fourth Book, dated *March* the 23d. in the Year, 1077.

The Archbishop of *Roan* being grown infirm and incapable of governing his Diocese, *Gregory VII.* sent him one *Hubert* a Subdeacon, to enquire whether Things were so or no, and to persuade him to give his Consent, that another be put in his Place, if he were capable of giving such a Consent; and in case he were wholly infirm, to cause another to be elected. This is what he acquaints the King of *England* with, by the nineteenth Letter of the fifth Book, dated *April* the 4th. 1078.

The Canons of the Castle of *St. Paul* and *St. Omer*, having sent Deputies to *Rome*, to complain of the Counts *Hubert*, *Guy* and *Hugh*, who had seiz'd upon some Revenues which belong'd to them; the Pope wrote to these Counts, ordering them to make Restitution, according as it had been enjoyn'd in a Council held at *Poitiers* by *Hugh* of *Dia*, or else to justify their Pretensions to these Revenues before that Legate within the Space of forty Days. If they would not obey, he order'd the Defenders of the Church to re-enter upon the Premises, and the Canons of *Terronane*, to see that this Sentence be put in Execution. This is the Subject Matter of the eighth and ninth Letters of the sixth Book, dated *Nov.* the 25th. 1079.

In the seventh and eighth Letters of the sixth Book, he approves of the Election which the Monks of *Marfeilles* had made of Cardinal *Richard* for their Abbot: He declares to them that he wish'd that that Monastery were united to the Monastery of *St. Paul*.

We will conclude the Account of the Letters of *Gregory VII.* with several Points of Ecclesiastical and Monastical Discipline, which he decided, and of which we have had no Opportunity of speaking.

In the fifth Letter of the first Book, directed to *Rainier* Archbishop of *Florence*, he determines that a Woman who had marry'd one of her Kinsmen, and was become a Widow, ought not to receive her Dowry from any Part of her Husband's Revenue, nor to have any Advantage of that Marriage, which was in its own Nature null.

In the four and twentieth Letter of the first Book, he recommends to the Bishop of *Verona* a constant Submission to the Holy See, and promises him the Pall, provided he would come in his proper Person to *Rome*: Because his Predecessors had order'd that the Pall should be bestow'd only on Persons who were present. This Letter bears Date *Sept.* the 24th. 1073.

In the four and thirtieth Letter of the same Book, directed to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, he determines that according to the Opinions of the Fathers, a Priest who had been guilty of Homicide, ought no longer to attend at the Service of the Altar; but he is willing that in case he be truly Penitent, a Subsistence should be allow'd him out of the Ecclesiastical Contributions. Afterwards he gives that Bishop Absolution of all his Sins.

In the seven and fortieth of the same Book, he exhorts the Princess *Matilda* to frequent Communion, and to bear a due Respect and Devotion to the blessed Virgin.

In the eight and fortieth, he enjoyns that a Woman accus'd by her Husband of Adultery, shall be admitted to justify her Innocence.

In the sixty fifth, he reproves the People of *Ragusa* for having first apprehended *Vitalius* their Bishop, and then elected another in his Room. He enjoyns them to set him at Liberty, and to suffer his Cause to be try'd by the Archbishop of *Siponto*, whom he had commission'd for that very Purpose, with a Charge that if it could not be determin'd upon the Place, they should send to *Rome* their old Bishop, and him whom they had newly elected, that so he might decide the Controversy between them.

In the seven and fortieth of the second Book, he acquaints the Lord *Rainier*, that he had order'd the Bishop of *Chinfi*, to turn out of the Provostship of a Church, a Priest who had been condemn'd by his Predecessor *Alexander*, and whom that Bishop would re-establish in defiance to the Authority of the Holy See.

In the eight and fortieth, he orders two of his Legates to prevent a Man who had kill'd his Brother, from marrying till he had done Penance.

By the fiftieth, he determines that one who is not born in lawful Wedlock, cannot be advanc'd to the Episcopacy, because 'tis contrary to the Canons. He likewise therein declares, that he would not accept of the Resignation of the Bishop of *Aragon*, who had desir'd to relinquish his Bishoprick because of his Infirmities. He says, that he had advis'd him to make use of an Ecclesiastick to take Care of the Temporalities of his Diocese, and to apply himself wholly to Spiritual Affairs with the Assistance of his Neighbouring Bishops;



**Gregory VII.** Bishops; and that if his Infirmities continu'd upon him longer than an Year, and he were no longer capable of discharging his Episcopal Functions, one might with the Consent of the Clergy of that Church accept of his Relinquishment, and ordain in his Stead the Person who should be elected to assist him in the Government of his Diocess, if he were fit for that Dignity. This Letter is directed to *Sancho King of Arragon*, and bears Date *Jan. the 25th. 1075.*

*The Letters of Gregory concerning Discipline.* In the seventy seventh Letter of the same Book, directed to *Gebehard Archbishop of Salzbourg*, he advertises that certain Territory, wherein a Bishoprick had been founded in the Time of *Alexander II.*

In the sixth Letter of the fourth Book, he determines that one cannot communicate with a dead Bishop who is excommunicate, nor pray for him: And he absolves him in case that he had involuntarily subscrib'd to what the Emperor had acted against the Church. And in the eighth Letter of the same Book, he orders Absolution to be given at the Point of Death to an excommunicate Bishop, if he requir'd it, even before he had finish'd the Penance assign'd him.

In the tenth Letter of the same Book, directed to the Countess of *Flanders*, he declares that the Clerks who kept Concubines, ought not to be tolerated to say Mass, or celebrate any Divine Office. And in the twentieth and several others he says, That the People ought not to assist them therein.

In the first Letter of the fifth Book, he reproves the Canons of *Lucca* for having bought their Benefices, and interdicts all those who had given Money for being instituted and inducted into a great Church, and prohibits them from holding such Benefices.

In the thirteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth of the same Book, he determines that the Elections of Bishops ought to be done by the Clergy and Laity, with an unanimous Freedom and Consent.

In the eleventh Letter of the sixth Book, he enjoins the Canons of *St. Martins of Lucca* to live regularly and in Common, or at least to allow their Bishop a Prebendship for the Necessities of the Church.

In the six and thirtieth of the same Book, he threatens to excommunicate those who should buy Benefices. In the thirty fourth, he had reckon'd up three Sorts of Simony, viz. *a Manu, ab obsequio, a lingua*: The first Sort, is when one gives Money either in ones own Person, or by others, for the obtaining a Benefice. The second, is when in Hopes of a Benefice, one does some signal Service to a Patron, who bestows it by Way of Recompence for that Service. The third is when one petitions, or causes another in one's Behalf to petition for a Benefice, and when one obtains it by Recommendation.

In the second Letter of the seventh Book, he declares the Canons who disobey their Bishop, to have for ever forfeited their Benefices, and forbids both Clergy and Laity from communicating with them.

In the tenth of the same Book, he desires that the Canonical Discipline of Penance should be re-establish'd in *England*, and sends a Legate thither for that Purpose. He therein declares that that Penance is hypocritical, which is not attended with an Amendment of Life.

In the eleventh, he would not permit Divine Service to be celebrated among the *Sclavonians* in their own Language.

In the thirteenth, he orders the Bishop of *Verdun* to enjoin a Count Penance, who had robb'd a Bishop of *Liege* in his Journey to *Rome*, and to anathematize him, in case he would not submit to the Penance.

In the eighth Letter of the eighth Book, he congratulates the Bishop of *Salerno*, for having found the Relicks of *St. Matthew*, and exhorts him to shew them the Veneration which they deserve.

In the tenth of the same Book, it is observ'd that the Legate of the Holy See in *Sardinia*, oblig'd a *Grecian* Archbishop to cut off his Beard; the which *Gregory* approv'd of.

In the fifteenth of the same Book, he declares that he had order'd a Bishop of *Italy*, who had without just Cause relinquish'd his Bishoprick, to retire to the Monastery of *Mount Cassin*, and to stay there till such Time as it was determin'd what should be done with him. But that Bishop instead of obeying him, re-enter'd upon his Church without his Permission: Wherefore he prohibits his Clergy from acknowledging him for their Bishop, and from obeying him.

In the second Letter of the fourth Book, and in the one and twentieth of the eighth, he undertakes to prove that the Popes might excommunicate Kings and Sovereign Princes, and even absolve their Subjects from the Oath of Allegiance taken to them. But all the Authorities and Arguments which he makes use of to prove the latter, are such as are either supposititious, or founded on false Matters of Fact, or such as conclude nothing.

In the first Letter of the ninth Book, he reproves the Archbishop of *Roan*, for not having sent to desire the *Pall* from the Holy See, and prohibits him from performing any Ordination, or any Consecration of the Church, till such Time as he should receive it from thence. This is the first In-

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stance we meet with of the Popes obliging Archbishops to take the *Pall*, under the Penalty of being depos'd till they should receive them.

In the four and twentieth of the same Book, he refus'd to ordain a Bishop of *Malta*, because that Ordination belong'd to the Bishop of *Reatino*.

With respect to the Monastical Discipline, *Gregory VII.* apply'd himself chiefly to preserve or increase the Exemptions and Privileges of Monasteries, or to regulate the Differences which happen'd between the Abbots, the Religious and the Bishops. We have already mention'd several of these Kind of Causes, which he try'd himself at *Rome*, or refer'd to his Legates, or to other Commissaries upon the Place. We will now relate some others which we have not had Occasion to speak of.

By the two and thirtieth Letter of the first Book, dated *Nov. the 27th. 1073.* he orders the Bishop of *Chartres* to re-establish *Isimbard* Abbot of *St. Laumer*, who had quitted his Abby to go to *Jerusalem*, in case he were guilty of no other Fault, and to turn out *Guy*, who had been put in his Place, and who, they said, had not so much Piety as *Isimbard*, nor was so proper to govern that Monastery.

In the three and thirtieth, dated the next Day, he writes Word to the Religious of the Monastery of *St. Mary*, in the Diocess of *Tortone*, that he was not willing to confirm the Privilege, which being under the Name of *Alexander II.* had been presented to him, by *Benedict* whom they had elected their Abbot in the Room of *Hubert*; since he had discover'd it to be forg'd upon these two Accounts, first because it had false Latin in it, and secondly because it contain'd something in it contrary to the Intention of the Canons: That he did not think it advisable to grant them a new one, till the Church of *Tortone* had a Bishop elected according to the Canon, by whose Consent he might grant them a Privilege conformable to the Ecclesiastical Authority. With Respect to him whom they had elected for their Abbot, he acquaints them, that he did not think him proper for that Place, by Reason of his great Age, and his Infirmities, and that he had advised him to resign it.

In the one and fiftieth Letter of the first Book, he reprimands the Abbot of *St. Severus*, for not appearing at the Synod of *Rome*, to answer the Complaints preferr'd against him, concerning the Monastery of the *Holy Cross*, from which this Abbot was minded to take a Church. He prohibits him from giving that Monastery any Disturbance, and orders him if he thought he had Reason for what he did, to come to the Synod held in *November* with the Abbot of the *Holy Cross*. This Letter is dated *March the 14th. in the Year, 1074.*

By the sixty sixth, sixty seventh, sixty eighth, seventy second, eighty first, eighty second Letters of the same Book; by the fifteenth, seventeenth, forty sixth, fifty ninth, sixtieth, and sixty first of the second Book; by the twenty fourth, twenty fifth, thirty first, and thirty third of the sixth Book; by the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twenty fourth of the seventh Book; and by the sixth, seventh, and twenty ninth of the ninth Book, he vindicates the Privilege of several Monasteries against the Bishops, or any other Persons who seiz'd on their Revenues, and had done any Prejudice to their Rights or Immunities.

Thus have we given you a full Account of the Actions, Conduct, Life, Writings, Sentences, and Determinations of *Gregory VII.* during his Pontificate, extract'd out of his Letters, wherein he has describ'd his own Character, and discover'd what his Sentiments and Designs were. They are in all 359. which compose a Register divided into nine Books, containing all the Letters which he wrote from *April 1073.* to the Year, 1082. 'Tis observ'd that there was a tenth Book, but 'tis lost: That which is call'd the eleventh, contains only one entire Letter, and the Fragment of another, which may be connected with seven or eight other Letters extract'd out of *Lanfrank*, and *St. Anselm*, or other Authors.

The Judgments which have been pass'd on the Person, *The various Conduct, Manners and Genius of Gregory VII.* have been wholly contrary to each other. His Partisans have represented him to us as a Man very religious and pious, just, equitable, humble, patient, unblameable both in his Life and Morals; a learned Canonist and a good Divine, zealous for the Welfare of the Church, a Lover of Discipline, an Enemy to Vice, a Protector of the Innocent, an undaunted Defender of the Ecclesiastical Rights and Privileges, and a faithful Imitator of *Gregory the Great* in his Pastoral Care. His Enemies on the contrary have made him pass for a cruel, ambitious, and perfidious Man, who having seiz'd by Force on the Papal Chair, had put the whole Church into Confusion to gratify his Ambition, and to attain to his Designs; who without Respect to the Royal Majesty or to the Sacerdotal Dignity, had a Mind to make Kings his Slaves, and Bishops his Creatures, by depriving the one of their States, and by unjustly condemning the others, that he might afterwards give them Absolution: Who had utterly overturn'd the Discipline of the Church, by being willing to establish in his own Person a Monarchy, or rather

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Tyranny



**Gregory VII.** Tyranny over Things both Spiritual and Temporal: Who had advanc'd this unheard of Error so far as to maintain, That Popes might, by excommunicating Kings and Princes, divest them of their States, and absolve their Subjects from the Oath of Allegiance taken to them: Who had thunder'd out so many Excommunications, and extended them so far, that there was scarce a Man in his Time who was sure of not being excommunicated. I omit speaking of the other gross Enormities with which they charg'd him; such as his being guilty of Sorcery, of holding a dishonest Familiarity with the Princess *Matilda*, and of being in the same Error as *Berenger* was about the Eucharist. There is no Doubt to be made, but that the Zeal of the one, and the Passion of the others, carry'd them both into Extreame. To pass therefore a right Judgment upon him, it must be acknowledg'd, that this Pope was a great Genius, capable of great Things, constant and undaunted in the Execution of his Designs, well vers'd in the Constitutions of his Predecessors, zealous for the Interests of the Holy See, an Enemy to Simony and Libertinism, Vices which he strongly oppos'd, full of Christian Thoughts and Zeal for the Reformation of the Manners of the Clergy; and there is not the least Colour to think that he was tainted in his own Morals. But it must likewise be confess'd, that he was advanc'd to the Papal Chair a little too precipitately: That his Zeal to promote the Grandeur of the Holy See carry'd him to undertake such Things as were unreasonable and beyond his Power: That he was the Cause of great Disturbances both in the Church and in the Empire: That he assum'd to himself a Power over Kings and their States, which he never had: And that he carry'd the Ecclesiastical Authority of the Holy See beyond its due Bounds. This is the Judgment which we suppose every one will pass upon him, who shall read over his Letters with a disinterested and unprejudic'd Mind. In short, they are penn'd with a great Deal of Eloquence, full of good Matter, and embellish'd with noble and pious Thoughts: And we may boldly say, that no Pope since *Gregory I.* wrote such strong and fine Letters as this last *Gregory* did.

**An En-** We find among his Letters, after the fifty fifth of the second Book, a Piece intitled, *DICTIONES PAPAE*. **men of the** i. e. *An Edit of the Pope, or Papal Decisions*; which contains seven and twenty Propositions, concerning the Rights of the Holy See, some feign'd, and some true. The Summary of them is as follows. 1. That the Church of *Rome* owes its Foundation to none but God alone. 2. That no other Person beside the Pope of *Rome* has a Right to be call'd *UNIVERSAL BISHOP*. 3. That 'tis he alone who can depose Bishops and re-establish them. 4. That his Legate ought in Council to preside over all Bishops, even tho' he be inferior to them in Dignity; and that he may pronounce a Sentence of Deposition against them. 5. That the Pope may depose even absent Bishops. 6. That no Man ought to live in the same House with them whom he has excommunicated. 7. That 'tis lawful for him alone to make new Laws, when Times require it, to found new Churches, to turn a Canonship into an Abby, to divide a rich Bishoprick into two, and to consolidate poor ones. 8. That 'tis he alone, who can wear the Imperial Robes. 9. That all Princes should kiss the Pope's Feet, and that 'tis to him alone they ought to pay this Honour. 10. That his Name alone is to be repeated in the Churches. 11. That there is no other Name but his in the World (that is, according to some, that to him alone belongs the Name of Pope; an Explication which seems to be very much strain'd.) 12. That 'tis lawful to him to depose Emperors. 13. That he has the Power of translating Bishops from one Bishoprick to another, when there is a Necessity for it. 14. That he can ordain a Clerk in any Church whatsoever. 15. That a Clerk whom he has ordain'd, may enter into another

Church; but that he cannot be oblig'd to serve there; and that he cannot be promoted to a superior Order by any other Bishop. 16. That no general Council ought to be held without his Order. 17. That no Book can be canonical without his Authority. 18. That his Judgment ought to be corrected by none, and that he can correct the Judgments of all other Persons. 19. That no Person ought to judge him. 20. That no Person whatsoever dare to condemn him, who appeals to the Holy See. 21. That the Cognizance of the most material Causes of all Churches belongs to him. 22. That the Church of *Rome* has always been, and will always be *Infallible*, according to the Testimony of the Scriptures. 23. That the Pope of *Rome* ordain'd Canonically, becomes unquestionably *HOLY* by the Merits of *St. Peter*, according to the Testimony of *Ennodius* Bishop of *Pavia*, approv'd of by several Saints, and as it is recorded in the Decretals of Pope *Symmachus*. 24. That by his Permission 'tis lawful for Inferiors to accuse Superiors. 25. That he can depose and re-establish Bishops without calling a Synod. 26. That he who does not agree with the Church of *Rome*, is no true *Catholic*. 27. That he can declare the Subjects of wicked Princes, absolv'd from the Oath of Allegiance, which they have taken to them.

This Piece has no Relation to the Letter which precedes it, nor to that which follows it; and we have not the least Proof that it was made in the Council of *Rome*, in the Year 1076. as *Baronius* pretends. Nor is it probable that it belongs to *Gregory VII.* For tho' there be in this Collection several Propositions which have Relation to what he wrote in his Letters, yet there are a great many which he never advanc'd, nor approv'd of. There are likewise some of them that are equivocal, others express'd in odious Terms, and others intolerable. They are almost all of them drawn up so ill, that one cannot say *Gregory VII.* who had a good Genius, was the Author of them. This is what inclines me to believe, that 'tis the Work of one who was an Enemy to *Gregory*, who was minded to render his Doctrine odious, by comprehending it in these seven and twenty Propositions drawn up at random, which bear some Resemblance to the Genius and Manners of that Pope. If this Conjecture be not agreeable to some, we may say that 'tis the Work of some *Roman* bigotted to the Maxims of the Court of *Rome*, who suppos'd he might deduce these Propositions from the Letters of *Gregory VII.* and made this Collection of them, which has been since inserted in the Register of that Pope. Let the Case be how it will, one cannot say without Injustice to *Gregory*, that 'tis his Piece, nor maintain all these Propositions without doing Injury to the Holy See.

'Tis to be observ'd, that the Commentary upon the seven Penitential Psalms, ascrib'd to *Gregory the Great*, was compos'd in the Time of *Gregory VII.* because the Author of this Commentary speaks in three Places, viz. in *Psal.* 5. v. 9. 26. and in *Psal.* 27. against an Emperor of his Days, whom he accuses of renewing Simony in the Church; of having disturb'd it by a dangerous Schism, of having a Mind to make it his Slave; of having seiz'd upon what belong'd to it; of making himself Master of the Church of *Rome*, and of having begun to exercise his Power against it. This has inclin'd many to believe that 'tis the Work of *Gregory VII.* which his Name made others think that it belong'd to *Gregory the Great*: But the Style of this Piece does not seem so elegant as the Style of that Pope: However perhaps he might be more remiss in a Work of this Nature. There is in *England* a Commentary upon *St. Mathew* in Manuscript, which is ascrib'd to *Gregory VII.* and which they say he compos'd whilst he was only a simple Religious: But it has never yet been publish'd.

Other things of Gregory.

## CHAP. VI.

### An Account of the Church of Rome, and of the Popes who succeeded Gregory VII. to the end of this Century.

**Of the Church of Rome, and of the Popes who succeeded Gregory VII.** After the Death of *Gregory VII.* the Cardinals and the Clergy of *Rome* had their Eyes upon *Didier* Abbot of Mount *Cassin*, to advance him to the Popedom. Some Authors say that *Gregory VII.* had recommended him to them, before he died. He was descended from a noble Family of *Benevento*, and had spent all his Life in the Monastery of Mount *Cassin*. He at first refus'd the Dignity which was offer'd him; so that the Holy See remain'd Vacant for almost a whole Year. In the mean time *Guilbert* the Antipope became Master of one Part of the Churches of *Rome*, and would fain have been acknowledg'd for lawful Pope. The Cardinals and Bishops who acknowledg'd *Gregory*, to prevent *Guilbert's*

design, came to *Rome* about *Easter* in the Year, 1086. with the Prince of *Salerno*, and Duke *Roger*, to proceed to the Election of a Pope. When they were there, they renew'd their Importunities to *Didier*, to engage him to accept of the Popedom; but he would never expressly consent to it. However, they elected him, and having taken him by force, carry'd him to the Church of *St. Lucia* to proclaim him Pope under the Name of *VICTOR. III.* But when they were about to put on him the Pontifical Robes, he made so great a Resistance, that they could not put his *Albe* on him, but only cast a red *Chappe* about his Body. Four Days after he left *Rome*, and when he came to *Terracina*, threw off all the Ensigns of Pontificate, and retir'd

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retir'd to Mount *Cassin*, where he liv'd privately, and could by no means be prevail'd upon, to be ordain'd. But the Year after in a Council held at *Capua* during Lent, he yielded to the Intreaties of Duke *Roger*, of the Prince of *Capua* and of the Bishops, reassum'd the Purple and Pontifical Cross; and after he had spent the *Easter* Holidays in his Monastery, was conducted to *Rome* by the Princes of *Salerno* and *Capua*, who having taken the Church of St. *Peter* by force from *Guilbert*, caus'd *Victor* to be ordain'd by the Bishops of *Ostia*, *Frescati*, *Pavia* and *Albany*, and plac'd him on the Papal Chair, May the 9th. in the same Year. This Election was not only oppos'd by the Favourers of *Guilbert*, but also by *Hugh*, who from the Bishoprick of *Dia* was translated to the Archbishoprick of *Lyons*, and pretended to the Popedom; by the Archbishop of *Aix* and by Cardinal *Richard* Abbot of *Marseilles*, who were underhand supported by the Cardinal Bishop of *Ostia*, who had himself likewise some Votes on his side. The Archbishop of *Lyons* was the greatest opposer of *Victor's* Ordination, and wrote against him two Letters to the Princess *Matilda*, to hinder her from acknowledging and assisting him: Accusing him of holding correspondence with the Emperor *Henry*. But these Letters made no impression on the Mind of that Princess; on the contrary she came forthwith to *Rome* with some Forces, and retook from *Guilbert* that part of the City of *Rome* which he was possess'd of, and the Castle of St. *Angelo*. Within a while after, the *Romans* who favour'd that Antipope, being got together, assaulted the Church of St. *Peter* on the Vigil of that Apostle's Festival, and oblig'd those who held out for *Victor* to throw themselves into the Castle of St. *Angelo*. The two Parties continued these Acts of Hostility for several Days together. But at last *Victor* desisted, and retired to his Monastery; from whence he went out in *August*, to hold a Council at *Benevento*, compos'd of the Bishops of *Apulia* and *Calabria*; wherein he made a Speech against *Guilbert*, and issu'd out a fresh *Anathema* against him. He therein likewise excommunicated the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and *Richard* Abbot of *Marseilles*; renew'd the Prohibitions against receiving Benefices from the Hands of Lay Patrons, and the Penalties inflict'd on those who were Guilty of Simony; and prohibits the receiving the Communion from the Hands of excommunicated and Simoniacal Persons. *Victor* fell Sick during this Council, which oblig'd him to return immediately to Mount *Cassin*, where he died September the 16th. 1087. after he had recommended *Otto* Bishop of *Ostia* for his Successor.

*Otto* was a French Man of *Chatillon* upon the *Marne* in the Diocese of *Rheims*. He had been taken out of the Monastery of *Cluny* to be Cardinal, and had done signal Services for *Gregory VII.* who had sent him Legate into *Germany* against King *Henry*. He could not be elected immediately after the Death of *Victor*; because the Cardinals and the Bishops were dispers'd. The Countess *Matilda* conven'd them again to *Terracina* the beginning of *Lent* in the Year ensuing, whither *John* Bishop of *Porto*, brought the Consent of the absent Cardinals; and *Benedict* Prefect of *Rome*, brought a Commission from the People of that City, to acknowledge him who should be elected Pope by the Assembly. *Otto* was proclaim'd by the Cardinal Bishops of *Porto*, *Frescati*, and *Albany*, and the Choice confirm'd by the whole Assembly. They gave him the Name of *Urban II.* and plac'd him on the Papal Chair. Upon his departure from *Terracina*, he went to Mount *Cassin*, where they say that he was miraculously cur'd of a Pain in his Side, by St. *Benedict* who appear'd to him, and who assur'd him that his Body was reposit'd in that Monastery. *Roger* and *Beaumont* the Counts of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, waited upon him in that Place, and carry'd him along with them into *Apulia*. He was almost constantly resident on their Territories or in *Campania*, and went now and then to *Rome*, which sometimes favour'd *Guilbert*, and sometimes Him. For *Guilbert* was at first turn'd out by the *Romans*, and oblig'd to renounce the Popedom. Afterwards he was receiv'd there in the Year, 1091. retook the Castle of St. *Angelo*, and continued Lord of that City, so long as the Emperor *Henry* had the better of it: But his Son *Conrad* revolting in the Year, 1093. and in League with *Welfo* Duke of *Italy*, whom *Urban* had got to marry the Princess *Matilda*; *Guilbert's* Faction began to grow weaker, and *Conrad* whom that Pope favour'd in his Revolt, caus'd *Urban* to be acknowledg'd in *Lombardy*, and to be receiv'd in *Placenza*, where he held a famous Council in the Year, 1095. He went from thence into *France*, where he call'd a Council at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, wherein he gave in the Project of the grand *CROISADE*, which was perform'd under his Popedom in the East. When he return'd into *Italy*, he at last became Master of *Rome*, tho' *Guilbert* had a great many Favourers in that City. He dy'd there July the 29th. in the Year, 1099.

The Register of this Pope's Letters is lost: Those that are left us are as follow.

*Urban's* first Letter, is a Privilege granted to the Monastery of *Bantino*, which the Pope had founded at the Instance of the Dukes *Roger* and *Beaumont*.

The second and third are directed to the Archbishops of *Toledo* and *Tarragon*, about their Primacy.

In the fourth, he prescribes to the Archbishop of *Milan* the method he ought to use in reconciling those who had been ordain'd during the Schism: Which is to order them to come at the time wherein he gives the Blessing, and the Imposition of Hands, that is, at the time of Ordination, and to perform all the Ceremonies with relation to them, except the *Unction*.

By the fifth, he confirms to the Archbishop of *Bari* or *Canosa*, the dignity of Metropolitan, and grants him the *Pall*.

In the sixth, he exhorts the Dukes *Roger* and *Beaumont* to protect the Abbot and Monks of *Bantino*, against the Lords who persecuted them, and seiz'd upon their Estates.

In the seventh, he grants the Archbishoprick of *Tarragona* to the Bishop of *Vich*, which *Berenger* Count of *Barcelona* had lately re-establish'd and peopled with Christians.

In the eighth, he sent word to the Clergy and People of *Chartres*, that he approv'd of the Choice which they had made of *Tves* for their Bishop in the place of *Geofry* who had been depos'd, and that he would send him to them, after he had consecrated him. By the following Letter he acquainted *Richerus* Archbishop of *Sens* with the same thing, who had refus'd to Consecrate him, and enjoyns him to receive him, and to use him kindly. This Letter is follow'd by a Discourse of that Pope, which contains a great many Instructions in a few Words, directed to *Tves* of *Chartres* after his Consecration.

The tenth is a Privilege granted by the Pope and Duke *Roger* to the Monastery of *Cave*.

The eleventh and twelfth contain the Confirmation of the Privileges granted to the Canons of St. *Martin* of *Tours*.

The thirteenth is a kind of Declaration which the Pope made to *Roger* Count of *Calabria* and *Sicily*, that he would not send any Legate into his Dominions without his Consent: That he and the Princes his Successors shall be the innate Legates of the Holy See in their own Territories: And that when the Pope shall send for any Bishops or Abbots of their Country, he gives them leave to send whom they pleas'd, and retain those whom they should think fit.

In the fourteenth, he advertises the Count *Radulphus*, that the Clerks ought to be Subject to none besides their Bishops, and that secular Persons have no Jurisdiction over them.

In the fifteenth, he interdicts a Priest of *Salerno*, who held a Church as the Patronage of a Laick, and pronounces the same Penalty against all those who receiv'd the Investiture of Benefices from any beside their Bishops.

By the sixteenth, he acquaints *Alexius* the Emperor of *Constantinople*, of the great number of those engag'd in the *CROISADE* for the Relief of the Christians of the East, and exhorts him to assist them in their Expedition.

In the seventeenth, he replies to *Lucius* Provost of St. *Iuvenius* of *Pavia* upon several Questions which he had proposed to him. In this Letter he proves that all manner of Selling Ecclesiastical Things is Simony. And as to what that Provost had demanded, whether the Ordinations and Sacraments administred by the Simoniacal, by the Adulterous, or by any other notorious Offenders, were valid: He replies, that in case they be not separated from the Church by Schism or Heresy, their Ordinations are valid, and their Sacraments Holy and Venerable: That however his Predecessors Pope *Nicholas II.* and Pope *Gregory VII.* had prohibited the assisting at the Mass of such Priests as were Guilty of these Irregularities, in order to bring them to Penance: But as to Schismatics and Hereticks, that they have indeed the Form of the Sacraments, but not the Power and Efficacy of them; and that they do not produce their Effect, till those who have received them are reconcil'd to the Church by the imposition of Hands.

The eighteenth is a confirmation of the Privileges granted to the Archbishop of *Salerno*.

In the nineteenth, he acquaints two Abbots of *Fossombrona*, that he had excommunicated and depos'd *Guezilon* Archbishop of *Maience*, who was consecrated by excommunicated Persons.

In the twentieth, directed to the Archbishop of *Sens* and other Bishops of *France*, he declares that no Bishop has any power of absolving the King of *France*, whom he had excommunicated.

In the one and twentieth, he wrote to the Archbishop of *Lyons* to use his utmost Endeavours to oblige an Abbot to return to his Abby, who was withdrawn to lead an heremical Life.

The ancient Collection of *Urban's* Letters contains only these one twenty: There have been several others added since,



since, of which a new Collection is made under other Heads. The first of these is a Letter directed to *Gebehard* Bishop of *Constance*, about the Difficulties he met with in executing the Excommunications thunder'd out by *Gregory VII.* He therein determines, (1.) That *Guilbert* and King *Henry* are excommunicated. (2.) That all those who assist them are excommunicated likewise. (3.) That those who Communicate with these excommunicated Persons to the third Degree, ought not to be admitted into the Communion of the Church till they have been absolv'd. (4.) That he will make an Order in a general Council concerning the Clerks who have been ordain'd by excommunicated Bishops; but that in the mean Time, they ought to hold their Orders, who have been ordain'd without Simony by Catholick, tho' excommunicated Bishops, after they had been enjoyn'd Penance: But yet they should not be permitted to take upon them any higher Order without urgent Necessity. (5.) That he ought to turn out of the Clerical Order all those who are guilty of a Crime which deserves to be punish'd according to Law, whether they have committed it before or after their Ordination. Lastly, he makes that Bishop, as well as the Bishop of *Passau*, Vicar of the Holy See for the Ecclesiastical Affairs of *Germany*.

The second is directed to *Robert* Count of *Flanders*, whom he exhorts to suffer the Church to enjoy the Revenues which belong to it. Notwithstanding this Remonstrance, that Prince continu'd to rife the Revenues of the Church; whereupon the Clergy of *Flanders* prefer'd their Complaints against him to the Archbishop of *Rheims*, who order'd in a Council held in the Year, 1092. that *Robert* should restore to the Churches what he had taken away from them, under the Pain of Excommunication. That Prince obey'd, and dy'd within a short Time after.

The next fourteen relate to the Re-establishment of the Bishoprick of *Arras*. In the seventeenth, directed to *Pibo* Bishop of *Toul*, he renews the Decrees of *Gregory VII.* against the Simoniack, and those who kept Concubines; and the Decree which prohibits the Children of Priests from entering into Holy Orders. He repeats what he had said in his Letter to *Gebehard* concerning Ordinations which were perform'd by excommunicated Persons. He excommunicates the Simoniack, and declares that the Churches which they consecrate, ought to be consecrated over again by a Catholick Bishop. He leaves to the Pleasure of Bishops, the receiving or rejecting those who are ordain'd without a Title. Lastly, He renews the Law which forbids Holy Orders to those who were guilty of *Bigamy*.

In the eighteenth, he permits *Richerus* Archbishop of *Sens*, to bestow some Livings on some Regular Canons. In the nineteenth, he answers *Hugb* Archbishop of *Lyons*, that he may, if he thinks fit, admit of the Ordinations of the Clerks of his Diocese, who have receiv'd Orders from the Hands of another Bishop, if there be no other defect in their Ordination. In the twentieth, he admonishes the Bishop of *Laon*, not to take away from the Monks of *St. Remy* of *Rheims*, a Church which they had in his Diocese, and determines in the general, that all the Churches which the Monks have been in Possession of for thirty or forty Years together, shall still be theirs.

In the one and twentieth, he recommends to Count *Raimond* and the People of *Narbonne*, their Archbishop *Dalmatius*, and orders them to cause Restitution to be made to the Church of *Narbonne*, of all the Revenues which belong to it.

In the two and twentieth, he orders the Abbot of *Tormer* to restore several Revenues which he had taken from the Church of *Narbonne*, and the Monastery of *St. Cucufato* of *Barcelona*. By the next Letter he refers that Affair to *Rainier* his Legate upon the Place.

The nine next Letters concern the Primacy of the Church of *Toledo*. The thirty third, contains an Agreement between the Monks of *St. Aubin* of *Angers*, and the Monks of *Trinity* of *Vendome*.

By the four and thirtieth, he enjoins the Count of *Poitiers* to restore several Revenues which he had taken away from the Monastery of *Vendome*.

In the five and thirtieth, he upbraids the Archbishop of *Rheims* and the Bishops his Suffragans, for having permitted the King of *France* to part from his Wife, and to marry one of his Kindred, and for that the Bishop of *Sens* had bless'd him upon the Marriage. He exhorts them to reprove the King, to prevail upon him to turn to his Duty, to set at Liberty *Ives* of *Chartres*, and if he did not obey, to excommunicate him, and interdict his Kingdom.

These Letters are follow'd by a Collection of several Letters of *Reginald* Archbishop of *Rheims*, of Pope *Urban*, of *Lambert* Bishop of *Arras*, and of several others written about the Ordination of that Bishop of *Arras*, who having been elected by the Clergy and Laity of that City, had been

deny'd Ordination by the Archbishop of *Rheims*. Pope *Urban* being inform'd thereof, enjoyns that Archbishop to ordain him. Instead of doing it, he sent him to *Rome*, where the Pope ordain'd him himself. The Archbishop of *Rheims* was oblig'd to approve of this Ordination, and he wrote and of the to *Robert* Count of *Flanders* in his Behalf. The Pope when he went into *France*, sent for *Lambert* to the Council of *Clermont*. That Bishop was taken Prisoner as he was going through *Provence*, and set at Liberty afterwards at the Pope's Desire, who gave him a very kind Reception, confirm'd the Privileges of the Church of *Arras*, and depos'd *Gaucher* Bishop of *Cambray*. Sometime after the Archbishop of *Rheims* wrote to *Lambert* against a Lord who had plunder'd and burnt a Village belonging to the Church of *Cambray*. This is the Subject Matter of the Letters we mention'd.

Pope *Urban* held several Councils; the first at *Rome* in the Year, 1089. wherein he confirm'd all that *Gregory VII.* had done against *Guilbert*. Several Lords propos'd to the Emperor *Henry*, to abandon *Guilbert*, for the procuring of Peace to the Empire and the Church. He was well enough inclin'd to it, but was diverted from it by his Bishops, who fear'd being depos'd as well as *Guilbert*.

The same Year *Urban* held a Council at *Melfi*, where in he renew'd the Decrees against the Simoniack, and concerning the Celibacy of those who were in Holy Orders. He therein enjoyns that none should be admitted into Holy Orders but such as had led chaste Lives, and had never been marry'd to any more than one Woman: That none should be ordain'd Subdeacon before he was fourteen Years old; nor Deacon before one and twenty, nor Priest before thirty. He therein prohibits Laicks from granting the Donation of Churches, without the Consent of the Bishop or the Pope: And Abbots from exacting Money of those who took upon them the Monastical Habit. He therein abolish'd the Custom of exempt Clerks, who either were in the Service of great Lords or depended on them. He therein declares the Sons of Priests incapable of entering into Holy Orders, unless they have taken upon them the Monastical Habit; and he advises Ecclesiastics to behave themselves modestly. This is the Subject Matter of the sixteen Canons made in that Council, which was held in the Presence of Count *Roger*.

The Legates of this Pope, held a Council at *Toulouse* in the Year, 1090. wherein they made several Decrees about Discipline. The Archbishop of *Toulouse* clear'd himself in this Council, and they there resolv'd to send Legates to *Toledo* for the re-establishing of the Faith.

In the Year, 1091. August the 1st. *Urban* held a Council at *Benevento*, wherein he renew'd the Condemnations issu'd out against *Guilbert*, and made four Canons. By the first, he prohibits the electing any one for Bishop who is not in Holy Orders, that is, according to his Explication, who is not Deacon or Priest: And with respect to Subdeacons, he enjoyns, that they cannot be promoted to Episcopacy, unless upon an extraordinary Occasion, and with the Permission of the Holy See. In the second, he suspends *ab officio* the Chaplains who are nominated and paid by Lay-Patrons, without the Consent of the Bishop. In the third, he prohibits the receiving Clerks, who were Strangers, without Letters *Dimissory* from their Bishop. In the fourth, Laicks are forbid the eating of Flesh after *Ashwednesday*, and all the Faithful of both Sexes are enjoyn'd to put Ashes on their Heads on that Day: It is likewise order'd that no Marriage shall be solemniz'd from *Septuagesima Sunday* till after the *Octave* of *Whitsuntide*, and from the first Sunday in *Advent* till after the *Octave* of *Epiphany*.

In the Year, 1093. he held a Council in a City of *Apulia*, call'd *Troyes*, wherein he renew'd the Prohibitions against contracting Marriages between Kindred.

In the Year, 1094. *Gebehard* Bishop of *Constance*, his Legate in *Germany*, held a Council in his City against Incontinent and Simoniack Clerks. He likewise order'd that *Ember Week* in *March* should be held the first Week in *Lent*, and that in *June* the *Whitsun-Week*, and that there should be no more than three Holy-days at *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*; for till then they were us'd to keep Holy-day all the Week long. The Princess *Praxedis*, *Henry* the Emperor's Wife, appear'd before that Council, and discover'd a great many Enormities, which she said she had been constrain'd by her Husband to commit.

She made the same Declaration before the Pope, in the Council held at *Plaisance* in the Year, 1095. during *Lent*, which was so numerous that they were forc'd to hold the Assembly in the open Field. *Philip* King of *France* sent his Ambassadors thither to excuse his not appearing. The Pope allow'd him Time till *Whitsuntide*. *Hugh* Archbishop of *Lyons* was suspended in this Council, because he neither appear'd there himself, nor sent any Deputy to excuse him.

The Pope gave audience to the Ambassadors of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, who demanded assistance against the Infidels, and he engag'd the Lords who were there present

to



to promise to go into the *East* for that Purpose: This was the first Step towards the CROISADE, which was fully resolv'd upon in the Council of *Clermont*. There were likewise several Rules of Discipline made in this Council, by which it is order'd that those who will not Part with their Concubines, or pardon their Enemies, or were habituated in any mortal Sin, should not be admitted to the Holy Communion. That the Priests shall admit none to Penance but those who shall be referr'd to them by the Bishops. That the Eucharist shall not be deny'd to those, who shall confess themselves as they ought. They renew'd likewise the Decrees against the Simoniackal, and the Incontinent, and the Judgments pass'd against the Heresy of *Berenger*, against *Guilbert*, and against those who were ordain'd by Schismaticks.

*Urban* going into *France*, in *November*, 1095. held a Council at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, which was compos'd of thirteen Archbishops, and a great many Bishops their Suffragans; wherein he confirms the Decrees of the Council of *Plaisance*, and made other new ones; publish'd the CROISADE for the *East*; excommunicated King *Philip*; confirm'd the Primacy of the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and made a great many other Institutions. These are the Things we will speak of more particularly, and will begin with the Excommunication of *Philip* I. King of *France*. This Prince had put away his Wife *Bertha*, the Daughter of *Florentius* the chief Count of *Holland*, and of *Gertrude* of *Saxony*, for being too nigh a Kint to Him. This Divorce having been made in form by the Authority of the Church in the Year, 1086. and in Pursuance of a juridical Sentence, the King banish'd her to *Mostreuil* a Sea Port, and look'd after another Wife. At first he courted the Daughter of *Roger* Count of *Sicily*, nam'd *Emma*, who was carry'd to the Borders of *Provence*; but the Match broke off, perhaps because she did not think it safe to marry a Prince who had another Wife Living. *Bertrade* the Daughter of *Simon* of *Montfort*, who had marry'd *Fulcus* *Rechinus* Count of *Anjou*, pleas'd the King, and she made no scruple to part from her Husband and marry him: She was the Kings Relation in the fifth or sixth Degree, and *Rechinus* her Husband, in the third or fourth Degree. Besides, if *Philip* were free as he pretended, *Bertrade* was not, her first Marriage being still valid. All these Considerations were of no Weight to King *Philip*, who surmounted them all, and resolv'd upon solemnizing this Marriage with *Bertrade* publicly. He fix'd upon a Day to celebrate it at *Paris*, and sent for *Reginald* Archbishop of *Rheims*, *Tves* of *Chartres*, and several other Prelates to render the Solemnity the more Authentick. *Tves* of *Chartres* sent the King word, that he could not be there, nor could he consent to, or approve of that Marriage, because his Divorce from *Bertha* had not as yet been confirm'd by the Authority of the Holy See, and because *Bertrade* could not marry him, being another Man's Wife. He sent likewise word to the Archbishop of *Rheims*; that he ought not to celebrate this Marriage, but rather to dissuade the King from it. Lastly, he wrote to *Hugh* Archbishop of *Lyons* (who because of this Business refus'd to take upon him the Quality of Legate of the Holy See in *France*) telling him that he ought to be inspirited with a Holy Zeal in order to oppose this Criminal Proceeding of the King. Notwithstanding this, *Philip*, marry'd *Bertrade*, and found out a Bishop who dar'd to marry them for the Revenue of some Churches which the King gave him. *Hugh* of *Lyons* at the instance of *Tves* of *Chartres* held a Council at *Autun* October the 16th. in the Year, 1094. wherein he excommunicated *Philip*, because he had married a second Wife whilst the first was Living. In this Council he likewise renew'd the Excommunications against the Emperor *Henry*, and against the Antipope *Guilbert*; and the Decrees against the Simony and Incontinence of the Clergy; and prohibited Monks from usurping the Functions and Rights of Curats. Pope *Urban* suspended the Execution of this Decree against *Philip*, and cited him to the Council of *Plaisance*, whither he sent, as we mention'd before, his Ambassadors, who obtain'd a farther Respite till *Whitsuntide*. Afterwards when *Urban* was come to *France*, the King sent his Deputies before him, to endeavour to work the Pope into a good Disposition, and to prevail upon him to cancel the Excommunication, and to confirm his Marriage: But the Pope being prevented by the Letters of *Tves* of *Chartres*, refus'd to grant him what he desir'd, and wrote to the Archbishops and Bishops of *France* ordering them to exhort the King to do Penance for his Fault, and to part from *Bertrade*: *Tves* of *Chartres* was the only Person who did it with Resolution, which was the Cause of his being persecuted, and taken Prisoner. The Pope perceiving that all his Admonitions prov'd ineffectual, in the Council of *Clermont* thunder'd out a Bull of Excommunication against King *Philip*, and his Concubine *Bertrade*.

As to the CROISADE set on foot for the Relief of the Christians in the *East*, Gregory VII. was the first Promoter of it, but could not put it into Practice because of

his Differences with the Emperor. *Victor* III. notwithstanding the Difficulties he labour'd under, found out a Means of sending an hundred thousand fighting Men into *Africa* against the Infidels. *Urban* in Imitation of those great Exemplars, and being importun'd by the Letters of *Alexius* Emperor of the *East*, and by the Remonstrances of *Peter* the Hermit, a Gentleman of *Picardy* near *Amiens*, who had brought a Letter from *Jerusalem* from the Patriarch *Simeon*, who conjur'd the Christians to free the Holy Land from the Tyranny of the *Turks*, did so animate the By-standers, by his warm and pathetic Discourses to undertake the Conquering of the Holy Land, and so far prevail'd upon all the Prelates to make use of the same. Exhortations in their Diocesses, that within a very short Time an infinite Number of Men were list'd for that Service, and took a Voyage by Sea under the Conduct of a great many Princes and Persons of Quality. The Badge which the Soldiers wore was a Red Cross sew'd on the left Shoulder, and the Military Word, *Deo placet*.

We have not all the Canons which were made in this Council of *Clermont* compleat, but only an Abridgment of them, of which the largest is that which was made by *Lambert* Bishop of *Arras*, who was, as we said before, at that Council. They are two and thirty in all. The first takes notice of the Days wherein the Breach of the Peace or Truce of God was made. The second imports, that the Voyage of those who went to *Jerusalem* out of Devotion to deliver the Church of that City, shall serve them instead of all manner of Penances. The third, that the Deaneries of Churches shall be bestow'd only on Priests; and the Archdeaconeries only on Deacons. The fourth, that the Clerks shall not bear Arms. The fifth, that Laicks cannot be chosen Bishops, and that those who are elected, shall be Subdeacons at least. The sixth, that no Person shall sell Prebendships or any other Benefices, and that those who shall give any Money for them, shall resign them into the Hands of the Bishop. The seventh, that the Altars bestow'd on the Congregations of Monks or Canons, after the Death of those who gave them shall be at the Disposal of the Bishops, if they have not been confirm'd to them by their Letters. The eighth, that no Person shall exact any Duty for Burial. The ninth and tenth are against those Clerks who keep Concubines. The eleventh prohibits the promoting to Holy Orders and to Ecclesiastical Dignities the Sons of Concubines; or the bestowing any Benefices upon them unless they have embrac'd the Monastical or Canonical Life. The twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth prohibit one and the same Person from holding two Prebendships, or two Livings in the same, or in several Churches, and from altering the Title. The fifteenth prohibits the receiving the investiture of Livings from Lay Patrons. The sixteenth prohibits Kings and Princes from granting the investiture of Livings. The seventeenth prohibits Bishops and Priests from taking an Oath of Allegiance to Kings or any other Laick. The eighteenth prohibits Laicks from having Chaplains Independent on the Bishop. The nineteenth and twentieth prohibit them from detaining the Tents or Churches. The one and two and twentieth prohibits the granting Absolution to those who are in Possession of another's Right, unless they make Restitution; and to those who live in the habitual Commission of any mortal Sin. The three and twentieth prohibits Christians from eating Flesh from *Ashwednesday* till *Easter*. The four and twentieth fixes the Times of Ordination, viz. the four *Ember Weeks*, and the *Saturday* of the third Week in *Lent*: And declares that if it were possible, they should continue their fast till *Sunday* Morning, that so the Celebration of Holy Orders might be on that Day. The five and twentieth imports, that the Children of Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons shall not be promoted to Holy Orders, if they be not either Monks or regular Canons. The six and twentieth, that on *Holy Saturday* the Fast shall last till Night. The seven and twentieth, that the *Ember Week* in Spring shall be always the first Week of *Lent*, and that in Summer in the *Whitsun Week*. The eighth and twentieth, that all those who shall communicate at the Altar shall receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ under both Kinds, if there be no Necessity or Provision made for the Contrary. The nine and twentieth and thirtieth, that those who fly to a Cross, when pursued by their Enemies, shall be as secure as those who fly into a Church: And that they shall not be deliver'd up to Justice, till they are assur'd that no Violence shall be offer'd to their Lives or Members. The one and thirtieth anathematizes those who shall seize on the Revenues of the Church. And the two and thirtieth declares that those who shall apprehend or imprison a Bishop, shall be in perpetual Disgrace, and never capable of bearing Arms.

In this very Council Pope *Urban* confirm'd the Primacy of the Archbishop of *Lyons*, in Opposition to the Archbishop of *Sens*, as 'tis intimated in the Bull of Confirmation, dated the first of *December* in the Year, 1095. publish'd by *Monseigneur de Lyons*. *Marca*, with an ingenious Discourse of his own about Primacies. *Richerus* Archbishop of *Sens* would not submit to



Of the Church of Rome; and of the Popes who succeeded Gregory VII.

this Constitution; but *Hugh* Archbishop of *Lyons*, got it ratified in the two succeeding Councils held at *Tours* and at *Nismes*: And *Urban* oblig'd *Danibert*, who succeeded *Richerus*, to promise that he would acknowledge the Archbishop of *Lyons* for his Primat. *Urban* likewise in this Council adjust'd the Difference which was between the Archbishop of *Tours* and the Monks of the Monastery of *St. Martins*, upon Condition that that Archbishop should not have any Station, nor perform any Office in their Church, nor be capable of excommunicating them: Only they should receive Holy Orders and the other Sacraments from the Hands of the Archbishop of *Tours*.

The Council of Limoges in the Year, 1095.

The Council of Tours and Nismes in the Year, 1096.

The Canons of the Council of Nismes.

Before the Council of *Clermont* broke up, the Pope appointed another Council at *Tours*, to be held in *Lent* the Year ensuing; and in his Journey thither he held a Council at *Limoges* in *December*, 1095. wherein 'tis said that he depos'd *Humboldus* Bishop of that City. When he arriv'd at *Tours* he held a Council there according to Appointment, wherein he renew'd his Exhortations to engage all manner of Persons to undertake the Expedition to the *Holy-Land*, and adjust'd the Differences of several Monasteries. From thence he went to *Nismes*, where he held another Council, wherein he gave absolution to King *Philip*, who promis'd to part from *Bertrade*; and made sixteen Canons.

By the first all Bishops are prohibited from bestowing Altars, Churches or Prebendships for Money: And a Reservation is made to the Monks of the Altars and Tents which they have been in Possession of for thirty Years past, upon Condition that they pay the yearly Quit-rent. It is therein likewise order'd that the Monks shall not institute and induct Priests into the Churches which they possess, without the Consent of the Bishop: That they shall be instituted and inducted into them by the Bishop with the Approbation of the Abbot, and that they shall be accountable to the Bishop for the Spiritualities, and to the Abbot for the Temporalities.

By the second and third it is prov'd by several Authorities, that the Monks may administer the Sacraments, and take upon them the Care of Souls.

The fourth sets a Brand of Infamy upon, and excommunicates those who dare to make the Ecclesiasticks Prisoners.

The fifth enjoyns that after the Death of the Bishop, two Persons of Probity shall be made choice of to take care of the Revenues of his Church, and to preserve them for the Use of his Successor: And excommunicates all that shall seize on them; and interdicts the Cathedral Church and the Churches that depend upon it.

The sixth and seventh excommunicate the Laicks who possess or detain the Revenues of the Church.

The eighth enjoyns that those who shall receive Benefices from the Hands of Laicks shall be suspended *ab officio*.

The ninth, that those who leave a small Church to go to a great one, shall lose both of them.

The tenth, that those who marry their Relations shall be excommunicated.

The eleventh, that Ravishers who are kill'd in the very Rape, without having done Penance, shall be depriv'd of Christian Burial; and of the Prayers of the Church.

The twelfth, that the Priests who are guilty of Fornication shall be depos'd.

The thirteenth, that young Women shall not be marry'd before they are twelve Years old.

The fourteenth, that it is not Lawful to alien the Revenues given to the Church, nor to cite Clerks before secular Judges.

The fifteenth, that Bishops shall not entertain those who have been excommunicated by other Bishops.

The sixteenth, that Monks shall not grant Burial to, nor admit to Divine Service Persons who are excommunicated, suspended, or are guilty of Rape.

When the Pope was return'd to *Italy*, he held a Council at *Bari* in the Year, 1098. wherein *St. Anselm* disputed against the Greeks about the *Procession of the Holy Ghost*. He held likewise another Council about the End of the same Year at *Rome*, of which we have no Monument, except his granting a farther Time to the King of *England*. Lastly, in the Year, 1099. he call'd a grand Council at *Rome* the last of *March*, wherein he published eighteen Canons, which are only a Repetition of the Canons of the Council of *Placenza*, and of the other last Councils, against the Simoniackal, and the Usurpators of the Revenues of the Church.

The Canons of the Council of *Clermont* were publish'd and confirm'd in a Council held at *Roan* in the Year, 1096. under *William* Archbishop of that City, wherein eight Canons were made, of which the first four are about that which they call the *Truce of God*: That is to say, the Days wherein it is prohibited to make War, and the Persons whom 'tis not Lawful to Assault. The fifth reserves to the Churches all the Revenues of which they were in Possession, and prohibits Laicks from exacting any thing from them. The sixth prohibits likewise Laicks from giving Churches to, or taking them from Priests without the Consent of the Bishop; and prohibits in general all the Faithful from wearing long Hair. The seventh imports that Laicks shall have no Ecclesiastical Courts of Judicature. And the eighth, that the Priests shall not be Vassals to Laicks.

Of the Church of Rome, and of the Popes who succeeded Gregory VII.

The Council of Bari and Rome in the Year, 1098.

The Council of Roan in the Year, 1096.

## C H A P. VII.

### An Account of the Controversies on foot between the Latin and the Greek Churches in the eleventh Century.

Of the Controversies between the Latin and the Greek Churches.

THO' the Latin and Greek Churches were not in a close Communion with each other ever since the Affair of *Photius*, yet they did not proceed to an open Rupture till the Time of Pope *Leo IX.* and of *Michael Cerularius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*. This Breach began by a Letter which the latter wrote in the Year, 1053. in his own Name, and in the Name of *Leo* Archbishop of *Acridia* and of all *Bulgaria*, to *John* Bishop of *Trani* in *Apulia*, that he might communicate it to the Pope and to all the Western Church. In this Letter they reprov'd the *Latins*. (1.) Because they made use of unleaven'd Bread in the Celebration of the Eucharist. (2.) Because they fasted on the *Saturdays* in *Lent*. (3.) Because they eat the Blood of Beasts, and Things strangled. (4.) Because they did not Sing *ALLELUIAH* in *Lent*. At the same Time *Michael Cerularius* order'd the Churches of the *Latins* who were at *Constantinople* to be shut up, and to deprive the Abbots and *Latin* Religious, who would not renounce the Ceremonies of the *Roman* Church, of the Monasteries which they held in that City.

The Letter of Leo IX. to Cerularius.

This Letter of *Michael* being brought into *Italy* by an Officer of the Emperor *Constantine Monomachus*, who went thither to carry on a Treaty with the Pope against the *Normans*, was communicated to Cardinal *Humbert*, who was at *Trani*; he turn'd it into *Latin*, and sent a Copy of it to Pope *Leo*. This Pope wrote upon that Subject a Letter to *Cerularius* and to *Leo* of *Acridia*, wherein he extols the Dignity of the Church of *Rome*, and complains of the unkind Usage which the *Greeks* had shewn to the *Latins* at *Constantinople* without discanting on any of the particular Points. He only observ'd in general, that the Diversity of Ceremonies is no lawful Foundation for the Breach of the Unity of the Church. This is the first Letter of *Leo*, of which we have made Mention in another Place.

The Greek Emperor, whose Interest it was to hold it fair with the Pope, that he might still be Master of that little which he had in the *West*, wrote him a Letter, whereby he declares that he was willing to procure the Union of both Churches: And the Patriarch of *Constantinople* took notice to him likewise that he desir'd the same. The Pope who as much desired this Re-union as the *Greeks*, as well for the Welfare of the Church, as because he was willing to be secur'd against the *Normans* in *Apulia*, the next Year sent three Legates to *Constantinople*, viz. Cardinal *Humbert* Bishop of *Blanchefolva*, Cardinal *Frederick* Archdeacon and Chancellor of the Church of *Rome*; and *Peter* Archbishop of *Melfi*. He sent them with Letters to the Emperor and to the Patriarch, wherein he commends the Zeal which the Emperor express'd for the Peace of the Church, and complain'd of the Patriarch's Proceedings against the Church of *Rome*, even at a Time when he pretended to be desirous of Peace. These are the sixth and seventh Letters of *Leo*. In that which is directed to the Patriarch he upbraids him with four Things of which Mention is made before, and which 'tis not thought fit to repeat. This Letter is dated in *January*, 1054.

Of the Controversies between the Latin and the Greek Churches.

The Letter of the Greek Emperor to the Pope.

The Legation of the Pope to Constantinople.

The Legates being arriv'd at *Constantinople* on the Feast of *St. John Baptist*, were kindly receiv'd by the Emperor, presents *Humbert* who was the Spokesman who presented to that Prince the Pope's Letters, and gave *Michael* that which was directed to him. He likewise presented to the Emperor a Writing which he had compos'd in Answer to the Letter of *Cerularius*, with a Refutation of the Treatise compos'd by *Nicetas Pectoratus* Monk of *Studia*, against the Practices of the *Latins*. The Emperor having caus'd them to be turn'd into *Greek*, made them to be publish'd in *Constantinople*, concealing the Names of *Humbert* and *Michael* under those of *Romanus* and *Constantinopolitanus*.

In



Of the Controversies between the Latin and Greek Churches. Humbert's Reply to the Letter of Cerularius.

In the Reply to the Letter of Cerularius, Humbert accuses the Greeks of tolerating Hereticks among them, and surpassing all of them in their Rashness; because they had the Confidence to confront the Church of Rome, and to antagonize it openly; which never any Heretick dar'd to do. He afterwards demonstrates that 'tis a Piece of Malice to accuse the Latins of imitating the Jews in *Unleaven'd Bread*, and in the *Sabbath*: Since they observe not the Ceremonies of their Passovers; and are so far from feasting on their *Sabbath*, that they fast on that Day. That this reflected rather on the Greeks, who spent the *Saturday* in Mirth, as if it were a festival Day. He proves that the *Unleaven'd* is the true Bread, and enlarges himself on the Advantages and mystical Significations, which it may have. He observes that the Bread which is offer'd in the Church of Rome is a great deal more proper and convenient than that which the Greeks make use of; because 'tis made in the Vestry with fine Wheat, and clear Water by the Ministers of the Altar, and they offer a whole Loaf: Whereas the Greeks make use of all Manner of Bread, of which they cut a round Piece to put upon the Altar, and return or inter the Remainder, a Practice which Humbert condemns as contrary to the Respect due to those Holy Mysteries. As to the second Charge, relating to the *Saturday's* Fast, Humbert only replies in one Word, that the Latins do not fast on the *Sabbath* or *Saturday*, as do the Jews, neither in *Lent* nor out of *Lent*. As to the third Point relating to Things strangled, he says that the Latins make use of that Liberty which the Apostle has given them, of eating all Manner of Meats; but withal observing the Custom of the Churches wherein they live, that they might give no Occasion of Offence. He adds, that they likewise abhor eating of Blood, or the Flesh of such Animals as are drown'd or stifled, and that they enjoy Penance to those who do it: But as to Beasts kill'd or taken in Hunting, 'tis their Custom to eat thereof without any Scruple. In short, as to the last Head, which relates to the Omission of singing *Alleluiah* in *Lent*, he makes it appear, that the Latins do not omit it out of any Aversion thereto; but that they look upon it as an Hymn of Thanksgiving, which is not so suitable to that holy Time of Penance and Humiliation. In this Treatise he speaks very sharply against the Greeks, whom by Way of Induction he accuses of being *Marcionites*, *Manichees*, *Theopaschites*, &c. He upbraids them with Re-baptizing the Latins; with suffering Children to dye without Baptism, if they be not eight Days old; with interring the Remainder of the Holy Eucharist; with permitting marry'd Men to wait at the Altars, even at a Time when they have had to do with their Wives, when at the same Time they refus'd to give the Communion to Women newly brought to Bed, or who have their usual Infirmities upon them; with tolerating *Sarabait* Monks guilty of Fornication, whereas they blam'd the Rule of St. *Benedict*, which allows the Monks of that Order to wear Breeches in a Journey, and to eat of Flesh when they have Occasion for it; and lastly, because they represent in their Crucifixes the Figure of a dying Man, so that upon the Cross of Jesus Christ a Sort of Antichrist is exhibited to be ador'd as a God.

Is it not a great Sign that Cardinal Humbert, and the other great Men of these Times had little to do, when they thus left the Substance to hunt after the mere Shadow of Religion?

The writing of Nicetas Pectoratus, a Studite Monk, against the Latin Church is a great deal more fierce than the Letter of Michael Cerularius. He begins with an Admonition to the Latins, to hearken with Humility and Charity to the Remonstrances which he would offer to them, concerning *Unleavened Bread*, the Fast of *Saturday*, and the Marriage of Priests. Upon the first Point he says, That those who make use of *Unleavened Bread* are still under the Shadow of the Law: That they assist at the Table of the Jews, and do not eat that Bread which is *Supersubstantial*, or *Consubstantial* to us; because *Unleavened Bread* is dead Bread, which has no Virtue or Efficacy in it: That 'tis not such Bread as is perfect, compleat, or compos'd of three Things which figure out to us the Body of Jesus Christ, which are the Leaven, the Meal, and the Water; Representations of the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood of our Saviour. He pretends that Jesus Christ made use of *Leaven'd Bread* in the Institution of the Holy Eucharist; because he instituted it on the thirteenth, and not on the fourteenth Day of the Moon of *March* before the Feast of *Unleavened Bread*; and that the Apostles forbade the making use of *Unleavened Bread*. As to the second Point, he asks the Latins, upon what they ground the Fast on *Saturday*, since St. *Clement* has instituted the Fasts on *Wednesday* and *Friday*, because Jesus Christ was betray'd on *Wednesday*, and fasten'd to the Cross on *Friday*: But that he prohibited the Fast on *Saturday*, since there was not the least Colour for it. He moreover cites the Canons of the Apostles, the Constitutions of St. *Clement*, and a Canon which is attributed to the sixth Council. He likewise found Fault that the Latins did celebrate the whole Mass on Fast Days; and to refute this

Custom he produc'd a Canon of the Apostles, several Canons of the Councils of *Gangres* and *Laodicea*, and of the Council of *Trullo*, which he again cites under the Name of the sixth Council, which he makes use of to authorize the Usage of the Mass of pre consecrated Bread every Fast Day, which he sets forth in these Terms.

"On *Saturday* and *Sunday* (says he) about nine a Clock we offer the Sacrifice, and consecrate as much Bread as will serve the rest of the Week: On other Days about three a Clock in the Afternoon, when the Service is ended by the \* *Complines*, the Priests and Deacons come in carrying a Censer; and after they have read the Prophesies, and said the Prayers prescrib'd by St. *Basil*, before the Altar where the Sacred Mysteries lye, we repeat the Lord's Prayer; and afterwards we elevate the pre consecrated Bread, and say, *Sancta Sanctis*: After which we receive the Communion of the Bread and Cup, and having return'd Thanks to God, we send away the People, and those who please, take their Repast of Pulse and Water. And there are some who go the whole Week without any other Nourishment than that of the Communion." Lastly, upon the last Head, which is concerning the Marriage of Priests, he ask'd the Latins who taught them to hinder marry'd Persons from being ordain'd Priests, or to force them to part from their Wives? He confuted this Custom by the Constitutions of St. *Clement*, and by the Council of *Trullo*. He concludes this Treatise with an Exhortation to the Latins to submit to his Admonitions, or to produce manifest Authorities from the Holy Scriptures to justify their Customs.

Humbert in his Reply begins with casting Reflections and Reproaches on this Monk, and took it very ill that he (contrary to the Duties of his Profession) should concern himself in writing against the Roman Church. He rejects his Thought concerning the *Consubstantiality* of the Leaven'd Bread, as a Chimera bred only in his own Brain; and his Application of the Passage out of St. *John* concerning the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, as wresting the true Sense of the Scripture: And he takes an Occasion to charge him with Heresie, because he had said that the Quickning Spirit remain'd in the Body of Jesus Christ after his Death. He does not enlarge himself much about the Use of *Unleavened Bread*, supposing that he had said enough in his Reply to Michael Cerularius; he only observes that it cannot be said that Jesus Christ celebrated the Passover the thirteenth of the Moon of *March*, and with Leaven'd Bread, because if it had been so, he would have been guilty of a double Breach of the Law, which he had observ'd in all its Parts with the greatest Strictness imaginable. He rejects the Constitutions and Canons of the Apostles, except the first fifty, as *Apocryphal* Pieces. He pretends; that after the sixth Council, the Emperor *Constantine Heraclius* having ask'd the Pope's Legates after what Manner they celebrated the Eucharist, they return'd this Answer, viz. That they made use of Wine mingled with Water, and of *Unleavened Bread*; and that the Emperor approv'd of the Tradition of the Holy Apostolical See. This is a Matter of Fact of Humbert's advancing that cannot be met with in any Record: As to what concerns the *Saturday's* Fast, he says, that since the Greeks think it requisite to fast every *Wednesday* and *Friday* in the Year, because our Saviour was betray'd and crucified on those Days, and since they were likewise willing to fast on *Holy Saturday*, because of his remaining in the Sepulchre on that Day, they ought for the same Reason either to fast every *Saturday* in the Year, or else to fast only on the *Wednesday* and *Friday* of the *Holy Week*, and to celebrate *Easter Sunday* only in Honour of the Resurrection of our Saviour. He rejects the Canons of the Council of *Trullo*, as supposititious or corrupted; he disapproves of the making use of pre consecrated Bread on Fast-days, as being contrary to the Practice of the Apostles, and the Example of Jesus Christ, who consecrated the Bread just before they distributed it. He calls Nicetas a perfidious *Sterconanist*, because he seems to suppose that the Eucharist broke the Fast, from whence he concludes that he believ'd that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ were of the same Nature with other Aliments, and were turn'd into Excrements. He says, that in the Latin Church they usually celebrated Mass on *Sundays* and *Holydays* at the \* *Tierce Hour*, and on Fast-days at Noon, or about Night; but that when Necessity required, it might be celebrated at any Hour without breaking one's Fast. He reproves the Greeks, because in breaking the Consecrated Bread they took no Care to gather up the Crumbs which fell; because they rub'd their Patines with Leaves, or a Brush; because they crowd'd the Consecrated Bread into their Boxes, by thrusting it down with their Hands; because in elevating the Consecrated Bread, at the Mass of the pre consecrated Bread, they seem'd to offer one and the same Oblation twice; because they did not observe the Decree of Pope *Clement*, who requir'd that no more Hosts should be consecrated than what were sufficient for the Communicants, and that if any were left, they should not be kept till the Morrow, but be consum'd; because immediately after they



had communicated, they fell to eating; because that a great many of them did not observe *Lent*, and because several others fasted only a Week, the which they styl'd, *The Lent of Theodorus*. Lastly, he charges *Nicetas* with being a *Nicolaïtan*, because he oppos'd the Celibacy of Priests and Deacons. He explains the Canons which prohibit Priests from parting with their Wives; of the Care which they ought to take of them, in looking upon them still as their Wives, tho' they have no carnal Knowledge of them. He produces the Canon of the Council of *Nice*, concerning Women who live with Clerks, and several Authorities of the Popes, to prove that Priests ought to live chastly. In short, he charges the *Greeks* for not ordaining Ministers till after they had oblig'd them to marry, and concludes all by anathematizing *Nicetas*.

The Re-  
traſtation  
of *Nicetas*.

Cardinal *Humbert* was not satisfied with having refuted this Monk in so blunt a Way, he was willing likewise to make him recant; and when he went with the Emperor and the other Legates to the Monastery of *Stadius*, he oblig'd him to condemn and burn his own Writing, and to anathematize all those who deny'd that the Church of *Rome* was the chief Church of the World, and who dar'd to call its Doctrine into Question. The next Day *Nicetas* went himself to wait upon the Legates at the Palace of *Pigi*, without the City, where they resided; and after he had a second Time condemn'd what he had written or done against the Holy See, he was admitted into their Communion, and became one of their Friends. But as for *Michael Cerularius* he was not so forward to revoke what he had written; on the contrary he avoided meeting with the Legates, and holding any Conference with them. When the Legates perceiv'd that he continu'd obdurate, they went, July the 16<sup>th</sup>. which happen'd to be a Saturday, to the Church of *St. Sophia*, about nine a Clock, when they were just upon celebrating Mass; and after they had complain'd of the Obstinacy of *Michael Cerularius*, they lay'd on the high Altar, in the Presence both of Clergy and Laity, a Sentence of Excommunication against that Patriarch, drawn up in these Terms:

The Ex-  
communi-  
cation of  
*Michael*  
*Cerularius*  
by the  
Pope's  
Legates.

HUMBERT, by the Grace of God, Cardinal Bishop of the Holy Church of Rome, PETER, Archbishop of Melphi, FREDERICK, Deacon and Chancellor, to all the Sons of the Catholick Church Greeting.

The Holy Apostolick See of Rome, which is the Chief of the whole World, to which as to the Head belongs in a more special Manner the Care of all the Churches; has sent us to this Royal City, in the Quality of its Legates, for the Welfare and Peace of the Church, that as it is written, we should go down and see whether the Cries which pierce its Ears from this great City be true or no. Let therefore the Emperors, Clergy, Senate and People of this City of Constantinople know, That we have here found more Good to excite our Joy, than Evil to raise our Sorrow. For as to the Supporters of the Empire, and the principal Citizens, the City is wholly Christian and Orthodox: But as for *Michael*, who took upon him the false Title of Patriarch, and his Adherents, we have found that they have sown Discord and Heresie in the Midst of this City, because they sell the Gifts of God like the Simoniack; because they imitate the Valetians, in causing Eunuchs to take upon them Holy Orders, and in advancing them to the Episcopacy it self; because they re-baptiz'd, as did the Arians, those who had been baptiz'd in the Name of the Blessed Trinity, and particularly the Latins; because with the Donatists they maintain that the Greek Church is the only true Church, and that the Sacrifices and Baptism of none else are valid; because with the Nicolaitans they allow of Priests cohabiting with their Wives; because with the Severians they enjoyn'd the Observation of the Law of Moses; because they have struck out of the Creed the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Person of the Son, as the Pneumatomachi (that is the Macedons, who deny'd the Divinity of the Holy Ghost); because with the Manichees they ascrib'd a Soul to the Leaven'd Bread; because with the Nazarens they were such strict Observers of the Legal Purity, that they would not baptize Infants, who dy'd within eight Days after they were born, nor admit Women in Travail, or who had the usual Infirmities of Nature upon them, to Baptism or the Communion; and lastly, because they condemn'd and excommunicated those who shav'd their Beards, according to the Custom of the Roman Church. *Michael* having been advertis'd of these Errors, and reprov'd for several other Proceedings by the Letter of Pope Leo, has still persisted in them, and when that we would have apply'd a Remedy to these Evils, he refus'd to appear before, or to have any Conference with us, and has likewise forbid our Entrance into the Churches to perform Divine Service therein, forasmuch as he had formerly shut up the Churches of the Latins, calling them *Azymites*, persecuting and excommunicating them, all which reflected on the Holy See, in Contempt whereof he styl'd himself OECUMENICAL or UNIVERSAL PATRIARCH. Wherefore not being able any longer to tolerate such an unheard of Abuse as was offer'd to the Holy Apostolical See; and looking upon it as a Violation of

the Catholick Faith in several Instances: By the Authority of the Holy Trinity, by the Authority of the Holy Apostolical See, whereof We are Legates, by the Authority of all the Orthodox Fathers, the seven Councils, and the whole Catholick Church, WE do subscribe to the Anathema which our most Holy Father the Pope has denounc'd against *Michael* and his Adherents, if they do not retract their Errors; and in Pursuance hereof we declare that *Michael*, styling himself Patriarch, a Novice, who was made Monk only by the Fear of Men, one of a dissolute and vicious Life; Leo of *Acridia*, styling himself Bishop; *Constantine*, *Michael's* Chaplain, who had trodden under Foot the Sacrifices of the Latins; and all the Followers of their Errors, and the Abettors of their Proceedings are Anathematiz'd, with the Simonists, Valetians, Arians, Donatists, Nicolaitans, Severians, Pneumatomachi, Manichees, Nazarens, and all the other Hereticks, or rather with the Devil and his Angels, if they do not repent. At the same Time, in the Presence of the Emperor and his Court, they pronounc'd *viva voce*, an Excommunication against all those, who should contradict the Faith of the Church of *Rome*, or condemn its Sacrifice; and declar'd that such Persons ought not to be look'd upon as Christians, but as Hereticks.

After they had publish'd these Excommunications, they set in Order the Latin Churches; prohibited under Pain of Excommunication, the receiving the Communion from the Hand of any Greek Priest, who should condemn the Sacrifice of the Latin Church. And when they had taken Leave of the Emperor, they went out of Constantinople, July the 17<sup>th</sup>. and set forward on their Journey homeward. But the Emperor caus'd them to return again on the 19<sup>th</sup>. of the same Month, at the Instance of *Michael Cerularius*, who promis'd him to enter into a Conference with them. The Design of this Patriarch was to draw them into the Church of *St. Sophia*, under colour of holding a Council there, and to cause them to be ston'd by the People, by reading to them the Legates Decree of Excommunication, which he had corrupted in translating it, in order to render it the more odious. The Emperor foreseeing what would happen, would not permit the Legates to appear in any Assembly out of his Presence. *Michael* having refus'd this Offer, the Emperor sent the Legates away; which incens'd that Patriarch so far, that after he had excommunicated them by a publick Writing, he rais'd an Insurrection against the Emperor himself, who was forc'd to deliver up the Legates Interpreters, who were abus'd and cast into Prison. The Legates sent the Emperor, by his Couriers, a true Copy of the Excommunication which they had denounc'd against *Cerularius*, by which that Patriarch was convicted of being an Impostor. This occasion'd an intire Rupture between the Patriarch and the Emperor, who drove out of his Court all the Relations and Friends whom *Michael* had there, and would never have pardon'd him, if he had liv'd longer. But he dy'd the same Year, leaving the Empire to *Theodora Porphyrogenita*, Daughter to *Constantine*, and Sister to *Zoe*, under whom, as well as under *Michael Straticus*, to whom she left the Empire, dying within two Years after. *Cerularius* continu'd in quiet Possession of the Patriarchship, and grew so great, that he oblig'd the latter to resign the Empire, in the Year 1057. to *Isaac Comnenus*. By this Means, the Church of Constantinople was wholly separated from the Church of *Rome*; and these two Churches, which till then, were in a Manner tolerated and treated with Respect, were look'd upon as Enemies, Schismatics and Hereticks, and became almost irreconcilable through the Fault of the Greeks.

Within a while after the Latins endeavour'd to withdraw *Peter* Patriarch of Antioch, from Communion with the Patriarch of Constantinople. They thought this the more feasible because that Patriarch, immediately after his Advancement, had writ to Pope Leo, who had return'd him an Answer, whereby he approv'd of the Profession of Faith which he had sent him, and took Notice to him, of his being very well inclin'd to carry on the Union of both Churches. The Patriarch of Grado nam'd *Dominick*, who held the greatest Correspondence with the Greeks, because the Provinces of Venice and Istra belong'd to his Patriarchship, was order'd to write to *Peter* of Antioch about it. He did it in such a Manner as might have engag'd that Patriarch to enter into the Interests of the Church of *Rome*. For in the Beginning of his Letter he declares, that without mentioning the Submission, the Deference, and the Amity which ought to be had for the Church of Antioch, which is the Sister of the Church of *Rome*, and the second Church of the World: The Reputation of his Piety, and the particular Esteem, which he had for his Person, inclin'd him to desire an Interest in his Respects, and to wish to be in an intire Friendship with him. He tells him that he thought himself oblig'd to let him know, that his Church had been founded by *St. Mark*, that *St. Peter* conferr'd upon it the Dignity of a Patriarchal See, and that he had the Right of Pope in the Councils which were held in Italy: That he would inform him upon what these Privileges were founded, when they could come to have a Correspondence with each other by Letters, but that at present he only wrote to him

The Dis-  
tinction of the  
Pope's  
Legates.

The Latin  
Patriarch of  
Constantinople.  
The Greek  
Patriarch of  
Antioch.



him to have the Happiness of being acquainted with him, and to begin a Friendship which might be hereafter corroborated: That however he could not forbear acquainting him, that he understood that the Clergy of *Constantinople* blam'd the Church of *Rome*, because it celebrated the Holy Mysteries with *Unleaven'd Bread*, and believ'd by Reason of that, that the *Latins* were separated from the Unity of the Church; that tho' the *Latins* make use of *Unleaven'd Bread*, according to the Tradition of Jesus Christ and the Apostles, yet they condemn'd not the Custom of the *Greek Church*, because as the Mixture of Leaven with the Meal may be the Figure of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, so the *Unleaven'd Bread* may likewise represent the Purity of the Flesh of Jesus Christ. That therefore he thought it expedient that he should advertise the *Greeks* not to condemn the Custom of the *Latins*, nor to maintain that all their Sacrifices were null, and that they were out of the Road to Eternal Salvation.

*Peter* Patriarch of *Antioch*, answer'd him with a great deal of Integrity, without approving of his Opinion concerning the Use of *Unleaven'd Bread*, or his Pretensions concerning the Patriarchship. For he makes it appear to him by his Letter, that there were never acknowledg'd in the Church any more than five Patriarchs, and that the Bishops of the Capital Cities of Provinces, greater than his, never assum'd this Quality. And with respect to the use of *Unleaven'd Bread*, he at first excuses the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, by saying, that he does not absolutely condemn the *Latins* as Hereticks; but was only sorry that they swerv'd from the ancient Tradition of the Church, and did not make use of perfect, but of *Unleaven'd Bread*, in Imitation of the *Jews*. He afterwards opposes this Usage, by several Arguments, but particularly by the Passages of the Gospel, which seem to prove that Jesus Christ instituted the Eucharist before the Feast of the Passover, and at a Time when they did not as yet make use of *Unleaven'd Bread*. At the Close of his Letter he takes notice that two Years ago he had wrote to Pope *Leo* in the Beginning of his Popedom, to which he had not as yet received any Answer, and that he desir'd he might have a Sight of this.

*Michael Cerularius* on the contrary wrote to *Peter* of *Antioch*, to engage him to declare openly against the Church of *Rome*. After he had thank'd him in the Beginning of his Letter, for having at his Recommendation granted to a Deacon a Place which he had demanded of him, he gives him to understand, that having some Time since heard that the last deceased Pope was a virtuous, honest and learn'd Man, he had writ to him with a great deal of Humility about the Re-union of the two Churches, in order to procure his Favour, that he might give some Assistance to the *Greeks* against the *Normans*: That having committed this Letter to an Officer of the Emperor's, who carry'd likewise another from that Prince, they were put into the Hands of Duke *Argyrus*, who detain'd them, as well as the Money which the Emperor had sent by that Officer: That *Argyrus* thought fit to send three Persons to *Constantinople* in the Quality of Legates of the Holy See, whereof one had formerly been Archbishop of *Melpi*, who he understood had been turn'd out of his Church five Years ago: Another had only the Title of Archbishop, but where his Diocese lay none could tell; and to the third he had given the Title of Chancellor: That these three Men having accosted the Emperor with a fierce and arrogant Air, caus'd the Cross and the Pastoral Rod to be carry'd before them: That afterwards they gave him a Visit, but in a Way of Insolence and Contempt: And that without saluting him, or paying him the Respects which were due to him, they clasp'd into his Hands a Letter sealed up, which contain'd the same Things concerning *Unleaven'd Bread*, as *Argyrus* had formerly advanc'd whilst he stay'd at *Constantinople*, for the which he had been excommunicated: But that having examin'd the Seal, he found it was false, and that it was nothing but a Piece of Forgery of this *Argyrus*, as he had afterwards been assur'd by the Archbishop of *Trani*, and by his Chancellor, who had unravel'd the whole Mystery to him. After he had given this Account of that Transaction, he says, That it was reported of him that he insert'd the Names of the Popes in the Church Registers, and that the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Jerusalem* did the same: That however he did not suppose them so ignorant, but that they knew that since the Time of Pope *Vigilius*, who would not pronounce an *Anathema* against the Writings of *Theodoret*, and the Letter of *Ibas*, there was no Notice taken of the Bishops of *Rome*, in the Churches of the East: That he likewise heard, that these two Patriarchs admitted to their Communion those who celebrated with *Unleaven'd Bread*, and that they made use of the same sometimes themselves: That not being fully satisfied of this Matter of Fact, he left him to the Liberty of inquiring into it, and desired he would send him Word how the Case was: That moreover he had read the Letter which he had written to the Patriarch of *Grado*, wherein he oppos'd the making use of *Unleaven'd Bread*: But that the *Latins* hold a great many other Errors,

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which ought to be rejected; such as believing that one might eat Things strangled, that Men ought to be shaven, to observe the *Sabbath*, to eat unclean Things, that Monks might be permitted to eat Flesh and Bacon: That one might eat Flesh in the first Week of Lent, and in the Weeks wherein one ought to abstain from Flesh and Milk; as well as on every *Wednesday* in the Year: That they were guilty of eating Cheese and Eggs in the Holy Week; of fasting on *Saturdays*, all of them being Customs belonging to the *Jews*; of having added to the Creed, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son; of not permitting Priests to be married; of allowing two Brothers to marry two Sisters; of observing that one of the Ministers of the Altar who has eaten *Unleaven'd Bread*, shall embrace the rest in the Sacrifice, by giving *Pax Vobis* to them; of giving to the Bishops a Ring which they wear on their Thumb; of baptizing only with one Immersion; of not honouring the Relicks of the Saints, and several of them not so much as Images; of not reckoning among the Saints the Doctors of the *Greek Church*, such as St. *Gregory the Theologian*, St. *Basil the Great*, and St. *Chrysostom the Divine*, and of not observing their Doctrine: But what is more strange, is, that when they were at *Constantinople* they declar'd, that they were not come to enter into a Dispute, nor to be inform'd of the Differences that might be between them, but to teach and persuade others to hold their Tenets.

There is likewise another Letter of *Cerularius* to the same Patriarch of *Antioch*, wherein he gave him a particular Account of what the Pope's Legates, (whom he still imagines to be Impostors sent by *Argyrus*, who had trump'd up these false Letters) had done against him at *Constantinople*, by excommunicating him, and exhorts that Patriarch to join with him in revenging the Affront.

*Peter* of *Antioch* reply'd to *Michael Cerularius*, That he wonder'd that *Argyrus*, who was a Laick, should concern himself in the Disposal of the Affairs of the Church, and make use of such Artifices as he had acquainted him with: That the Name of the Pope was not in the Registers of the Church of *Antioch*; but that it could not be truly said that even since the Time of Pope *Vigilius*, the Name of the Bishop of *Rome* had been left out of the Registers of the *Greek Church*: That it was a gross Omission in his Secretary; since in the sixth Council, held one hundred and twenty nine Years after *Vigilius*, Pope *Agatho* was recogniz'd: That when he himself was at *Constantinople*, about five and forty Years ago, in the Time of *Domnus* the Patriarch, he found the Name of Pope *Sergius* in the Registers among the rest of the other Patriarchs; and that he could not tell upon what Grounds it had since been left out: That of the Errors and Faults which in his Letter he attributed to the *Latins*, there were some which ought to be avoided and abhor'd, several others which it were easy to remedy; and lastly, others at which it would be proper to connive. For (says he) what is it to us, if their Bishops do shave their Beards, and wear Rings on their Fingers? Do not we make a Crown upon our Heads, and do not we wear Gloves, Maniples and Stoles imbroider'd with Gold? Will not you likewise find some of our Monks who eat Flesh and Bacon? Do not the Monks of *Bythinia*, *Thrace* and *Lydia*, eat Magpies, Jays and Turtle-Doves? Do not the Holy Fathers leave us at Liberty to eat indifferently of all Manner of Things which God has created? In Particular he demonstrates, that St. *Basil* and St. *Patricius* allow'd their Religious to eat Bacon: But he does not pass the same Judgment on what was added to the Creed, and he pretends that 'tis a very great Abuse, as well as to baptize with only one Immersion: However, he thinks it requisite to be of a Temper inclinable to Peace, because the *Latins* are their Brethren, altho' through Rulicity or Ignorance, they might be in some Errors: That so punctual an Exactness could not be expected from *Barbarians*; that it was very well that they held the true Doctrine about the Trinity and the Incarnation: That he blam'd them for their Custom relating to the Celibacy of Priests, and for their eating Flesh and Cheese the first Week in Lent. That as to the Question about *Unleaven'd Bread*, he had handled that in the Letter which he wrote to the Patriarch of *Venice*; and that he was of Opinion, that every Church ought therein to observe its ancient Customs; that as to that Part of their Charge, of eating Things strangled, and of allowing one and the same Person to marry two Sisters; it was to be believ'd, that this was not among them by the Approbation of the Pope and the Bishops, but by the Abuse of some particular Persons, as there are a great many of the same Nature in the East, which 'tis very difficult to abolish. That moreover, he ought to insist particularly on the Addition to the Creed, and on the Marriage of Priests: That with Respect to the other Articles, it was not requisite to stand much upon them, because they are such as do not concern the Faith, and because most of them are false. That therefore he thought it proper, that being thus inclin'd, he should write to the Pope who was to be elected, who perhaps would disown what is impos'd on the *Latins*, or else

alter



alter his Mind: That no Person can imagine that the *Romans* do not honour Relicks and Images, since they set so high a Value on the Relicks of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*; since *Pope Adrian* by his Legates was President of the seventh Council, and condemn'd the *Iconoclasts*; and since it was observable that several Images were brought from *Rome*, and that the *Latins* honour'd them. He therefore conjur'd the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to think upon an Accommodation, and to require nothing of the *Latins* beside the striking out the Addition which they had made to the Creed. Lastly, he acquaints him that he sends him in-dors'd, the Letter which *Pope Leo* had written to him; and that the Letters which he had directed to the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Jerusalem*, he had convey'd to them. These four Letters have been publish'd in *Greek* and *Latin* by *Monsieur Cotelier*, in the second Tome of his *Monuments of the Greek Church*.

Tho' this Action of *Cardinal Humbert* seem'd to put a Stop to the Re-union of the two Churches, yet the Popes were not quite out of Hopes of bringing it about. For this Purpose, *Stephen IX.* resolv'd upon sending *Didier* Abbot of *Mount Cassin*, and two other Legates to *Constantinople*, who set forward upon that Design in the Beginning of the Year 1058. but being detain'd at *Bari* by the Badness of the Season, they there heard the News of that *Pope's* Death, and return'd home again. That same Year *Michael Cerularius* building too much upon the Obligation under

which the Emperor *Isaac Comnenus* lay to him, was for assuming to himself too great an Authority, threatening the Emperor himself, That if he did not follow his Councils, he would be an Instrument of making him lose that Crown which he had procur'd for him. This impudent Boldness, and his Pride in wearing Purple colour'd Shoes and Stockings, and in saying, That there was no Difference between the Sacerdotal Office and the Empire, made *Isaac* resolve to Out him. But forasmuch as *Michael* was belov'd by the People of *Constantinople*, he took an Opportunity to cause him to be apprehended, when he went on the Feast of *All-Saints* to perform his Office in a Church of the Suburbs of that City. He sent thither several of his Soldiers, who pull'd the Patriarch out of his Episcopal Chair, and carry'd him immediately to the next Sea-Port, where they embark'd him and his Relations, to be convey'd into Exile to *Proconessus*. The Emperor had a great Mind to cause him to be depos'd in a Council, but he durst not attempt it, because *Michael* was a Man of great Parts, and had great Friends. The Death of that Patriarch put an End to his Troubles, but made no Alteration in the Affairs of the Church; nor did it procure the Re-union of the two Churches, which ever after remain'd divided, tho' frequent Attempts have been made to re-unite them, and tho' there have been several Treaties between them, which never lasted long, by Reason of the Inconstancy of the *Greeks*.

## C H A P. VIII.

### Of the Life and Writings of Peter Damien, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia.

**P**ETER surnam'd *Damien* from the Name of his Brother, was born at *Ravenna* the beginning of the eleventh Century. He was descended from an honourable Family, and his Parents took Care to bestow upon him good Education; and in his very Youth he was noted for his singular Piety. After he had went through the whole Course of his Studies, he retir'd into the Monastery of the *Holy Cross* of *Avellane* near *Engubio*, the Monks of which Place are call'd *Hermits*, because they spent their Lives in great Retirement, tho' in Common and under an Abbot. He was call'd by *Guy* Abbot of *Pomposio* to reform his Monastery. At two Years End he return'd to *Avellane*, where he was made Prior, and afterwards Abbot of that Monastery, which in a short Time he augmented, and founded several others, where the same Rule was observ'd. He was in so great a Repute and Esteem, that he was nominated Cardinal, and made Bishop of *Ostia* by *Pope Stephen IX.* He likewise held by Way of Commendam the Bishoprick of *Engubio*, and began to have a great Share in the Affairs of the Church of *Rome*. In the Year 1059. under the Pontificate of *Nicholas II.* he was sent Legate to *Milan*, to reform the Clergy of that Church, where Simony was publickly practis'd. He acquitted himself in this Legation with a great deal of Authority and Prudence, and return'd after he had caus'd an Order to be made, to prevent this and such like Disorders for the Time to come. Some Time after, he resolv'd upon quitting his Bishopricks, and the Employments which he had at large in the World, and to retire into Solitude; he thereupon resign'd them into the Hands of *Pope Alexander II.* and return'd back to his own Monastery. However, this did not prevent him from having great Concerns with the Popes, Bishops and Noblemen, who ask'd his Advice, and made use of him in Matters of the highest Importance. *Alexander II.* sent him as his Legate into *France*, to put an End to the Difference there on Foot, between the Bishop of *Mascon* and the Abbot of *Cluny*, concerning the Privileges of that Abby. He held a Council at *Challons*, wherein he made several Orders; confirm'd the Privileges granted by the Popes to the Abby of *Cluny*, and made the Bishop of *Mascon* to consent thereto. He was likewise sent by the same Pope to *Florence*, to put a Stop to the Schism which was between *Peter*, Bishop of that City, and his Clergy. Afterwards in the Year 1068. he went as Legate into *Germany*, to hinder the Emperor *Henry* from being divorc'd from his Wife *Bertha*. Some Time after he took a Journey to the Monastery of *Mount Cassin*, to console the Religious of that Place. Lastly, in the Year 1072. he was sent by the same Pope to *Ravenna*, to take off the Excommunication issu'd, a long Time since, against that City, because of the Differences which *Henry* Bishop of *Ravenna*, lately deceas'd, had with the Holy See. After he had discharg'd the Commission, he dy'd the 23d. of February the Year ensuing, at *Fayance*, being sixty six Years old.

The Works of this Author, in the last Edition, are divided into four Tomes.

The first contains the Letters, rang'd in eight Books, according to the Quality of the Persons to whom they were written; of which the first is compos'd of the Letters which are directed to the Popes.

The first is to *Gregory VI.* whom he congratulates upon his Advancement to the Popedom, exhorts to root out Simony, and admonishes to depose the Bishop of *Pesaro*.

The second is directed to the same Pope; he gives him to understand, That the Man who was elected Bishop of *Fossombrona*, was not altogether worthy of the Episcopacy, because of his Ambition; but that yet he was to be preferred to a great many others, and that in other Respects he had the Qualifications necessary to a Bishop.

The third is to *Clement II.* to whom he writes Word, That the Emperor had order'd him to wait upon him, to inform him of the Abuses of several Churches, and of what he thought necessary to put a Stop to them; that being upon his Journey, he had receiv'd a Letter from that Prince which was directed to him; that being return'd to his Solitude he sent it to him, where he waits for his Orders to depart. He declares on the one Hand, That he would be very well satisfied to be excus'd from the Journey, that so he might not lose his Time in going and coming; but that on the other Hand, he could not but be mov'd with the miserable Condition of the Churches of his Country, which were in a strange Confusion, by Reason of the Irregularity of the Bishops and Abbots. He remonstrates to him, That it signified nothing that the Holy See was pass'd from Darkness to Light, if the rest of the Churches were still in Darkness, and exhorts him to apply some speedy Remedy to these Evils, and to punish the Bishop of *Fano*.

The fourth is to *Leo IX.* He therein complains for that this Pope had given too lightly Credit to the Calumnies rais'd against him, and he calls God to witness how Innocent he was.

The fifth is to *Victor II.* He remonstrates to this Pope, That he ought to protect a Lord who had devoted himself to the Service of God, and whom they would dispossess of his Estate.

The sixth, directed to *Nicholas II.* is amongst the *Opuscula* of this Author, of which it makes the seventeenth.

The seventh is to the same Pope. He congratulates him for that the Church was in Peace under his Pontificate; and petitions him in Behalf of the Inhabitants of *Ancona*, who had been excommunicated.

In the eighth, directed to *Pope Nicholas* and the Archdeacon *Hildebrand*, he desires to quit his Bishoprick, since they had divested him both of his Sacerdotal Habits, and of his Revenues.

The ninth and tenth are among the *Opuscula*, and they make the nineteenth and twentieth of them.

The eleventh is directed to *Alexander II.* He recommends to him the Church of *Orleans* which was then in Trouble.

The twelfth, directed to the same Pope, is very considerable. He therein reproves two Abuses, which he says were too frequently practis'd by the Court of *Rome* in his Time,



Time, and he intreats the Pope to redress them. The first is, That in almost all the Decretals, the Penalty of Excommunication was inserted. The second is, That the Clerks and Laicks were hinder'd from reproving the Vices of their Bishops. The first (says he) makes the Salvation of Men very Dangerous; because Persons are often excommunicated without knowing any Thing of it, and that for Things of little or no Consequence; the most trivial Faults being punish'd with the same Penalty as the more heinous ones: They punish a Man more rigorously for having violated an humane Law, than ever God does for the breaking of his Commands. He says, That St. Gregory and the other Popes had no such Custom, and that they seldom pronounc'd an *Anathema* in their Decretals, except when the Faith was in dispute. He therefore conjures this Pope to abolish this Custom, and for the future to strike this Clause out of their Decretals, by assigning some other Penalty in its Stead. As to the other Abuse, which supposes that it is not lawful for Inferiors to accuse their Bishops in a Superior Court, or to alledge against them what ought to be Corrected. This (says he) is a very unreasonable Thing, and contrary to the Discipline of the Church. For to whom can one better address ones self to discover the Faults, which a Bishop commits, than to him who has the Office of a Master, and who has the Pre-eminence among his Brethren, to correct the Faults of the Bishops, according to the Privilege of his See? And is it not a piece of insupportable Arrogance, Pride and Vanity, that a Bishop shall live as he pleases, and not condescend to harken to the Complaints of those who are under him, in Things wherein he may be deceiv'd; especially when they do not apply themselves to secular Judges, but to Bishops, that they may honourably and gravely redress those Grievances which might attract the Smiles of the Laity? Is it not reasonable, that he who is accus'd should justify and clear himself, or else acknowledge his Faults? To this he subjoins the Example of St. Peter, who did not make use of his Authority to reject the Complaints of the Faithful, who took it ill that he should preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, but gave them a Reason for this his Proceeding. To this Instance he adds that of David, who acknowledged his Offence when he was reprov'd for it by Nathan; the Example of Mary, who suffer'd the Reproof of her Sister Martha; and another Instance of St. Peter, who did not take it ill that St. Paul rebuk'd him. Afterwards he starts this Objection: But I am Bishop; I am the Pastor of the Flock; I am not to be accus'd by those who ought to be subject to me, and whom I ought to lead; they ought patiently to suffer my Failings. And to this he answers, that in the Gospel it is said, that we ought to declare to the Church the Faults of our Brethren, when they do not amend after they had been privately reprov'd; the which being express'd in general Terms, ought to be understood as well of the Faults of Bishops, as of the Faults of the rest of the Faithful; that if the Bishop would not submit to the Laws of the Church, who would? Lastly, He concludes, that nothing would more conduce to the abating the Pride of Bishops, who valued themselves too much upon the account of their Divinity, to the maintaining of Peace, and to prevent Tyranny, than to suffer Inferiors to have recourse to a Superior Authority, and to Synods, there to prefer their Complaints against their Bishops.

In the thirteenth, directed to the same Pope, he opposes an Error which grew very prevalent in his Time; to wit, that it was not Simony to buy a Bishoprick of a King, or any other Prince; provided nothing was given for Consecration. Two Chaplains of Prince Godfrey Marquis of Tuscany, had broach'd this Doctrine, and maintain'd it by saying, that in this Case, they do not buy either the Sacramental Office or the Church, but only the Temporalities and the enjoyment of the Revenues. Peter Damien makes it appear that this is a Fallacy; because since a Man cannot be divided into two distinct Persons, whereof one shall enjoy the Temporalities, and the other perform the Spiritual Functions, when he buys the Temporalities, which he cannot enjoy till he be advanc'd to the Ecclesiastical Dignity, and perform the Functions thereof; it may be truly said, that he buys the Ecclesiastical Dignity and the Sacrament too. This he proves; because the Prince in granting the Investiture of a Bishoprick does not give a meer Rod only, but the Pastoral Rod, and the Title of Priesthood, the Sacrament whereof is receiv'd by the Ordination. He adds, That 'tis only in Pursuance of this Nomination of the Prince that the Man is ordain'd, and therefore tho' he does not directly give Money for his Ordination, yet it cannot be said to be gratuitous, since Money made the way for him. Afterwards carrying this Thought a little farther, he says, When the Prince has put the Pastoral Rod into your Hands, did he say, Receive the Lands and Revenues of such or such a Church? No. Did he not say to you, Receive this Church? If you pretend to have

receiv'd the Revenues of the Church, without the Church, you are a Schismatick, and guilty of Sacrilege; and if Peter you receiv'd the Church by this Investiture, as you must Damien, needs own, then you are Guilty of Simony. Lastly, He says, that the Possession of the Ecclesiastical Revenues, and the Consecration are so closely connected together, that he who receives the Right of possessing the Revenues of the Church, cannot enjoy them till he be consecrated, and that he who is consecrated, ought necessarily to have the Management of the Revenues of the Church. To conclude, He confirms these Maxims by several Passages taken out of the Decretals; and shews that it is not only Simony to buy and sell Bishopricks and great Benefices, but also to buy and sell small Benefices, such as Curacies and Prebendships. In the Close, he exhorts the Pope to condemn the Error, which he had refuted in this Letter, and not to permit any Persons to be promoted to the Priesthood, who have acquir'd it by Money, or (which he pretends to be more blameable) by any Services which they have done for their Princes.

In the fourteenth, he makes his Complaints to Alexander II. for that he had abus'd and rais'd a Disturbance in the Church of Engubio, which had been committed to his Care, by the Predecessors of that Pope. He puts him in mind of the Obligations which he lay under to him, which deserv'd quite another sort of Usage, and takes notice that if Satisfaction were not done him, he would make his just Grief to break out the more. He likewise intreated him to take off the Excommunication which he had issu'd out against the Archbishop of Ravenna, whom he look'd upon to be very unfortunate; because it was an unworthy Thing that so great a Multitude of Men should be in Danger of perishing for the Fault of one single Man.

The fifteenth is an Answer to a Letter of that Pope, who complain'd that he had not wrote to him, being too much taken up with Contemplation. He gives him to understand, that indeed he did enjoy a little more Repose, since he had quitted the Episcopacy; but that still he was taken up with a great many Visits, and a multiplicity of Business, and was so highly concern'd at the Disorders of the World, that he had neither Time nor Courage to write. This gave him an Occasion to describe the corrupted Manners of his Time. Afterwards he conjures the Pope, who had taken from him the Earldom of Ostia, to discharge him likewise from his Bishoprick. Lastly, He exhorts him to use his utmost Endeavours to reform the Church, and concludes his Letter with eight Verses, which puts him in mind of his Duty.

In the sixteenth, directed to the same Pope and to Hildebrand, he excuses himself for having wrote to the Archbishop of Cologne, by sending to them the Copy of his Letter, thereby to let them know that they had no Reason to be offended at it. He excus'd himself likewise from taking a Journey to Rome, to which they had summon'd him; but does not refuse to go to Mantua, because he thought that Journey would turn to greater Account.

The three next Letters are among his *Opuscula*; the two first are the three and four and twentieth of these *Opuscula*, and the last is the Life of St. Radulphus.

The twentieth is directed to Cadalous Bishop of Parma, the Antipope, whom he extremely upbraided, for having caus'd himself to be elected Bishop of Rome; or at least, for having permitted it. He made it appear that his Election is Adulterate, Schismatical, Heretical and Vicious. (1.) Because he had been elected, whilst the Holy See was fill'd with a Lawful Pope. (2.) Because he had not been elected by the Cardinals, who have the greatest Share in the Election of a Pope, nor by the Clergy and Laity of Rome; but by two Bishops, of a bad Life, and who had no Right in this Election. (3.) Because the Church of Rome would not acknowledge him. Afterwards he threatens him with the Judgments of God, and with a speedy Correction.

This Letter made no Impression on Cadalous; on the contrary, that Bishop came to Rome with an Army, and became Master of it by Force. Upon this Peter Damien wrote him a second Letter more vehement than the former, wherein he compares him to the most cruel Tyrants, and puts him in mind of the Punishment inflicted on the Bishop of Placenza, who had usurp'd the Holy See by such like Methods, in turning out Gregory IV.

The second Book contains the Letters which Peter Damien wrote to the Cardinals.

The first is directed to the Cardinals of the Church of Lateran; he exhorts them to bear a strict Watch over themselves and others, that they may be Exemplary in so corrupted an Age. He therein shews how the Lives of Bishops ought to be Holy and Unblameable. He declaims against Bishops who are Ambitious, against those who follow the Court, and who enter into the Service of Grandees, in order to obtain Ecclesiastical Preferments by way of recompence. He says, That there are three sorts of Presents, which are alike prohibited for the gaining of Benefices: *Munus a Manu*, *Munus ab obsequio*, *Munus a lingua*; that is,

His Letters  
to the Cardinals.



is, *Money, Presents, and Flatteries*. After he had inveigh'd sufficiently against this Abuse, he exhorts the Cardinals to lead such exemplary Lives, as might serve as a Pattern to the Bishops and all the Clergy.

The two next Letters are in the *Opuscula*, the one is the two and twentieth, and the other the one and thirtieth.

The fourth is directed to *Boniface* Cardinal of *Albany*, and to *Stephen* the Priest: He recommends to them an Abbot of the Monastery of *St. Apollinaris*.

The fifth directed to Cardinal *Hildebrand* Archdeacon of *Rome*, and to *Peter* the Priest; contains a great many Mystical Reflections about the Sabbath, and the six Days of the Creation.

In the sixth, directed to the same Persons, he ingenuously complains of *Alexander* II. his taking away from him a Book which he had compos'd; he commends this Pope, declaims against *Cadalous*, and makes mention of what he had suffer'd in the Service of the Holy See.

The seventh is likewise amongst the *Opuscula*, of which it makes the two and thirtieth.

In the eighth, he Complains that *Hildebrand*, to whom he had written not only took no Notice of him, and return'd him no Answer, but likewise spoke very much to his Disadvantage. He puts him in mind what Services he had done to the Holy See, and to him in particular. Lastly, He declares to him, that he surrender'd up to him the Bishoprick which had been bestow'd on him.

In the ninth, he makes his complaint to the same Person, for having too lightly given Credit to his Enemies, who had told him, that he had founded a Monastery in a Place where he had no Right to do it. He made it appear that it had been granted to him by the Uncle of *Guy*, who was the Person who complain'd that the Monastery had been built on his Demands.

The tenth is amongst the *Opuscula*, and makes the eighteenth.

The three next Letters are directed to *Didier* Abbot of *Mount Cassin* and Cardinal of *St. Cecilia*, to whom he gives a great many wholesome Advices about his Conduct; as for Instance, to have always an Eye upon his Faults, and not to regard his Virtues; to be glad when he was reprov'd by others; not to slight, but to correct, as his Duty requir'd him, the Faults of those who were committed to his Charge; to say no ill of the Absent, but to reprove those who were Faulty face to face; to have a due Veneration for Fast-days, and often to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice, that so, says he, the old Serpent seeing your Lips tinctur'd with the Blood of Jesus Christ, may tremble for Fear, retire in Confusion, and not approach to the Sacrament, which has made him a Captive.

The five others, directed to the same Person, are among the *Opuscula*, of which they make the thirty third, the thirty fourth, the thirty fifth, the thirty sixth and the thirty seventh.

The nineteenth is a Letter of Compliment and Friendship, to *Peter* a Cardinal and Chancellor.

The two last make the thirty seventh of the *Opuscula*.

The third Book is compos'd of the Letters directed to Archbishops; the Number of those is but small.

The first is the eight and thirtieth of the *Opuscula*.

The second is directed to *Gebehard* Archbishop of *Ravenna*, who had desir'd him to come to him. He excus'd himself for not obeying him, because he had not wherewithal to undertake this Journey; being Poor himself, and having the Government of a very poor Monastery in his Hands. He commends this Archbishop, gives him a great deal of good Council, and conjures him to give him no further Trouble.

In the third, he declares to that Prelate what a great Affection he bore to him, and exhorts him to turn out the Bishops of *Fano* and *Pesaro*, who were Men of an infamous Life, and guilty of several Crimes.

The fourth is directed to *Henry* Archbishop of *Ravenna*, who had sent to know what his Opinion was concerning the Elections of *Cadalous* and *Alexander*. He returns him this Answer, that the Latter is the lawful Pope, and the other is a Simonist and an Intruder: And afterwards making a Comparison between the Manners and the Genius of both; he says that *Alexander* II. is a Man of Parts, Learning and Piety, and that he is Chast and Charitable: whereas *Cadalous* is not able to explain one Line. Lastly, he declares to him that he cannot conceal his own particular Sentiment, and that he thinks himself oblig'd to avow freely what he thinks, and stiffly to maintain the Truth and Honour of the Holy See.

The fifth is directed to a third Archbishop of *Ravenna* nam'd *Wigbert*. He complains of the Severity which that Archbishop shew'd to him and his Monastery. He intreats him to forbear oppressing him by exacting Money still from him, even after he had been divested of Part of his Demands.

The sixth is to *Anno* Archbishop of *Cologne*: He commends him for the Care he had taken of *Henry* the Empe-

ror's Son, who had been committed to his Trust by that Prince; and for having declar'd himself against *Cadalous*; *Peter* and exhorts him to continue and use his utmost Endeavours, that a general Council might be held to put an End to the Schism.

The seventh is a Letter of Compliment to the Archbishop of *Milan*, whom he thanks with a great deal of Address and Neatness, for the Sacerdotal Habits which he had bestow'd upon him.

The three next are among the *Opuscula*, of which they make the twenty fifth, the thirty fourth and the thirty ninth.

The fourth Book contains the Letters of *Peter Damien* directed to Bishops.

The first is written to Bishop *Albert*: He exhorts him to do his Duty, and to lead an unblameable Life. In a more especial Manner he advises him to be Charitable, and to be-ware of Avarice and Simony.

In the second, he thanks a Bishop for the Alms which he had bestow'd on his Monastery, and exhorts him to add the other Virtues to his Liberality. Lastly, he intreats him to confer the Order of Deacon on two Clerks, which he sent him, and who had obtain'd a Dispensation from their Bishop for it.

The third is among the *Opuscula*, and is compris'd in the eighteenth.

In the fourth to the Bishop of *Osimo*, he makes use of the great number of dead Persons which he found in his Return, as a Motive to persuade that Bishop not to put off his Conversion.

In the fifth, he gives us a lively and frightful Description of the last Judgment, to persuade him to whom he wrote to lead a Life becoming a Christian.

In the sixth, he exhorts another Bishop to a Contempt of this World.

In the seventh, he advises the Bishop to whom he wrote, to receive no Presents; and upon that Account he relates a Vision that had happen'd to a Priest, who had seen the Confessor of Count *Hildebrand* punish'd in the other World, for having receiv'd Presents from him; and that Count himself in Torments for not having repented of his Cruelties, so as he ought to have done, by the over Indulgence of his Confessor. The same Priest said, that he likewise saw Count *Lotharius* in a Fire of Brimstone, who intreated him to admonish his Family to restore to the Church a Territory which belong'd to it, that so by this means he might be thoroughly deliver'd from his Torments, and that he understood that Count *Guy* was suddenly expected in that very Place, where several Torments were preparing for him. After the Relation of this Vision, *Peter Damien* says, that it was not requisite to receive Presents indifferently from all sorts of Persons; but only from such as were well pleasing to God, because the Gifts of the wicked are dangerous.

In the eighth, he exhorts the Bishop of *Engubio* to redeem the Revenues and the Ornaments of his Churches which were given or mortgag'd to Laicks. He likewise gives him several good Instructions about the Virtues which he ought to put in Practice, and relates the untimely End of Pope *John* XII. which happen'd that very Day, wherein his Guards pull'd out the Eyes of an Holy Abbot.

In the ninth, directed to the Bishop of *Fermo*, after he had with a great deal of Modesty rejected the Title of *Holiness*, which that Bishop had bestow'd upon him, he bewails the Misfortunes and Irregularities of his Age, which inclin'd him to think that the End of the World was at Hand. More particularly he declaims against the Schism of *Cadalous*, and against the Liberty which at that Time was granted to the Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks, of maintaining their Rights and Properties with a Sword in their Hand. He makes it appear that War and Revenge is downright contrary to the Genius and Spirit of the true Church, which breaths forth nothing but Peace, and is for Pardoning all Mankind, that nothing than them can be more dissonant to the Life of Jesus Christ himself led upon Earth, and which he propos'd as an Example to his Followers, when he taught to suffer with Patience, and not to revenge by Force the Injuries offer'd him: That Lastly, the Difference between the Regal and Sacerdotal Power lay in this, that the King makes use of Material Arms, but the Priest of the Sword of the Spirit, viz. the Word of God: That since it had never been allow'd to take up Arms for the Defence of the Faith, much less was it lawful to take them up for the Maintenance of temporal and transitory Goods: And that if the Saints of old never put any Heretic or Idolater to Death, but rather suffer'd Death themselves; With what Face could any of the Faithful kill his Brother, who was purchas'd and redeem'd by the precious Blood of Jesus Christ, only for the Loss of meer perishable and contemptible Things? Afterwards he relates an In-

[This is sound and Orthodox Doctrine which Peter Damien here Preaches, and such as is consonant to the Doctrine and Practice of the primitive Christians: But how dissonant to the Spirit, Genius and Practice of the present Age.]

Peter  
Damien,  
Cardinal  
Bishop of  
Ostia.

His Letter  
to the Bi-  
shops.

His Letters  
to the  
Archbi-  
shops.



*of the present Church of Rome, let their Fire and Faggot, their Inquisitions and Dragooning, and the Doctrine of your new Doctors the Jesuites Speak.]*

him; but went to meet him with his Monks unarm'd, with only the Cross carry'd before them. This Action so much surpriz'd that Lord and all his Men, that instead of offering them any harm, they begg'd them Pardon, and threw themselves at their Feet. Lastly he says, that if any one should object that St. *Leo* ('tis *Leo IX.* he here means and not *Leo I.*) did engage himself in a War, he would answer him thus, that as St. *Peter* had not the Primacy for having deny'd his Master, nor *David* the Gift of Prophecy, for the Sake of his Adultery: So an Estimate of the Good or Evil of any Person ought not to be drawn from the merit of that Person, but all Actions ought to be consider'd nakedly in themselves. That St. *Gregory* who suffer'd so many Plunderings and Injuries from the *Lombards*, never made War against them. That St. *Ambrose* never sat upon the *Arians*, tho' they persecuted him very Cruelly. That not one Instance could be given of any of the Holy Bishops rising up in Arms. That Lastly, all Causes relating to Ecclesiastical Matters ought to be try'd, either by secular Judges according to the Laws, or by the Decisions of Bishops; and that they ought not to the Shame and Disgrace of Ecclesiasticks to determine that by Force, which ought to be decided by the Courts of Justice, or by the Decrees of Bishops.

In the tenth, he excuses himself to the Bishop of *Engubio* for having permitted his Church to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Fossimbrona*, who pretended that he had a Right of Consecrating the Churches of that Place, tho' it were under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Engubio*. He says, That he durst not oppose his proceeding, and the rather because he was already his Enemy: But that he did not pretend to exempt himself from the Jurisdiction of the Church of *Engubio*, which he promises to Recognize very cheerfully. Wherefore he intreats the Bishop of *Engubio* to take off the Interdiction he had issu'd out against that Church; and to be persuaded that not only that Place, but also that whatsoever his Monastery could enjoy were intirely at his Service, and he begs him to grant him his Protection.

The eleventh is a Letter whereby he Dedicates several of his Works to the Bishops of *Sinagaglia* and *Engubio*.

In the twelfth he reproves a certain Bishop, who alienated the Revenues of his Church. He asks him whether he had forgot that Pope *Victor* in a Council held at *Florence*, had prohibited it under the Pain of Excommunication? Whether he did not know that the Revenues of the Church were appropriated to the Maintenance of the Poor, and to the Relief of Widows and Orphans? This gave him an Occasion of treating concerning the Original of Church Revenues; upon which he observes that in the Primitive Church the Faithful brought the Price of their Lands, and laid them at the Apostles Feet, that so they might distribute them to the Poor: And that afterwards it was thought more proper to settle Estates on Churches, not only for the maintenance of the Clergy, but likewise for the Relief of the Poor. That therefore those who rob the Church of the Revenues which belong to it, were guilty of a World of Homicides in depriving the Poor of their necessary Subsistence. He adds, That as Sinners by giving their Estates to the Church, obtain'd by this means an Absolution of their Sins: So those on the contrary who take them do bind and engage themselves to suffer that Penance from which the others are exempted by their Charity.

The thirteenth contains nothing very remarkable: He thanks the Bishop of *Cesena* for the kind Reception he gave to a young Man whom he had recommended to him: And exhorts him to a Christian watchfulness by setting before him the Hour of Death and the Day of Judgment.

The fourteenth is referr'd to the twenty sixth of his *Opuscula*.

In the fifteenth, he shews what a guard Ecclesiasticks ought to put over their Senses, which are the Source and Fountain of a great many Disorders.

In the sixteenth, he maintains that the *Octave* of the Festival of St. *John Baptist* ought to be solemniz'd in the same Manner as the Festival it self, and afterwards explains the eight solemn Festivals of the *Jews*, which by way of Allegory he applies to *Christianity*.

The fifth Book contains the Letters directed to several of the Clergy.

In the first directed to the Arch-priests, he maintains what he had advanc'd in one of his Sermons, that every Man's Soul shall appear at the Day of Judgment in the same State wherein it left the Body. Several Persons were offended at this Position believing that from thence it follows, that the Prayers, Oblations and Sacrifices which were offer'd for the Dead, signified nothing to them. *Peter*

*Damien* denies this Inference, and makes it appear that he asserted no more than what St. *Gregory* had asserted before him.

The second Letter is directed to his Brother *Damien*. He therein makes an ingenuous Confession of the Faults to which he was addicted, and especially of his Propensity to rail at others. He entreats his Brother to pray to God to give him Grace to redress his Default.

In the third, he gives a lively Description of the Soul just upon its Departure out of the Body.

In the fourth, he makes use of a Passage out of *Jeremy*, to demonstrate how far the Intemperance of Clerks is an Offence to God.

The fifth is a Letter of Compliment directed to an Arch-deacon.

The sixth is written in the name of *Leo IX.* to the People of *Osno*, against a Custom which prevail'd in that Church of rifling the Goods of the Bishop after his Death: This Custom is therein prohibited under the Penalty of Excommunication.

The seventh is writ in the name of *Alexander II.* to the Clergy and Laity of *Milan*, whom that Pope acquaints of his Exaltation to the Popedom, and exhorts them to Labour earnestly for the carrying on of their own Salvation.

The eighth directed to the Clergy of *Florence*, concerning the Use of Disciplines, is one of the most Curious of his Pieces. He had writ about this Practice to a certain Monk: His Letter falling into the Hands of some secular Persons, and of some Monks of a less strick Life, they were very much offended at this new Kind of Penance, unknown to all former Ages, and which seem'd to overthrow the Order of the Canons and the ancient Custom. *Peter Damien* in this Letter, undertakes to maintain it. First, from the Example of our Saviour, of the Apostles and Martyres, who have been scourg'd for the Sake of Jesus Christ: From whence he infers, that God may very well be pleas'd with the voluntary Offering to him such a Penance as he caus'd his Servants to endure against their Will. As to what might be objected, that indeed we do read, that the Saints were scourged by others, but that we never find they did it themselves: He replies, That as we ought voluntarily to imitate the Mortification of the Cross, so likewise one may imitate the other Sufferings of Jesus Christ; and that as no body can blame him who of his own accord Fasts at other Times than those enjoyn'd by the Church: So one ought not to imagine, that he who Chastises himself with his own Hand, does a Deed less acceptable to God. That on the contrary, he undergoes a real Penance, by mortifying his Flesh, and making it suffer for the Pleasures which it has enjoy'd; that it signifies nothing to what Sort of Punishment it is Condemn'd, provided that the preceeding Pleasures be punish'd by a subsequent Punishment. He asks those who pretended that this new Custom subverted the Canons; whether the Reverend *Bede* did ill in enjoyning several Penitents to wear Iron Girdles? Whether the Holy Fathers did ill in putting such Austerities and Penances into Practice, of which no Mention is made in the Canons? He adds, That since the Laicks might redeem themselves from a long Penance by bestowing a certain Sum to Charitable Uses; tho' no Mention be made of these Redemptions in the Canons; the Monks who may have deserv'd a long Penance, and cannot make Compensation for it by their Alms, ought not to be hindered from doing it by this Mortification of their Flesh.

The ninth is among the *Opuscula*, of which it makes the twenty sixth.

In the tenth, he excuses himself to the Clergy and Laity of *Fayence*, for his not being able to come to them after the Death of their Bishop, and he advises them to put off the Election of another Bishop, till the Arrival of the Emperor.

The eleventh is referr'd to the forty first of the *Opuscula*.

In the twelfth, he asks the Advice of the Treasurer of the Church of *Ravenna*, whether he ought to remain in that City, or return to his Solitude. He relates the Reasons that might be alledg'd on both Sides: On the one Side, he might be serviceable to the saving of Souls at *Ravenna*, but there he was had in Contempt: On the other Side, he was had in Esteem in his own Monastery, but he was afraid this Esteem would puff him up with Pride. He refers himself wholly to the Counsel of him to whom he wrote, what he ought to do in the Case.

The thirteenth is directed to the Chaplains of Duke *Godefrey* who charg'd him with Avarice. The Occasion of which Charge was this; one of the Chaplains had a Difference with him about a Piece of Gold which the Dutchess had presented at the Offering of the Mass, which *Peter Damien* Celebrated: The Monk who had receiv'd it, left it upon the Altar, together with another Piece of Gold presented by a Marchioness. One of these Chaplains took away one of the Pieces which the Dutchess had order'd to be given him: But afterwards *Peter Damien* using his utmost Endeavours to make him restore it to him again he



**Peter Damien, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia** would not, but left it with one of the Monks. This Conduct of *Peter Damien's* being perfectly free from any Partiality, sufficiently clear'd him from the Accusation of these Chaplains; but in his turn he reprov'd them for two Errors, First because they taught, that Priests might marry; and then because they maintain'd, that it was no Simony to give Money for the Presentation of a Living provided nothing was given for Ordination.

The fourteenth and fifteenth are directed to the Clergy of the Church of *Milan*, who maintain'd the Truth and Purity of Discipline; he exhorted them to persevere with Constancy and Steadfastness.

The two next are part, one of the forty second, and the other of the eighth of his *Opuscula*.

In the eighteenth, he returns an Answer to a Priest who had ask'd his advice about two Ceremonies relating to Baptism and the Celebration of the Mass: And after he had intimated that no new Customs ought to be introduc'd, he determines, that only the Holy Chrism ought to be put into the Water of Baptism, and not any Oyl or Wine; and that in the Celebration of the Mass the Ablution of the Chalice ought not to be omitted, but when it was to be celebrated twice in a Day.

The nineteenth, is among the *Opuscula* of which it makes the twenty eighth.

The sixth Book contains such Letters as are written to Abbots and Monks.

The first is referr'd to the forty third of his *Opuscula*.

The second is directed to *Hugh* Abbot of *Cluny*; the Monks of that Abby as an acknowledgment of the Love which *Peter Damien* had for them, and of the Services which he had done them, had promis'd him, that they would say an Office for him every Year on the Day of his Death. He prays the Abbot of *Cluny* that this might be perform'd not only in that Abby, but likewise in others which were of the same Order.

The third directed to the same Abbot, is only a Letter of Compliment for the kind Entertainment he had given to one of *Peter Damien's* Nephews.

In the fourth, he recommends to him again the Prayers which he had promis'd to offer up for him after his Death.

In the fifth, directed to the Monks of that Abby, he commends the Discipline and the good Order which was observ'd in their Monastery; thanks them for the Acknowledgment they made of the good Services he had done them, and conjures them to pray to God for him after his Death.

The two next contain nothing in them very remarkable.

The eighth is among the *Opuscula*, of which it makes the twenty first.

In the ninth, he reproves a Monk whom he had made Superior of an Hermitage, for having quitted it, to be an Abbot of another Monastery; and orders him either to return to the Charge committed to him, or else to live only as a Monk in that Monastery.

In the tenth, he retracts what he had said of *St. John the Baptist's* being conceiv'd during the Feast of Tabernacles.

The eleventh is among the *Opuscula*, of which it makes the forty fourth.

In the twelfth, he answers to the Reproaches cast upon him by an Abbot, for having entertain'd a Monk who came out of another Monastery, which seem'd contrary to the Rule of *St. Benedict*. He makes it appear, that this Rule ought only to be understood of the Monasteries of the *Cenobites*, and not of the *Hermits*, whose Life is most perfect. He pretends that *St. Benedict* was as the first an *Hermit*, and that he always prefer'd the Life of the *Hermits*, before that of the *Cenobites*.

The thirteenth is directed to the Monks of a Monastery of *Constantinople*; but contains nothing in it remarkable.

The fourteenth is among the *Opuscula*, of which it makes the twenty ninth.

In the fifteenth, he admonishes an Abbot not to detain one of his Monks, who had deserted him and was excommunicated, promising withal, that if that Monk would return, he would use him kindly.

The three next make the forty fifth, forty sixth, and fifty ninth of his *Opuscula*.

In the nineteenth, he gives a description of the Distempers, under which he labour'd; of the Patience wherewith he endur'd them; and of the Extremity to which he was brought; which was such; that they administred the extreme Unction to him, and laid him upon Ashes and Hair-cloth, as the Custom then was. He takes notice that his Remedy was communicated to one of his Monks in a Vision, and procur'd by Alms, and that he had much ado to persuade himself to eat Flesh.

In the twentieth, he advises a Monk not to engage himself upon every turn to expiate the Faults of others, and readily to perform those Penances with which he was engag'd. He moreover relates an Instance of another Monk, who had suffer'd great Punishments in the other World, for having not done Penance for another, according as he undertook.

The twenty first is among his *Opuscula*, of which it makes the forty seventh.

The twenty second is to his Nephew *Damien*, whom *Damien* he exhorts to be zealous in the Exercises of the Monastical Life, and reproves for having gone from an Hermitage to a Monastery, and exhorts to return thither again.

In the twenty third, he reproves a Monk, who delay'd turning Hermit, upon the account that he had much ado to persuade himself not to drink Wine.

The twenty fourth and twenty sixth, are referr'd to the forty eighth and ninth of his *Opuscula*.

In the twenty fifth, he makes it appear, that it was upon some Grounds that he had a Design of quitting his Church; he thereupon relates two extraordinary Events.

The twenty seventh is directed to the Monk *Cerebrosus*, who had with some Sharpness blam'd the Practice of Discipline. *Peter Damien* maintain'd it by the same Arguments which he had already alledg'd. He pretended that it was a sort of Martyrdom; that it was what was very well known to the Ancients; that it is founded upon the Canons; and that it was in Use before his Time in the Religious Monasteries, wherein it was Customary to buy off a whole Year's Penance, by a thousand Stripes of a Rod. That Monk did not find Fault with the Discipline, which was us'd during the reading of a Chapter for light Faults; but he blam'd those severe and long Disciplines of so many hundred Stripes. *Peter Damien* says, that if one approves the lesser Discipline, one ought not to Condemn that which was more severe and mortifying.

In the twenty eighth, he illustrates two Passages out of *St. Gregory*.

In the twenty ninth, he advises a Monk, every Day, to say the *Rosary*, and to read the Holy Scriptures.

The two next make the fifty first and the fifty third of his *Opuscula*.

In the thirty second, he reproves the Hermits of a Monastery near his, for having neglected the Rule which he had given them, for being too much in love with Money, and too much given to Ease and Luxury.

For their Instruction, he relates the Punishments of several Monks, who had not liv'd up to that Strictness which they ought, and the Penance inflict'd upon them for their Faults.

The thirty third is amongst his *Opuscula*, of which it makes the fifty fourth.

The thirty fourth, is likewise directed to several Hermits of his Congregation, whom he reprov'd for being too severe and too long in the Exercise of their Discipline. He would not have any one, every Day, be disciplin'd any longer than during the reading of forty Psalms, and in *Advent* and *Lent*, only whilst sixty Psalms were Reading.

The thirty fifth is amongst his *Opuscula*, of which it makes the twenty fifth.

In the last, he exhorts his Monks to live peaceably after his Death, and requires that all the Possessions belonging to another Monastery, which he permitted them to enjoy during his Life-time, should be restored after his Decease.

The seventh Book contains the Letters written to Princes and Princesses, the two first of which are directed to the Emperor *Henry III*. In one of them he desires that Count *Gisler* may be set at liberty, and in the other, he commends that Prince for having dispossest *Wiquier* of the Archbishoprick of *Ravenna*, who had obtain'd it by sinister Practices.

The third is directed to the young Prince *Henry*, the Son of the former, whom he earnestly exhorts to defend the Church, and to oppose *Cadalous's* Schism.

The next are directed to the Empress *Agnes*, the Wife of *Henry III*. and written about different Affairs. In one of them, he gives that Princess to understand, that the Pope could not send the Pall to the Archbishop of *Mentz*, till he himself came to desire it, or till he were examin'd by his Legates. In the two others, he comforts and exhorts the same Princess to beg Assistance of *Jesus Christ*, and in the last, he invites her to *Italy*.

The ninth is written in the name of Pope *Nicholas II*. to the Queen of *France*, whom he exhorts to continue her Bounty and pious Actions; advising her at the same time, to inspire the King her Husband with the same Principles, and to cause her Children to be educated in the same Manner.

In the tenth, directed to *Godfrey* Duke of *Tuscany*, he expresses himself how much he was concern'd, that that Prince, had given Entertainment to *Cadalous*, and admonishes him to make amends for that Fault.

The two next directed to the same Duke, are compris'd in the fifty seventh *Opusculum*.

In the thirteenth, he entreats that Prince to remit a certain Sum of Money to the Abby of *St. John Baptist*, to pay for a Library which he had bought.

In the fourteenth, directed to *Beatrice* Dutches of *Tuscany*, he approves of the Resolution that she and her Husband had taken, to live in perpetual Continency, and proposes many Examples of Virtue, for her Imitation.



**Peter Damien, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia.** In the fifteenth, he exhorts a certain Prince, to condemn all Worldly Possessions, and to seek after the Heavenly. The sixteenth, is comprehended in the eighteenth *Opusculum*. In the seventeenth, he exhorts the Marquis *Renier*, who had been enjoined, by Way of Penance for his Offences, to go in Pilgrimage to *Rome*; to set forward on his Journey, as soon as possible, and produces divers Examples, of the Protection that God has afforded to Pilgrims.

In the eighteenth, he admonishes the Countess *Gille*, newly marry'd to the Marquis *Renier*, not to retain the Spoils of the Widows and Orphans, but to restore every Thing that her Husband had got by Rapine, and advises her in order to prevent him from committing those Outrages for the Future, to cause the Lands to be well cultivated, and to give Alms to the Poor.

The nineteenth, is among the *Opuscula*, of which it makes the fiftieth.

The last Book of *Peter Damien's* Letters, contains those that were written by him to divers particular Persons.

In the first, directed to *Cintius* Prefect of *Rome*, he commends him for the Exhortation that he made to the People on *Twelfth-day*, and advises him to persevere in administering Justice in the City, and in maintaining the Rights of the Church.

In the Second, he admonishes the same *Cintius*, that he should not so much give himself up to praying as to neglect doing Justice.

In the third, he exhorts the Person to whom he writes, to shew due Respect to his Mother, and enlarges on the Duties of Children to their Parents.

The fourth, is a Consolatory Letter to a Father, upon the Death of his Son. He maintains that the Death of Children is a peculiar Favour of God, and that we ought to rejoice rather than to be troubled at it.

In the fifth, he exhorts a Senator of the City of *Rome*, to compleat the Building of a Church that he had begun, shewing by many Examples, that it is an Action, which deserves Reward.

In the sixth, he comforts a sick Person, giving him to understand, that Sufferings are a Mark of Predestination; and that a Christian ought to bear them with Patience and Cheerfulness.

The seventh, is compris'd in the forty second *Opusculum*.

In the eighth, he exhorts a Judge to meditate on the future State, and on the Day of Judgment, and produces a great number of Sentences of Scripture on that Subject, to the end that he might take the Matter into serious Consideration.

The ninth, is amongst the *Opuscula*, of which it makes the fifty eighth.

In the tenth, he exhorts a certain Person, who was apt to forswear himself to abstain altogether from Swearing, and advises him to give Alms.

The eleventh, makes the thirtieth *Opusculum*.

The twelfth, is an Invektive against Pride.

The thirteenth, is contain'd in the fifty ninth *Opusculum*.

The fourteenth, is directed to his two Sisters, to whom he gives a great deal of Advice about the Religious Life.

The fifteenth, is a Prayer made by *Peter Damien*, on behalf of a Man, who was at the Point of Death, and it is one of those that are now us'd in the Church (*i. e.* of *Rome*) for Persons in such a Condition.

From the Letters pass we to the *Opuscula* or small Tracts, which constitute the third Volum of *Peter Damien's* Works; reserving the Account of the second, which contains his Sermons, till we have made the Extract of his *Opuscula*.

The first bears this Title, *Of the Catholick Faith*, and is dedicated to *Ambrose*. He explains therein, the Mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, and more especially establishes the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Persons of the Father and of the Son.

In the second, call'd *Antilogus* against the *Jews*, he makes it appear by several Proofs taken out of the *Old Testament*, That *Jesus Christ* is the true *Messiah* the Son of God.

The third is on the same Subject, in which he answers divers Questions proposed in the Name of the *Jews*, concerning *Jesus Christ*.

The fourth, is a Dialogue between the Emperor *Henry's* Attorney General, and an Advocate of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the Right that the Emperors of *Germany* have to the Election of a Pope: After the Death of *Nicholas II.* the *Romans* chose *Alexander II.* without the Emperor *Henry's* Knowledge; whereupon that Prince being highly displeased that the Election was carried on without his Authority, nominated *Cadalox* Bishop of *Parma* to the Papal Dignity. *Peter Damien* supposes the Question about the Validity of both those Elections to be debated in a Council, between the Advocate of the Church of *Rome*, and the Emperor's Attorney General. The latter maintains, That the Election of a Pope cannot be duly manag'd without the Prince's Consent, and that they had apparently done him an Injury in ordaining *Alexander* without his Knowledge: On the other side, the Advocate of the Church of *Rome* asserts, that the Right of choosing a Pope, or of confirming his Election,

does not belong to his Imperial Majesty; since not only the *Pagan* Emperors, but also all the Christian Princes to the *Peter* last *Greek* Emperors, never laid Claim to that Right, nor *Damien* had any Share in the Election of a Pope, which was always perform'd by the Church of *Rome*. The Attorney General replies, That *Henry* the Father and Predecessor of the Prince, whose Right he maintain'd, enjoy'd such a Privilege, and that it was confirm'd by Pope *Nicholas II.* to the Emperor his Master. The Advocate of the Church of *Rome* acknowledges that Concession, and willingly agrees, that the Emperor should enjoy the same Privilege; but he insists, that as to the Matter in Debate, the Emperor *Henry* being under Age, the Church of *Rome*, acted as his Tutor in that Election, and perform'd the Office that belong'd to him, by Reason that a Child is incapable of making such a Choice: That therefore what was done at *Rome*, was not prejudicial to the Emperor's Right; but only made it appear, that there might be some Occasions, in which it cannot take Place. The Attorney General averr'd, That at least it could not be deny'd, that they had done that Prince Wrong, in not making Application to him: That three Months had passed from Pope *Nicholas's* Death to the Day of *Alexander's* Ordination, and that there was more Time than was requisite for the obtaining of a Pragmatical Sanction from the Imperial Court. The Advocate of the Church of *Rome* replies, That the *German* Noblemen and some of the Bishops of the Empire, who were disaffected to the Church of *Rome*, call'd a Kind of a Council, in which, by an unheard of Boldness, they disannull'd every Thing that was ordain'd by Pope *Nicholas*: That they refus'd to hearken to *Stephen* Cardinal Priest and Legate of the Holy See; and that at the Solicitation of Count *Gerard*, whom Pope *Nicholas* had excommunicated in a full Synod, they proceeded to the Election of a Person, who was altogether unworthy. Thereupon he demands, which of the two Competitors ought to be acknowledg'd as lawful Pope; either he who was unanimously chosen by the Cardinals, who was nominated by the Clergy and People of *Rome*, and who was fairly elected in that City, and in the Bosom of the Holy Apostolick See; or he who had no other Suffrage in his Favour, but that of an excommunicated Person? The Attorney General acquiesces to these Arguments, being well satisfied, that his Sovereign's Right was sufficiently secur'd, and that the Person who was chosen, could not be unacceptable to him, because he belong'd to his Court. Then the Advocate of the Church of *Rome* concludes, wishing, That the Sacerdotal and Imperial Powers were inseparably united, and that they might always concur in the same End.

The fifth *Opusculum* or small Tract, is a Relation directed to *Hildebrand* the Archdeacon, of what befel *Peter Damien*, during his Journey to *Milan*, where he was sent in Quality of Legate of the Holy See, to suppress the Disorders committed by the unchaste and Simoniack Clergy of that Church. 'Tis related by him, that upon his Arrival at *Milan*, he had no sooner given Notice of the Purport of his Commission, but the Clergy under Colour that their Church ought not to be govern'd by the Laws, nor to submit to the Yoke of *Rome*, rais'd a Sedition. That the People ran in Crowds to the Episcopal Palace, threatening to cause him to be put to Death: and that afterwards appearing between the Archbishop of *Milan*, and *Anselm* Bishop of *Lucca*, he allay'd their Fury by a Discourse, which he produces. In that Speech *Peter Damien* remonstrates to them, that he was not come to enhance the Grandeur and Authority of the Holy See; but to promote their Salvation: That that Church derives its Dignity and Primacy from the Institution of *Jesus Christ*, and that no Attempt can be made on its Rights without violating the Faith: That *St. Nizarius*, *St. Gervase* and *St. Protasius*, the first Planters of the Church of *Milan*, receiv'd their Mission from the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*: That *St. Ambrose* had Recourse to Pope *Siricius*, to put a Stop to the Irregularities of some of his Clergymen, and that he declar'd, that he was ready in all Points to obey the Church of *Rome* as his Patrons: The Cardinal of *Ostia*, having by this Means pacified the People, call'd an Assembly of the Clergy; and after having made enquiry into the Manner of their Ordination, scarce found one Man, among so great a Number, who was admitted into Orders without disbursing Money, because every one upon that Occasion, was oblig'd to pay a certain set Rate.

This general Disorder extremely perplexed *Peter Damien*, in regard that it would be unjust to punish some, and to pardon others, who were less culpable: Therefore he took a Resolution, to grant an Amnesty for past Transgressions, and to make a Constitution to prevent such Enormities for the Future. It was drawn up in the Name of *Guy* Archbishop of *Milan*, who declar'd, That he condemn'd the Custom or rather Abuse, which prevail'd in his Diocess, and that he oblig'd himself and his Successors to exact nothing for Ordinations: That he likewise condemn'd the Marriage of Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons, and that he promis'd to use his utmost Endeavours, to hinder them from keep-



ing Wives or Concubines: That he further engag'd both for himself and his Officers, not to take any Thing, for the Benediction of Abbies and Chappels; for the Investiture and Collation of Benefices; for the Ordination of Bishops; for the Administration of the Holy Chrism, or for the Consecration of Churches. This Decree was signed by the Archbishop of Milan, and by the principal Clergy, who took an Oath to observe it, and did Penance for their past Offences: The former impos'd on himself a Penance of a hundred Years, and nominated how much he determin'd to give for the Redemption of it. The other Clergymen were in like Manner enjoin'd Fasting, which nevertheless they might redeem by reciting the *Psalter*, or by giving Alms. Furthermore the Archbishop made a Vow to go in Pilgrimage to the Sepulchre of St. James in Gallicia, and to send his Clerks to Rome or Tours, or to some other Place usually frequented by Pilgrims.

In the sixth Tract, directed to Henry Archbishop of Ravenna, Peter Damien debates this Question, viz. Whether those who were ordain'd by Priests Simoniacally promoted, ought to be re-ordain'd or not? This Question was propos'd in a Council, where it was not judg'd expedient to resolve it, till it were farther discuss'd. Peter Damien maintains the Negative, by Reason that 'tis not the Bishop, who is the only Minister, but God, that consecrates: That the same Thing may be said of Ordination, as of Baptism, viz. That it ought not to be reiterated, altho' it were administer'd by an unworthy Minister: That provided the Orders be conferr'd in the Catholick Church, and that both he who confers them, and he who takes them have Faith, the vicious Clerk is as effectually ordain'd by an unworthy Minister, as the virtuous Clerk by a worthy Minister: That there are three principal Sacraments in the Church, viz. Baptism, the Eucharist and Orders: That St. Augustine proves as to the first, and Paschasius with Respect to the second, That those Sacraments are not made more or less efficacious by worthy or unworthy Ministers; and altho' the Question was never as yet stated in reference to Ordinations; nevertheless the Case ought to be argu'd after the same Manner, according to St. Augustine's Principles, on which Peter Damien enlarges in this Book, and adds many Examples to shew, that Ordinations conferred by unworthy Ministers are valid, and that those Persons who were once admitted into Orders, ought not to be re-ordain'd, which he applies in particular to Simonists, and commends the Conduct of Pope Leo IX. who only imposes a Penance of forty Days on those that were ordain'd by Priests guilty of Simony, but did not lay out any Money upon that Account. He likewise commends the Emperor Henry, for opposing that Irregularity, and concludes with a Declamation against Simonists.

The seventh Treatise, call'd *the Gomorrian*, is dedicated to Pope Leo IX. who approv'd of it in a Letter, which is prefix'd at the Beginning. In this Tract, Peter Damien proves, that Clergymen who have committed Sins of Uncleaness, which Modesty does not permit to be named, ought to be depriv'd of the Functions of their Order for ever: He rejects the Canons of the Penitential Books, which impose too light Penances for those Sorts of Crimes, of which he shews the Enormity: He inveighs against those Persons who are guilty of such notorious Offences, and exhorts them to a speedy Repentance, and to do severe Penance.

The eighth Tract dedicated to John Bishop of Cesena and to the Archdeacon of Ravenna, relates to the Degrees of Consanguinity in which it is forbidden to contract Marriage. He confutes the Opinion of the Lawyers who restrain'd them to the fourth, and imagin'd that Grand-Nephews and Grand Nieces might inter-marry. He reckons up the Degrees by Generations, and maintains, That as far as any Consanguinity or Affinity can be discern'd, Matrimony ought not to be contracted, which takes Place at least in the seventh Degree. He asserts in this Treatise, that in computing the Degrees of Consanguinity, the Number of Persons ought always to exceed that of the Generations by one; so that there are but five Generations, where there are six Persons: But he retracts this Opinion in a Dissertation made by him on purpose to be annex'd to the same Treatise.

In the ninth, he treats at large of Alms-giving, and shews the Usefulness of it, both for the Living and the Dead, in this World and in the future State.

The tenth, is about the Divine Service, in which he gives an Account of the Number of the Canonical Hours; of the Prayers which make the Office, and of the Difference between the Office of Clergymen and that of the Monks: He shews how beneficial 'tis to recite it, and even recommends it to Laicks, as well as the small Office of the Virgin Mary. In this Tract he likewise discourses of the seven mortal Sins, amongst which he does not reckon Gluttony, but distinguishes vain Glory from Pride.

In the eleventh, he states this Question, viz. Whether those who recite their Office alone in Private ought to say, *Do-*

*minus vobiscum, Jube Domine, &c.* He concludes in the Affirmative, because, since the Church is one in many; it Peter may be said, that divers Persons are comprehended in one Damien, single Member of it, and by Reason of that Unity, one Cardinal single Person may speak for all, and as if he join'd in Prayer Bishop of with many: That one single Person often speaks in the Ostia. Name of many, and many in that of a single Person: That if it were requisite to retrench these Prayers, because they seem to suppose the Presence of many Persons; other Parts of the Divine Office, which are of the same Nature, ought likewise to be omitted: That the Sacrifice of the Mass is offer'd up for all the Faithful, tho' in a special Manner by the Priest, in Regard that he holds in his Hands; every Thing that the Faithful offer in their Mind: That altho' only one single Person assists at the Celebration of Mass; yet he does not forbear to say *Dominus vobiscum*, and not *Dominus tecum*: That the Church has no Regard to Numbers, Cases or Terms, but adheres only to that which tends to Edification: That that which one omits, may be supply'd by another; and lastly, that these Words may be referr'd as well to the Absent as to the Present. He concludes with a Commendation of the solitary Life, in Favour of the Hermit, to whom he wrote, and leaves the Resolution of this Question to his Judgment. It may also be observ'd in this Treatise, That at that Time, the Bishops were wont to say, *Pax Vobis*, whereas the Priests only said *Dominus vobiscum*.

The twelfth, is written against the disorderly Lives of the Monks of his Time, and he rebukes them chiefly for four irregular Practices, viz. 1. That they enjoy'd Estates and hoarded up Money, contrary to the Vow of Poverty. 2. That they ran about continually, and kept Company with Laymen, even with excommunicated Persons, or such as deserv'd to be so punish'd, according to the Tenor of the ancient Canons. 3. That they kept rich Apparel and other Garments so sorry, that they wore them only to shew their Affectation of Vain Glory. 4. That they were too much immers'd in Worldly Affairs, and that they did not lead a Life sufficiently retired. This Treatise is written with a great deal of Energy; so that the Author gives a very lively Description of the Enormities of the Monks of those Times, and endeavours to reform their Manners by Precepts and contrary Examples.

In the next Treatise that bears this Title, *Of the Perfection of Monks*, he instructs them in their Duty and in the Vertues they ought to practise.

The fourteenth dedicated to his Hermits, contains an Abridgment of the Rule, and of the Manner of living that they ought to observe.

He enlarges farther on the same Subject, in the fifteenth Tract, which may be look'd upon as an entire System of the Rules of his Order.

The sixteenth, is an Invektive against a certain Bishop, who asserted, That a Person who had assum'd the Monastick Habit by Reason of the Indisposition of his Body, or upon some other Motive, without serving as a Novice for a considerable Time, according to the Rule, might return to a secular Course of Life. Peter Damien maintains the contrary Opinion, and establishes it on the Tenor of the Canons, which absolutely forbids all those, who have voluntarily imbrac'd the Monastick Life, and even Children, whom their Parents have engag'd in that Station, to quit their Profession. He says, that the compleat Probation specified in St. Benedict's Rule, does not prove that those who get Admission without undergoing a Trial, may disengage themselves at Pleasure: That it is a Precaution requisite for the Satisfaction of those who have a Right to admit, rather than for the Benefit of the Persons to be admitted; and that it is not so absolutely necessary, that it cannot be dispensed with, when there is Assurance, that they who present themselves for that Purpose, are endow'd with proper Qualities, and are really in a State of Grace.

The seventeenth, is dedicated to Pope Nicholas II. whom he earnestly exhorts to put a Stop to the Enormities committed by unchaste and dissolute Clergymen, and to make use of the Severity of the Canons against them, in Imitation of Phineas's Zeal.

The eighteenth, is compos'd of three Letters against the Incontinency of Clergymen, in which Peter Damien shews, that they are oblig'd to lead a single Life; inveighs against those who are marry'd or keep Concubines; vigorously opposes these Disorders, and powerfully exhorts the Persons, to whom he writes, who are Peter Cardinal of Rome, the Bishop of Turin and the Dutchesse Adelaide, to interpose their Authority in order to prevent them for the future.

In the nineteenth, he resigns his Bishoprick and two Abbies into the Hands of Pope Nicolas, and to induce him to approve of that Resignation, he represents the Examples of divers Prelates, who have in like Manner quitted their Bishopricks, and gives an Account of certain Apparitions of Bishops or other Persons, condemned to endure the Torments of Hell, or of Purgatory, for neglecting to perform their Duty. Indeed one cannot but admire at the great Number



**Peter Damien, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia.** Number of Examples of that Nature produced by him; but if any be desirous to be inform'd of the Particulars, they need only peruse this Treatise; in which the Author, for his own Part alledges, as a Motive to his Resignation, that at the Time of his Promotion to the Episcopal Dignity, he was not worthy of it; and that his Life and Conversation were culpable, which induc'd him to believe, that it was much safer to depose himself, than to have a Sentence of Deposition pass'd upon him at the Day of Judgment, accompanied with everlasting Damnation.

The next Tract dedicated to the same Pope *Nicholas*, is written on the same Subject, and full of Examples of the like Nature: He enlarges farther on the Reasons that oblig'd him to quit his Bishoprick, and more particularly on this, viz. That he was no longer in a Condition to take Care of the two Bishopricks, which the Holy See thought fit to commit to his Charge.

In the twenty first, he commends an Abbot, for resigning his Office, to be discharg'd of the Cares, Troubles and Multiplicity of Business that unavoidably attended that Dignity, and exhorts him to withstand, for the Future, the Temptations, with which the Devil usually assaults those, who have quitted Ecclesiastical Preferments, by inspiring them with a Desire to resume them.

The twenty second, is written against Clergymen who reside at Court, and put themselves into the Service of Princes or Potentates, to obtain Bishopricks or Abbies. He shews that they are not free from the Imputation of Simony, although they disburse no Money, but that on the contrary, they are blame-worthy; because they sell themselves as it were for Slaves, and part with their Liberty to get Ecclesiastical Livings: Besides, that their Services are of greater Value, than the Money that is paid by others: 'For suppose (says he) that two Clergymen are possess'd of an equal Hereditary Estate, that they both sell it, and that one of them resorts to Court, where he spends his Stock by Degrees in the Prince's Service, whilst the other, on the contrary, keeps his entire. Afterwards a Benefice is bestow'd on each of them, that is to say, on the former, as a Recompence for his Service, and on the other, for his Money; now the Question is, Which of the two bought the Benefice at the dearest Rate? The Value of the Money is equal, since it was the Product of both their Estates; but one obtain'd with a great deal of Pains and Fatigues, that which the other got without any Trouble or Difficulty; and therefore the Purchase made by the former, cost much more than that by the latter.

The twenty third, is dedicated to Pope *Alexander II.* upon his Return from the Council of *Mantua*, and contains an Answer to a Question which he had formerly propos'd to *Peter Damien*, viz. Upon what Account it happens that the Lives of the Popes are generally so short? The latter resolves it by a Moral Reflection, That God permits it so to fall out, to the End that the Frailty of Humane Life, may be most conspicuous in those, who are promoted to the Supreme Dignity; and that all Men who have Regard to the Popes, may be struck with Terror at their Death. This gives him an Occasion to enlarge upon Providence and the Goodness of the Divine Majesty.

In the twenty fourth, he writes against those Canons, who being maintain'd in common, by the Church-Revenues, affect to enjoy private Possessions. He exhorts Pope *Alexander*, to whom his Letter is directed, to make use of his Authority, to oblige them to quit that Claim.

In the twenty fifth, he extols the Sacerdotal Dignity, and discourses on the Obligations that accompany it.

In the twenty sixth, he declaims against the Ignorance, supine Negligence and Slothfulness of Clergymen. He makes it appear to be the Source of the principal Disorders in the Church, and exhorts the Bishops to inspect the Lives and Conversation of the inferior Clergy, and to take Care that none be admitted into the Ecclesiastical State, but such as are capable of performing those Functions.

The twenty seventh is directed to the Canons of the Church of *Fano*, who were at Variance one with another, by Reason that some of them were desirous to live separately, and the others in Common. *Peter Damien* takes part with the latter, and maintains, that the Canons ought to live in Common, and to have no private Property, following the Examples of the Apostles and of the Christians of the primitive Church.

The twenty eighth is compos'd in Favour of the Monks, against the Secular Clerks and Canons. The latter insisted, that the Monks ought not to administer the Eucharist or other Sacraments. *Peter Damien* maintains on the contrary, that the Monks ought not to be excluded from those Functions; and to prove his Assertion, brings several Examples of Monks, who being made Bishops or Priests, have actually administer'd them. He extols the Monastick Order, deriving its Original from the Prophets and Apostles; and in the Close, cites a Decretal made by Pope *Boniface IV.* in which Monks are authorized to administer the Sacrament of Penance.

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The twenty ninth is directed to a certain Abbot, whom he reproves for wearing too sumptuous Apparel.

The thirtieth is written to the Inhabitants of *Florence*, and more especially to the Monks of that City, who refus'd to communicate with their Bishop, and to receive the Sacraments from his Hands, because they suspected him to be guilty of Simony. *Peter Damien* makes it appear, that although the Information they brought against him were true; yet they ought not to withdraw themselves from his Communion, till he were legally convicted; nor to refuse to receive the Sacraments administer'd by him; by Reason that unworthy Ministers are capable of administering them as well as the worthy.

In the thirty first, he exhorts the Cardinals to oppose the Covetousness and Concupiscence of the Clergy, which was the Source of the greatest Part of the Disorders and Calamities that befel the Church.

The thirty second, is a moral and mystical Treatise on Lent or the forty Days Fast, and on the forty Stations of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness.

The thirty third, is a Letter directed to the Abbot of *Mount Cassin*, who had threaten'd that if he did not come to him, he should no longer partake of the Benefit of the Prayers put up in his Monastery. *Peter Damien* excuses himself, upon Account that he was sensible that the Time of his Dissolution drew near, and that he was afraid of going in Quest after a Monastery, lest he should die without the Precincts of a Monastery. He entreats that Abbot not to deprive him of the Advantages that might arise from the Supplications of those of his Order: He enlarges on the Devotions to be perform'd to the Virgin *Mary*, and produces a great Number of Miracles wrought by her Intercession, in Favour of those who had a particular Respect for her; and amongst others, he says, that she appear'd to his Brother *Damien* a little before his Death. Afterwards he shews, that Alms distributed for the Dead, procure them Consolation, as well as Prayers and Sacrifices.

The thirty fourth, is a Collection of a great Number of Miracles, Visions, Apparitions and Historical Passages, relating to the Punishment of evil Actions, and the Reward of Good, the Torments of Hell, and the Deliverance of Souls out of Purgatory.

In the thirty fifth, after having alledged for a Reason, why the Image of *St. Paul* is usually plac'd on the Right-hand and *St. Peter's* on the Left; that the former was of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, which signifies the Son of the Right-hand; he enlarges on the Commendation of that Apostle.

In the thirty sixth, he treats of the Eternity, Imensity, Purity, and more especially of the Omnipotence of God.

In the thirty seventh, he explains several Difficulties relating to the Holy Scripture, that were propos'd to him.

In the thirty eighth, he confutes the Opinion of the *Greeks*, concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost.

In the thirty ninth, after having commended the Archbishop of *Besançon*, for the good Order he had established in his Church, and for having caus'd a Tomb to be prepar'd for himself, he finds Fault with the Custom of his Church and of some other Churches of *France*, in which the Clerks and even the Monks, in some Places, were permitted to sit, during the Celebration of Divine Service. He is of Opinion, that all those who assist at it, ought to continue standing, till it be perform'd.

In the fortieth, after having congratulated a certain Bishop, upon the Recovery of his Health, he exhorts him not to give Way to Passion for the Future, and to forgive his Enemies.

In the forty first, he maintains, That those Persons who make Matrimonial Contracts within the Time prohibited by the Church, that is to say, in Lent; three Weeks before the Festival of *St. John Baptist*; and from *Advent* to *Epiphany*; ought to be divorc'd, and their Marriage declar'd null: But forasmuch as some, made no Scruple to marry at those Times, and imagin'd that it was sufficient to abstain from the Use of Marriage; to avoid the Ecclesiastical Censures, he confutes that Opinion, by shewing, that it is not Carnal Copulation, but the mutual Consent of the Parties that makes the Marriage.

The forty second contains two Letters; in which he admonishes two several Persons, to perform the Vow that they had made, to enter into a Religious Order; shewing by divers Authorities and Examples, the Obligation they lie under, to fulfil their Vows, who have once made them.

In the forty third, he exhorts the Monks of *Mount Cassin*, to discipline themselves every Friday.

In the forty fourth, he gives Moral Explications of the ten Plagues of *Egypt*.

In the forty fifth, to comfort a tender-conscienced Monk, who was troubled for his Ignorance; he shews that Learning often occasions many Vices, more especially when it is not accompanied with other Vertues, but that downright Integrity is always profitable to Salvation.



~ In the forty sixth, he exhorts that Monk, patiently and cheerfully to bear Reprimands and Corrections.

~ Peter Damien, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia. In the forty seventh, he recommends Chastity to his Nephew *Damien*, and persuades him to receive the Communion every Day, to be in a Condition to preserve that Virtue. Afterwards he gives him wholesome Instructions to withstand the Temptations of the Devil.

In the forty eighth, he reproves a Monk, who had still some Inclination for delicious Fare and costly Apparel, and admonishes him to fix all his Delight and Repose in God.

In the forty ninth, he gives a great deal of wholesome Advice, concerning the Spiritual Life to a young Monk his Nephew.

The fiftieth, is a moral Instruction, dedicated to the Countess *Blanche*, who had taken a Nun's Habit.

The fifty first, is directed to a Monk nam'd *Tenzo*, who having left his Monastery, retir'd to a Cell in the Middle of the City, and refus'd to entertain *Peter Damien* as well as his Abbot, when they came to visit him. He exhorts him with a great deal of Charity and Gentleness, to quit that particular Way of living and to return to his Duty.

In the fifty second, he makes divers Moral Reflections, on the Qualities of several Sorts of Animals.

In the fifty third, he shews the Advantages that arise from Afflictions and Adversity.

In the fifty fourth, he exhorts certain Monks to fast on *Saturdays*, in Honour of our Saviour's Burial, and makes use of an Apparition to confirm that Custom.

In the fifty fifth, he admonishes the Monks of his Order, to fast on the Vigils of the Festivals of the Assumption of the Virgin *Mary*, of *Christmas*, of the *Epiphany*, of Holy *Thursday*, of *Whitsunday*, of the Nativity of St. *John Baptist*, and of those of all the Festivals of the Apostles, as also to observe a Fast on all *Saturdays* throughout the Year.

In the fifty sixth, he commends the Empress *Agnes*, upon Account of the singular Modesty and Humility she had shewn in going to visit the Sepulchre of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and makes it appear, that Potentates ought not to take a Pride in their Grandeur, nor in the Riches of this World.

In the fifty seventh, he admonishes Prince *Godfrey*, that he did not use sufficient Severity in the punishing of Criminals, and shews how necessary it is, that Princes should be very punctual in the Administration of Justice.

In the fifty eighth, he demonstrates, That there is no perfect Felicity in this World, and that all profane Sciences are not capable of making us truly wise or happy. Therefore he warns *Boniface*, to whom he writes, that if he has not taken a Resolution entirely to renounce worldly Wealth and Knowledge; at least, he ought to make use of them only as Means for the attaining of the real Possessions and of the true Wisdom.

In the fifty ninth, he treats of the last Judgment and Antichrist; and shews that it is difficult to discourse appositely on that Subject, but very profitable to meditate seriously upon it. He says, that Antichrist shall reign three Years and a half; that he shall be kill'd on the *Mount of Olives*; and that forty Days shall pass from his Death, to the Coming of Jesus Christ, during which the Persecution shall cease, and the Just, whose Faith hath been shaken, shall perform Acts of Repentance: That afterwards the Earth and Air shall be involv'd in universal Flames, which shall purifie the Elect. Then he produces ten Signs that ought to precede the Day of Judgment, according to St. *Jerom*.

The sixtieth and last Tract, contains Allegorical Explanations on divers Passages of the Book of *Genesis*.

We have given an Account of the *Opuscula* after the Letters, because the greatest Part of those Tracts, are in Effect only of that Nature, and it were more expedient to leave them among the Letters, (as in the first Edition) and to dispose them all according to the Order of Time or the Subjects they treat of, than to distribute them in such a Manner, as they appear at present. Let us now return to the second Tome that contains *Peter Damien's* Sermons, which are seventy five in Number, disposed according to the Or-

der of the Festivals of the Year, but some of them do not belong to this Cardinal, particularly that of St. *Martin*. Peter The second Sermon of St. *Andrew*; that of St. *Nicholas*; *Damien*, that on *Christmas-Eve*; and that of St. *Stephen* the *Proto-Cardinal martyr*; which are inserted among St. *Bernard's* Sermons, and which were publish'd by Father *Mabillon* in the Edition of the Works of that Saint, under the Name of *Nicholas* Abbot of *Cairvaux*; as also, those on the Festivals of the Assumption of the Virgin *Mary*, and of *All-Saints*, the first on *Christmas Day*, and that on the Dedication of a certain Church, appear to have been compos'd by the same Author.

The Sermons are follow'd by the Lives of St. *Odilo*, St. *Maurus* Bishop of *Cesena*, St. *Romualdus*, St. *Rodolphus* Bishop of *Engubio*, and the History of the Passions of St. *Flora* and St. *Lucilia*. As for the other Lives of the Saints, taken out of *Surius* by *Peter Damien*, they constitute Part of the Sermons.

In the last Tome, are contain'd divers Prayers, Hymns and \*Protes attributed to *Peter Damien*, to which are annexed certain Extracts taken out of the Works of that Father, by a nameless Writer who was one of his Pupils, and out of the Rule of the Canons, compos'd by *Petrus de Honestis*, a Clerk of *Ravenna*, whom some have unadvisedly confounded with *Peter Damien*; since that Rule was dedicated to Pope *Paschal II.* who was not promoted to the Papal Dignity till A. D. 1099. after the Death of the latter.

The Treatise of the Reformation of the Bishops and Popes, extant in *Goldastus*, is not a Work falsely ascribed to *Peter Damien*, as *Possevinus* imagin'd, but a Fragment of the twelfth Letter of the first Book.

The five Sermons, that Father *Luke Dachery* set forth under the Name of *Peter Damien*, in the seventh Tome of the *Spicilegium*, do not belong to this Author, but rather to St. *Petrus Chrysologus*, as it is own'd by that Father himself, in the End of his Preface to the eighth Tome.

*Peter Damien* wrote with a great deal of Facility and Clearness. His Style is polite and elegant, full of Figures and agreeable Varieties: He produces divers fine Notions, and gives an admirable Turn to his Writings, insomuch that some of his Letters are compos'd with all possible Art and Accuracy. He had a Genius proper for Negotiations; and was so dextrous in the Management of Affairs, that even those whom he condemn'd or reprov'd, were constrain'd to acknowledge, that he had Reason to do it. He deliver'd his Mind with a great deal of Freedom, to the Popes and other Persons of Eminency; nevertheless, without failing to shew all the Respect that was due to their Quality. He us'd his utmost Endeavours to revive, at least a Shadow of the ancient Discipline in that corrupted Age, and to put a Stop to the Career of the Enormities committed by the Clergy and Monks of his Time. He attain'd to a profound Skill in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and more especially in those that relate to the Constitutions and Discipline of the Church. He was also well vers'd in the Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, but insisted on the Allegorical rather than the Literal Sense of them. He had perus'd the Works of the *Latin* Fathers, and chiefly those of St. *Augustine* and St. *Gregory*, whose Doctrine and Maxims he thoroughly imbib'd: He argues subtilly about Theological Questions, and Controversial Matters. He shew'd a great deal of Devotion to the Virgin *Mary*, and was a punctual Observer of the Rites of the Church, and of Monastical Customs: But he produces a great Number of Visions and Apparitions, which he very easily gives Credit to.

The Works of this Author were published by Father *Constantine Caetan*, a Monk of the Order of Mount *Cassin*, and printed at *Rome*, in three Volumes, in the Years 1606, 1608, and 1615. These three Tomes were re-printed with a fourth at *Lyons*, A. D. 1623. in one single Volume in *Folio*, and afterwards at *Paris* in 1663. not to mention an Edition of his Letters in *Quarto*, set forth by *Nivelle* at *Paris*, in 1610.

## C H A P. IX.

### An Account of the Churches of England from King William the Conqueror, to Henry I. with the Life of St. Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury, and an Abridgment of his Works.

~ Of the Churches of England. THE Churches and Kingdom of England, which were in a flourishing Condition, and enjoy'd a profound Peace and Tranquillity in St. *Dunstan's* Time, were miserably distress'd after his Death, (according to his Prediction) with innumerable Troubles and Calamities. The Countries over-run by the *Barbarians*; the Churches were pillag'd and set on Fire; the Monaste-

ries were ruin'd; the City of *Canterbury* was burnt; and *Alphegus* the Archbishop was carry'd away Prisoner with the Clergy of that Province. These Calamities were follow'd by the Dissensions and Civil Wars, between King *Edward* the Son of *Ethelred*, and *Godwin* Earl of *Kent* with his Son *Harold*, as well as by a general Barbarity and Corruption of Manners; till at last the Death of *Edward* the Confessor,



Confessor, who left no Issue, compleated the Ruin of the Kingdom. Affairs being in this Posture, *William Duke of Normandy* passing over the Sea, subdu'd it in the Year, 1066. having kill'd *Harold* in Battel, who had taken Possession of the Throne after the Decease of King *Edward*; and caus'd new Laws, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, to be establish'd throughout his Dominions: He prohibited his Subjects to acknowledge any Pope without his Leave, and to receive any Bulls from *Rome* till they were shewn to him: Neither would he suffer the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, tho' styl'd Primate of all *England*, to make any Constitutions in his Councils, which were not conformable to his Inclination, and that were not before concerted with him: Lastly, he forbid that any of his Barons, Lords, Ministers of State, or Officers should be excommunicated without his Order. In the fifth Year of his Reign, *Lanfranc*, Abbot of *St. Stephen* at *Caen*, was ordain'd Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and went a little while after to *Rome*, with *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, and *Remigius* Bishop of *Lincoln*, to obtain the Pall of Pope *Alexander II.* who receiv'd them with particular Marks of his Esteem and Friendship. The next Day, *Lanfranc* accus'd both these Bishops, who accompany'd him, upon Account of their illegitimate Ordination; by Reason that one was the Son of a Priest, and the other had given a certain Sum of Money to King *William* for his Bishoprick. The Effect of this Accusation was, that the two Prelats resign'd their Pastoral Staves and Rings into the Hands of the Pope, who gave these Ornaments back again to them, upon *Lanfranc's* Request. This Archbishop upon his return to *Rome* with the Pall, took much pains in re-establishing the Churches of *England*, and maintain'd their Rights and Revenues against the Secular Powers with so great Efficacy, that neither King *William I.* nor his Son *William II.* thought fit to make any Attempt upon them, as long as he liv'd; but after his Death, the latter caus'd all the Ecclesiastical Revenues belonging to his Dominions to be register'd; and having computed what was requisite for the Maintenance of the Monks; re-united the rest to the Demands of the Crown, letting them out to Farm every Year, to those who offer'd most; but in order to get an absolute Power over the Churches, when the Bishops dy'd, he left their Sees vacant, and enjoy'd their Revenues. That of *Canterbury* was vacant above five Years, till King *William* falling dangerously sick, sent for the Abbot *Anselm*, and invested him with that Archbishoprick against his Will:

This Saint was the Son of *Gondalpus* and *Ermemberga*, and was born at *Aosta* on the *Alps*, A. D. 1033. After having compleated his Studies, and having travell'd for some time in *Burgundy* and *France*, he embrac'd the Monastick Life (at the Age of 27 Years) in the Abby of *Bec*, and put himself under the Tuition of *Lanfranc* Prior of that Monastery: When the latter was made Abbot of *St. Stephen* at *Caen*, about three Years after, he was substituted in his Room, and in like manner succeeded *Herluin* Abbot of *Bec*, who died in 1078. *St. Anselm* took some Journeys into *England* whilst he had the Government of that Abby; by which Means having given special Proofs of his extraordinary Abilities in this Kingdom, he was chosen Archbishop of *Canterbury*, March 6. A. D. 1093. and was consecrated on the fourth Day of *December* following. Then he went to salute the King, and offer'd him the Sum of five hundred Pounds towards carrying on the War which that Prince undertook against his Brother *Richard*, to recover the Dukedom of *Normandy*. The King at first seem'd to be well satisfy'd with this Present, but some of his Courtiers insinuated that it was not sufficient, and that if his Majesty would signify his Dissatisfaction never so little to the Archbishop, as much more might be got from him: Therefore the King sent him Word, that he was unwilling to receive the Money which was proffered by him, as being too small a Sum: The Archbishop after having entreated him to accept of it, refus'd to give any more, and withdrew from the Court. However, some time after, he went to meet the King at *Hastings* just before his departure for *Normandy*, and deliver'd his Mind freely to him, concerning the Reformation of the Churches of *England*, and the Necessity of calling a Council for that Purpose. The King was not well pleas'd with what he said, and made another Demand of Money: But the Archbishop refusing even to disburse what he had proffer'd at first, incurr'd his high Displeasure, and was oblig'd to retire with Precipitation: Upon the Return of this Prince, he begg'd Leave to go to *Rome*, to receive the Pall from the Hands of Pope *Urban II.* but the King denying his Request, told him, that 'twas not Customary in his Kingdom, to acknowledge any other Person as Pope, than him whom he and his Prelates should think fit to approve, and having afterwards held an Assembly of Bishops and Lords for that Purpose, it was declar'd therein, that *Urban II.* should not be acknowledged. Whereupon *St. Anselm* having undertaken to vindicate that Pope, all the Prelates except the Bishop of *Rocheſter* resolv'd, as well as the King, no longer to

own him as Primate or Archbishop: He prefer'd a Petition that he might have Leave to depart out of *England*, but it was reject'd; nevertheless a Delay was propos'd till *Whitsuntide*, which being accepted of by him, he was left at Liberty to return to *Canterbury*; yet he was no sooner arriv'd there, but his most faithful Friends and Servants were made Prisoners or Banished.

In the mean while, the King sent two Clergymen to *Rome*, to endeavour to bring over Pope *Urban* to his Party, and to make himself Master of the Pall: The Pope sent back the Bishop of *Albany* with the two Clerks, who manag'd the Business so well, that he perswaded the King to cause *Urban* to be own'd; nevertheless this Legate could not be induc'd to consent to the deposing of *Anselm*. At last the King perceiving himself not to be able to accomplish his Design, either to cause him to be depos'd, or to oblige him to do what he requir'd, was reconcil'd with him, by giving him the Pall which *Urban's* Legate had brought for his Use. *St. Anselm* liv'd in Quiet for some time, whilst the King pass'd over into *Normandy*, which Dutchy was resign'd to him by his Brother *Richard*; but at his Return, a Resolution was taken to exact a great Sum of Money of the Archbishop, who to avoid the Storm, sued for a Permission to go to *Rome*; but not being able to obtain it, notwithstanding his reiterated Solicitations at three several times, he departed without Leave, and embark'd at *Dover*; from whence he pass'd into *France*, and afterwards taking a Journey to *Italy*, went directly to *Rome* in the Year, 1098. where he was joyfully entertain'd by Pope *Urban*, but his Residence in that City being inconvenient by Reason of the excessive Heats, he retir'd to a Village near *Capua*, where the Pope soon gave him a Visit, upon his Arrival at the Siege of *Capua*, which Place was invested by *Roger Duke of Apulia*. After the raising of the Siege, the Pope held a Council at *Bari*, in which *St. Anselm* assisting, disputed earnestly against the *Greeks*, about the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and entreated the Pope and the Bishops, not to excommunicate the King of *England*. When the Council was concluded, he accompany'd the Pope to *Rome*, and some Days after, the King of *England*, to whom *Urban* had written that he ought to re-establish *St. Anselm* in his Metropolitan See, sent thither an Ambassador, who obtain'd the Demurrer till the Festival of *St. Michael*. *St. Anselm* being inform'd of the matter, determin'd to go to *Lyons*; but the Pope oblig'd him to stay, in order to be present in a Council, which was to be held at *Easter* in the Year, 1099. Thus he resided during six Months at *Rome*, and was very highly esteem'd in that City. The Writer of his Life observes, that certain English Men, who came to visit him, being desirous to kiss his Feet as it was usually done to the Popes, he would not suffer them to do it, and that the Pope admir'd his Humility in that Particular: Lastly, *St. Anselm* having assisted in the Council of *Rome*, A. D. 1099. in which Laicks who took upon them to give Investitures, and those Clergymen who receiv'd them from their Hands, were excommunicated, he took Leave of the Pope, and retir'd to *Lyons*; where within a little while after, he was inform'd of the Death of *Urban II.* and afterward of that of *William II.* King of *England*, which happen'd the Month of *August* A. D. 1100.

*Henry I.* his Successor immediately recall'd *St. Anselm* to *England*, where he was no sooner arriv'd, but he had new Contests with that Prince about the Investitures and the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which he refus'd to take. Forasmuch as this Affair was regulated at *Rome*, it was Requisite that the King should make Application to that Court, to endeavour to cause the Resolution which had been taken there, to be chang'd: However, *St. Anselm* refus'd to ordain the Bishops, who had receiv'd Investiture from the King, and nothing could be obtain'd from *Rome*. Afterward this Archbishop being perswaded by the King to take a Journey to *Rome*, to find out some Expedients for the adjusting of that Affair, went thither accompany'd with an Ambassador: Upon their Arrival the Matter was debated A. D. 1105. in the presence of Pope *Paschal II.* to whom the Ambassador peremptorily declar'd, That the King his Master would sooner be prevail'd upon to part with his Kingdom, than with his Right to the Investitures; The Pope reply'd, That he would sooner lose his Life than suffer him to retain it. However, at last it was agreed upon, that the King of *England* should enjoy certain Privileges which were in his Possession, but that he should lay no Manner of Claim to the Investitures; Therefore the Excommunication which he was suppos'd to have incurr'd, by granting the Investiture of Benefices, was taken off; but it was ordain'd, that those Persons who had receiv'd them from his Hands, should remain excommunicated for some time, and that the giving them Absolution for that Offence should be reserv'd to *St. Anselm*. The Affair being thus determin'd, the Ambassador and *St. Anselm* set forward in their Journey, but when they were arriv'd near *Lyons*, the Ambassador declar'd to him in his Master's name, that he



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was forbidden to return to *England*, unless he would promise him to submit to the Custom which prevail'd in that Kingdom, without having any Regard to what had been ordain'd to the contrary by the Pope. *St. Anselm* refusing to enter into such an Engagement, stay'd some Time at *Lyon*, and having pass'd from thence into *Normandy*, at last came to an Accommodation with the King of *England*, on Condition that the Churches which King *William II.* had first made subject to the Payment of a certain Tax, should be exempted from it, and that his Majesty should restore what he had exacted of the Clergy, and every thing that was taken from the Church of *Canterbury*, during the Exile of the Archbishop. After this Agreement, which was concluded, *A. D.* 1106. between the King and the Archbishop at *Bee* Abby, *St. Anselm* return'd to *England*, was re-establish'd in his Archbishoprick, and enjoy'd it peaceably till his Death, which happen'd three Years after, in the 16th. since his Advancement to that Dignity, and the 76th. of his Age, *A. D.* 1109.

*St. Anselm* is no less famous for his Learning, and the great Number of his Writings, than for his Conduct and the Zeal he shew'd in maintaining the Rights of the Church. The largest Edition of his Works is the last, publish'd by Father *Gerbert*, and it is that which we shall follow, being divided into three Parts: The first of these containing Dogmatical Treatises, bears the Title of *Monologia*; that is to say, a Treatise of the Existence of God, of his Attributes, and of the Holy Trinity: It is so call'd, by Reason that it is compos'd in Form of the Meditations of a Man, who reasons with himself to find out Divine Truths, and who explains them accordingly as they are discover'd by him. It is a very subtle Work, and contains a great Number of *Metaphysical* Arguments.

He continues to Treat of the same Subject, and observes the same Method of Writing in the *Proslogia*, where the Person who reason'd with himself in the first Work, making his Addresses to God, Discourses of his Existence, Justice, Wisdom, Immutability, Eternity, and of his being the *Summum Bonum* or Sovereign Good. A certain Monk nam'd *Gaiman*, having perus'd this Treatise, could not approve the Argument which *St. Anselm* makes use of therein, to prove the Existence of God, taken from the Idea of a most perfect Being: *He* have (says he) at least the Idea of a most perfect Being; therefore this Being of necessity Exists. *Gaiman* not being able to comprehend this Argument (which seems to be a Sophism or meer Fallacy to those who are not endu'd with a sound and penetrating Judgment to discern the Force of it) wrote a small Tract on purpose to refute it, in which he objects every Thing that is most subtle and plausible, to overthrow this Ratiocination. *St. Anselm* return'd a very solid Answer, in which he enervates his Adversary's Objections, and makes it appear, that his Argument is Rational and Convincing.

The Treatise of Faith, of the Holy Trinity, and of the Incarnation dedicated to Pope *Urban II.* was written against a French Clergy-man nam'd *Roscelin* Tutor to *Abaelard*, who undertook to prove, that the three Persons of the Trinity are three different Things; because otherwise it might be said, that the Father and the Holy Ghost were Incarnate. *St. Anselm* being as yet Abbot of *Bee*, began a Treatise to confute this Error; but the Maintainer thereof having abjur'd it in a Council held by the Archbishop of *Rheims* in his Province, he left the Work imperfect; yet compleated it afterward in *England*, being there inform'd, that he who broach'd this Error, persisted therein, and declar'd that he abjur'd it, only for Fear of being assassinated by the People. *St. Anselm* at first lays down for a Maxim, that we ought not to argue against that which the Church believes, nor against that which Faith Teaches us, and that we ought not to Reject that which we cannot Comprehend; but that we ought to acknowledge, that there are many Things which are above our Understanding. Afterward he relates *Roscelin's* Proposition express'd in these Terms: If the three Divine Persons be one and the same Thing and not three Things consider'd every one a part, as three Angels or three Souls, nevertheless in such a manner, that they are the same Thing in Will and Power; it follows, That the Father and the Holy Ghost were Incarnate with the Son. *St. Anselm* declares that this Man admits three Gods, or else that he does not know what he says: He asks him what he means by three Things, and acknowledges, that in one Sense it may be said, that the three Persons of the Trinity are three Things, if their Relation one to another be understood by that Term; but that it cannot be so said, if their Substance be understood, which seems to be *Roscelin's* Meaning, since he says, that they are three distinct Things, as three Souls and three Angels: He confutes this Opinion, and shews, that the Distinction of the Persons is sufficient to the End that it may be said, that the Son is Incarnate, without inferring, that the Father and the Holy Ghost are so. Afterward he resolves this Question, Why the Son was Incarnate rather than the Father or the Holy Ghost; shews that there is but one Person and two Natures

in Jesus Christ; and explains the Procession of the Divine Persons.

The Treatise of the Procession of the Holy Ghost against the *Greeks*, is no less Theological than the former: For the Archbishop proves therein, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father, and discusses the principal Questions, relating to his Procession.

His Treatise of the Fall of the Devil, is written in Form of a Dialogue and the Subject of it is less Obscure. He shews, That altho' the Good Angels receiv'd from God, all the Good that was done by them, and even the Gift of Perseverance; yet it cannot be said, that the Bad did not persevere, because God deny'd them that Gift, but because they would not persevere: That the Good Angels were in a Capacity of Sinning as well as the Bad; but that having freely prefer'd Righteousness to Unrighteousness, they had as a Recompence, the Assurance, of never swerving from the former: And that the Bad on the contrary, having voluntarily fallen from Righteousness, lost for ever the Good which they had, and put themselves out of a Capacity of ever becoming Righteous. Afterward he treats of the Nature of Evil, and proves that it consists only in a Privation of Good, and debates some other subtle Questions.

The Treatise which shews, *Why God was made Man?* Discovers its Subject in the very Title, and is more particularly explain'd in the Preface. This Treatise (says he) is divided into two Books; the first of which contains the Objections rais'd by the Infidels, who imagine it to be contrary to Reason, that a God should become Man, with the Answers of the Faithful to their Arguments; and it is shewn therein, that 'tis impossible for any Man to be sav'd without the Mediation of a God Incarnate. In the second Book 'tis prov'd, that Humane Nature is design'd to enjoy everlasting Life, both in respect of the Soul and of the Body; and that this Advantage cannot be obtain'd but by the means of a God-Man.

The Treatise of Original Sin, was compos'd immediately after the preceding, and in it are discuss'd many Questions about the Nature of Sin, and the Manner how it is communicated to all the Posterity of *Adam*.

The Treatise of Truth, of the Will, and of Liberty, contains Variety of *Metaphysical* Principles concerning those Matters, to explain their Nature and Kinds. These Discourses are written, in form of Dialogues as well as the preceding.

In the following Treatise, he enquires into the Means of reconciling Free-will with Fore-knowledge, Predestination and Grace. As for Fore-knowledge and Predestination, all his Discourse on those Matters is rambling, and in some Places very Obscure.

The Subject of the three next Treatises is less intricate, and the first of them dedicated to *Valeran* Bishop of *Naumburg*, is about the use of unleavened Bread; in which the Author maintains against the *Greeks*, that altho' the Eucharist may be administred with unleavened and leavened Bread, yet 'tis most expedient to make Use of the former. The second is a Letter written by the said *Valeran*, complaining of the great Number of Ceremonies used in the Administration of the Sacraments, and entreating *St. Anselm* to resolve this Question, viz. Why the Sign of the Cross is made on the Bread, and on the Chalice; and why the Chalice is usually cover'd with a Vail or † Pale before the Consecration? In the End he gives him to understand, that he was reconcil'd with Pope *Paschal II.* *St. Anselm* returns him an Answer in the following Treatise, that the Variety of Customs and Ceremonies, does not hinder the Unity of the Faith, and alledges certain Mystical Reasons for making the Sign of the Cross on the Host, and on the Chalice, and for covering the latter with a Vail.

To these Treatises is annex'd another small Tract, in which he asserts, that Clergy-men, who make Confession of Sins of the Flesh committed privately, may be re-establish'd in the Functions of their Order, after having done Penance. This Piece is only an Extract of *St. Anselm's* Letter to the Abbot *William*.

In the Treatise of Marriages forbidden between near Relations, he enquires into the Reasons of that Prohibition, which he extends only to the sixth degree of Consanguinity.

There is nothing relating to Divinity in his Treatise of the Grammarian.

In that of the Will of God, being the last of the Dogmatical, of which the first Part of his Works is compos'd, he explains the different Senses, in which the Term of the Will of God is taken, and the different Kinds of Wills that may be distinguish'd in them.

To these Works is to be added a Treatise of Peace and Concord, which is insert'd in the End of the Volume; a Piece that is well worthy of *St. Anselm* and which is altogether written in his Style.

The second Part of the Works of this learned Prelate contains the Parænetick and Ascetick Treatises, viz. 1. Sixteen Homelicks, the first of which is on the 24th. Chapter of

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† A Square  
pass'd  
covered  
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of Ecclesiastes, and the others on divers Gospels: Indeed the first is only found in the ancient Editions of his Works, and the rest were since added; but they are all of the same Style, and some of them bear St. *Anselm's* Name in certain Manuscripts; so that 'tis very probable, that they all belong to him: 2. An Exhortation to the Contempt of Temporal Things, and to the Desire of Eternal, publish'd by Father *Theophilus Renaudens*, which contains wholesome Admonitions compris'd in short and Pathetical Sentences. Altho' there be no Proof, that this Piece is St. *Anselm's*; nevertheless it is very conformable to his Manner of Writing. 3. Advice to a dying Person, which is a Form of assisting Persons at the Hour of Death, bearing St. *Anselm's* Name in certain Manuscripts. 4. A Poem in Hexameter and Pentameter Verses, on the Contempt of the World, which altho' printed under this Archbishop's Name; yet does not bear it in the Manuscripts, but that of *Bernard of Cluny*, and in another, that of *Roger Monk of Bec*: This Poem is follow'd by two other very short Pieces on the same Subject, which appear to be written by the same Author. 5. A Collection of 21 Meditations on different Subjects. 6. Seventy four Prayers. 7. A Psalter in Honour of the Virgin *Mary*; that is to say, certain Stanza's of Hymns on the Psalms of her Office, with other entire Hymns for the Canonical Hours, and the Festivals of the Blessed Virgin. This Piece does not bear St. *Anselm's* Name in any Manuscript, and seems to me to be unworthy of so great an Author.

The third Part comprehends St. *Anselm's* Letters distributed into four Books, in the first of which are contain'd those that he wrote whilst he was a simple Monk; which are 77 in Number; in the second, those that were written by him being Abbot of *Bec*, to the Number of 53; in the third, those that he compos'd when Archbishop; and in the fourth, 106 Letters which never were as yet Printed. There are also nine others in the Supplement taken out of Tome IX. of the *Spicilegium* by Father *Luke Dachery*. We shall not here produce the Extracts of all these Letters, it being sufficient to hint, that they are either such as relate to Compliments or particular Affairs, or to Morality and Piety, or to the Monastick Discipline and that of the Churches of England. Besides these Letters but now recited, there are eight others in the ninth Tome of the *Spicilegium*, which are not compris'd in the four Books of Letters belonging to the Works of this Archbishop.

The Works falsely attributed to St. *Anselm* are reserv'd for the Appendix, and the first of these is call'd, *An Illustration or Dialogue concerning Theological Points*; being a Body of Divinity by way of Question and Answer, which bears St. *Anselm's* Name in some Manuscripts, but neither is of his Style, nor conformable to his Doctrine. *Tribemius* attributes a Piece under this Title, to *Honoratus* of *Autun*.

The second is a Dialogue concerning the Passion of our Lord, in which the Virgin *Mary* is introduc'd discoursing with St. *Anselm*: It is a Supposititious Piece and forged at Pleasure.

The third is the Treatise of the Measure of the Cross, which is a Moral Explication of these Words of Jesus Christ: *If any one will follow me, he must deny himself, and take up his Cross*. 'Tis a Book full of very devout Expressions, in which the Author cites St. *Bernard*, and therefore it cannot belong to St. *Anselm*, who died before that Saint was in a Capacity to write.

The fourth is a Treatise of the Conception of the Virgin *Mary*, the Author of which explains the Solemnity of the Festival of the Conception: The State of the Question plainly shews, that this Piece is of a later Date than the Time of St. *Anselm*; since the Author treats of that Festival, which he supposes to be of considerable Antiquity, and yet did not begin to be instituted till St. *Bernard's* Time. There is a certain Manuscript, in which this Treatise is attributed to *Herveus*, a Monk of the Monastery founded by *Ebbô*, in the Village of *Dol* near *Bourges*, who liv'd in the XII. Century.

The fifth is another Tract in the same Festival of the Conception of the Virgin *Mary*, which is more visibly spurious.

The sixth is an History of the Passion of St. *Guigner* and his Companions, which is rather a Romance, than a pious and true Narration.

The seventh is a small Tract on the Monastick Stability, of which St. *Anselm* may well be reputed to be the Author.

The eighth is a Dialogue about Matters of Religion between a Christian and a Jew, compos'd by *Gislebert* a Monk of *Westminster*, and dedicated to St. *Anselm*.

The ninth is another Dialogue of the same Nature, compos'd by the Abbot *Rupert*.

The tenth is a Collection of certain useful Sentences, that are attributed to St. *Anselm* and which are very suitable to his Genius, as well as two other small Tracts that follow them.

The last is a Fabulous Relation of two Miracles falsely ascrib'd to St. *James* the Apostle.

This Edition does not contain the Treatise of the Sacrament of the Altar, imputed in some Manuscripts to St. *Anselm*, which cannot be his, in regard that it comprehends certain Extracts of the Book of Divine Offices, by the Abbot *Rupert*; and which belongs to *William* of St. *Thierry*; according to the Manuscript of *Longpont*, under whose Name it was printed in the *Bibliotheca Ordinis Cisterciensis*. Neither do we find in the same Edition, the Treatise of the Parts and Actions attributed to God, which are extant among St. *Bonaventure's* Works, and among the Supposititious Works of St. *Augustine* and St. *Jerome*; because it does not bear St. *Anselm's* Name in any Manuscript, no more than the Tracts of the Image of the World, that are inserted among the Works of *Honoratus* of *Autun*, and of which the Authors are unknown.

We do not meet with any Ecclesiastical Writers before St. *Anselm*, who wrote after so Scholastick a Manner, nor who have started so many Metaphysical Questions, and argu'd so Subtly, as he has done: He is also the First who compos'd long Prayers in Form of Meditations: His Letters are Written in a plainer Style, but they are less Accurate: His Exhortations are simple Homelies, full of Mystical Notions, in which there is not much Eloquence, and very little Morality. He does not seem to have been well vers'd in positive Divinity, nevertheless he had perus'd St. *Augustine's* Works, and took out of them many Principles; which he makes use of, in his Theological Ratiocinations.

There are two Gothic Editions of his Works, viz. one A. D. 1491. at *Nuremberg*, and the other at *Paris* in 1544 and 1549. They were also publish'd at *Venice* in the last of these Years, and at *Colea* in 1573. Father *Picard* a Regular Canon of St. *Victor* at *Paris*, set forth an Edition much larger than the former, printed at *Colea* in 1612. Some time after, Father *Theophilus Renaudens* a Jesuite caus'd one to be printed at *Lyons* in 1630. And at last Father *Gerberon* a *Benedictin* Monk of the Congregation of St. *Maur*, publish'd a new Edition much finer and more correct than the preceding, printed at *Paris* in 1675. which is a signal Proof of his accurate Industry and sound Judgment, whose Merit is well known in the Commonwealth of Learning.

To St. *Anselm's* Works are annex'd those of *Eadmar* a Monk of *Canterbury* and his Pupil; the first of which is the Life of his Tutor, written very largely, and in a very plain Style.

Eadmar  
St. An-  
selm's Pu-  
pil.

The second is call'd, *The History of Novelties*, and divid- ed into six Books, of which the first four contain a Relati- on of the Contests which St. *Anselm* had with the Kings of England about the Affair of the Investitures, and of the Persecutions he suffer'd upon that Account; and the two last, the History of the Transactions in the Church of *Can- terbury* under *Radulphus* his Successor, who was translated from the Bishoprick of *Rocheſter* to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, five Years after St. *Anselm's* Death; and govern'd that Church till A. D. 1122.

The third is a Treatise of the excellent Qualities of the Virgin *Mary*, in which he extols her Nativity, Annuncia- tion, Assumption, the Love that she had for her Son, and the Advantages she procur'd for Men, and ends with a Prayer made to her.

The fourth is a particular Tract of the four Cardinal Virtues observable in the Blessed Virgin.

The fifth is a Discourse of Beatitude, or rather of the State of the Blessed in Heaven, which he had heard deliver'd by St. *Anselm*.

The sixth is a Collection of divers Similitudes and Com- parisons that were taken out of St. *Anselm's* Works, or which he had heard from his Mouth.

The same Author likewise compos'd a Treatise of Ec- clesiastical Liberty, and wrote the Lives of St. *Wilfrid* and St. *Dunstan*, and many Letters which are not as yet pub- lish'd. He died A. D. 1121.



## C H A P. X.

## Of the Ecclesiastical Writers of the eleventh Age, who compos'd Treatises of Church-discipline or Commentaries on the Holy Scripture.

Ecclesiastical Authors of the Eleventh Century.

Burchard Bishop of Worms.

Godhard Bishop of Hildesheim.

Gosbert Abbot of Tergernsee.

Guy Aretin Abbot of La Croix-St. Leufroy.

Aribo Archbishop of Mentz.

Berno Abbot of Richenaw.

Bruno Bishop of Wurtzburg.

**B**urchard a German by Nation, a Monk of Lobes and the Pupil of Olbert Abbot of Gemblours, succeeded Franco his Brother in the Bishoprick of Worms A. D. 996. He assisted in the Council of Seligenstadt held by Aribo Archbishop of Mentz in 1023. and died in 1026. He compil'd by the Help of Olbert a Collection of Canons, distributed according to the Matters, and divided into twenty Books, call'd *Decrees*; in which he has copy'd out and follow'd Regino, but he has added many Things and even committed several Errors which Regino never fell into. This Work was printed at Colen in 1548. and the next Year at Paris, and at the end of it are annexed the Canons of the Council of Seligenstadt: 'Tis compos'd very Methodically, but without a due Choice of Matters; being full of Quotations of the false Decretals of the Popes, according to the Custom of that Time.

Godhard Abbot of Tergernsee, and afterwards Bishop of Hildesheim, flourish'd in the Beginning of the Century: Father Mabillon has publish'd five Letters written by him, in the fourth Tome of his *Analec'ta*.

Gosbert was in like Manner Abbot of Tergernsee, and Contemporary with the former: Four of his Letters are publish'd by Father Mabillon in the same Place.

Guy Aretin, Abbot of La Croix-St. Leufroy, flourish'd from the Year, 1020. to 1030. and compos'd a new Method for learning the Art of Musick, call'd *Micrologus*. He likewise wrote a Treatise of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ against Berenger, which is lost.

Aribo, the nineteenth Archbishop of Mentz is plac'd by Sigebert and Trithemius in the Class of the Ecclesiastical Writers: The former only attributes to him a certain Commentary on the fifteen gradual Psalms, and the other adds a Letter to Berno Abbot of Richenaw and some others. He says, That that Archbishop held in the Year, 1023. a Council at Seligenstadt, with Burchard Bishop of Worms, and the other Bishops and Abbots of his Province, in which were made very useful Constitutions, and that he died under the Emperor Conrad, A. D. 1031.

Berno, a Monk of St. Gall, and afterward Abbot of Richenaw, who was contemporary with, and the familiar Friend of Aribo, is likewise recommended by Trithemius, as a Person not inferior in Knowledge to any of the learned Men of his Time: He was more especially Skillful in the Art of Musick, which was much study'd in that Age, and compos'd many Works, as well in Prose as in Verse. We shall here mention those that Trithemius has taken Notice of, viz. A very elegant and useful Treatise, dedicated to Pilgrin Archbishop of Colen, but he does not declare the Subject of it; A Treatise of Musical Instruments, Another of the coming of our Lord, dedicated to Aribo; A Book of the Office of the Mass; one of the Fast of the Ember-Weeks; one of *Saturdays* Fast; another of the Time of the Monocord, and several Letters. But Trithemius has forgotten to make Mention of the Life of St. Ulric Bishop of Augs-burg, compos'd by that Author, and set forth by Surius; as also of the Life of St. Meinrad Bishop and Martyr, which Father Mabillon publish'd in the second Part of the fourth *Benedictin* Century. Berno flourish'd under the Emperor Henry II. from A. D. 1014. till 1048. when he died, after having been Abbot during forty Years.

His principal Work is the Treatise of the Office of the Mass, in which he enquires into the Authors of it, and the Original of the Prayers of which 'tis compos'd. He supposes that in the Beginning of the Church, the Mass was not said after the same Manner as afterwards; that in the time of the Apostles, no other Prayers were recited but the Lord's Prayer; and that for that Reason St. Gregory Pope ordain'd, that the Lord's Prayer should be said over the Host after the Consecration: He adds, That the Canon was not made by a single Person, but that it was augmented from Time to Time; and that the other Parts of the Mass were establish'd by Popes or by Holy Fathers: Lastly, he Treats in particular, of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and of the Times when it ought to be said; of the Solemnity of the Octaves, of Pentecost, of the Office for the *Sundays* in *Advent* and other *Sundays* of the Year; of that of the four *Ember-Weeks*; and of other Rubricks of the Divine Office. But it ought to be observ'd, That in this Book, as in other Works of the same Nature, divers Matters of Fact are advanc'd, without sufficient Ground, and even contrary to the Truth of History.

Bruno Duke of Carinthia, Uncle by the Father's side to the Emperor Conrad II. was ordain'd Bishop of Wurtzburg.

A. D. 1033. He wrote a Commentary on the *Psalms*, taken out of the Works of the Fathers, with certain Annotations on the Songs of the *Old* and *New Testament*, on the Lord's Prayer, and on the Apostles Creed, as also on those of St. Athanasius and St. Ambrose. He died, A. D. 1045. being crush'd to Pieces under the Ruins of a House which fell upon him, as he accompany'd the Emperor Henry III. who was going to carry on the War in Hungary. His Works were printed at Colen in 1494. and inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* of the Colen Edition, and in the last at Lyons.

Father Mabillon, publish'd in the first Tome of his *Analec'ta*, the Preface belonging to a Treatise of Prayers, taken out of the Fathers, and dedicated (as he proves it) to the Empress Agnes, the Wife of the Emperor Henry III. with certain Extracts of these Prayers, copied out of an ancient Manuscript of the Monastery of St. Arnulphus at Metz. The Preface bears the Name of John Abbot, and Father John Mabillon shews that he is apparently John surnam'd Jeanne-Jacques by reason of the lowness of his Stature, who was sometime Monk of St. Benignus at Dijon, afterwards Prior of Fecamp under William Abbot, and at last nominated Abbot of Erbesstein, by the Emperor Henry III. A. D. 1052. This Author makes Mention in that Preface, of four or five other Treatises which he had compos'd, viz. one of the Institution of a Widow; another of the Life and Manners of Virgins; a third of Alms; and a fourth of the Heavenly Jerusalem or of Contemplation; the greatest part of those Prayers are also contain'd in the Book of Meditations, attributed to St. Augustine.

There are likewise in the same Place, Letters of the same Abbot, written by him when Prior of Fecamp: In the two first, he consents to the Proposal made him by William I. King of England, that Vitalis Abbot of Bernay, should be translated to Westminster, and that his Brother Osbern, a Monk of Troarn, should be substituted in his Room. By the third, directed to Warin Abbot of St. Arnulphus at Metz, he requires a certain Monk, nam'd Benedict, to be sent back again, who was then in his Abby.

Warin returns him a large Answer, complaining of his rude Manner of treating him; and declares, that the Monk whom he demanded, did not belong to his Jurisdiction, by Reason that after having taken upon him the Vows of Religion, under the Abbot William, he was plac'd by that Abbot in the Monastery of Gorze, which he left to go to that of St. Arnulphus, with the Permission of the Priors of Gorze, and even of the Abbot William.

Warin had for his Successor, in the Abby of St. Arnulphus at Metz, William, who was chosen by Manasses Archbishop of Rheims, to be also Abbot of St. Remy. William wrote to Pope Gregory VII. about the Affair, protesting that he did not accept of that Office without a great deal of Reluctancy and Trouble, and so much the rather, in regard that he had no prospect of discharging it with good Success, by Reason of the Irregularities that were then Predominant among the Monks of that Monastery. The Pope did not approve that this Abbot should have the Government of two Abbies at once, yet left him at Liberty to retain both: However, William himself soon repented of having had any Thing to do with the Abby of St. Remy; for Manasses, who only nominated him, to the End that he might Pillage the Revenues of the Monastery, with greater Impunity, perceiving that the Abbot would not suffer it, treated him so Rudely, that at last he forc'd him to leave it; which William did, severely reprehending the Archbishop for his Tyrannical and Exorbitant Practices, as it appears from the two Letters which he wrote to him, publish'd by Father Mabillon in the first Tome of his *Analec'ta*, with that Abbot's Letter to Pope Gregory VII. four other Letters, and a Prayer by the same Author.

At the same time liv'd Robert de Tombalene, a Monk of Robert St. Michael's Mount, and afterwards Abbot of St. Vigor at de Tombalene, who wrote a Commentary on the Canticles, the *Prologomena* to which, was set forth by Father Mabillon, with an Extract of the Work it self, in the first Tome of his *Analec'ta*. This Extract makes it appear, that the Commentary is not much different, from that which is attributed to St. Gregory the Great. There is a certain Manuscript without the Author's Name, in the Library of St. Victor, and it was publish'd under that of Radulphus Abbot of Fontanelle, by Father Homy of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine, and printed by Peter de Laune at Paris, A. D. 1684. This good Friar apparently had no other

Ecclesiastical Authors of the Eleventh Century.

John Abbot of Erbesstein.

Warin Abbot of St. Arnulphus at Metz.

William Abbot of St. Arnulphus at Metz.

Robert de Tombalene Abbot of St. Vigor at de Tombalene.



other Ground to ascribe it to *Radulphus* than the Letter *R*. which he found in his Manuscript, which denoted *Robert* and not *Radulphus*, as he imagin'd.

*Anselm* born at *Mantua*, of a noble Family, succeeded *Alexander II.* in the Bishoprick of *Lucca*: He receiv'd the Investiture from the Emperor *Henry IV.* and repenting of it some Time after, retir'd to the Monastery of *Cluny*, from whence he was re-call'd by *Gregory VII.* to govern his Bishoprick in 1073. Afterwards he was always extremely wedded to the Interests of that Pope, and stiffly maintain'd them against the Emperor and *Guibert* the Antipope: He wrote two Letters against *Guibert*, in Vindication of *Gregory*; and made a Collection of certain Sentences, to shew, That Kings have no Right to be Masters of the Church-Revenues. These Works are referr'd to by *Canisius*, in the sixth Tome of his Antiquities. To him likewise is attributed a large Collection of Canons, of which there are some Manuscript Copies in divers Libraries; but although it bears his Name in a certain Manuscript of the *Barberine* Library, nevertheless 'tis not probable that it belongs to him; as *M. Balusius* has prov'd, in his Preface to *Antonius Augustinus*: 1. Because the Author of the Life of *St. Anselm*, *Sigebert* and *Trithemius*, have not made any Mention of it. And 2. By reason that it contains some Decrees of Popes of a later Date than the Year 1086. which was that of the Death of *Anselm* of *Lucca*. *Antonius Augustinus* ascribes this Collection to *Hildebert* Archbishop of *Mass*.

Some in like Manner attribute to *Deus-dedit* Cardinal, with the Title of *St. Eudoxia*, who liv'd under Pope *Victor III.* a Collection of Canons divided into four Books, a Manuscript Copy of which is to be found in the *Vatican* Library. There is also a third Collection, bearing the same Date, and call'd *Polycarp*; which was made by another Cardinal of the Church of *Rome*, nam'd *Gregory*, and of which there are some Manuscript Copies in *M. Colbert's* Library.

*Benno*, a German by Nation and Cardinal of the Church of *Rome*, was one of the greatest Adversaries of Pope *Gregory VII.* and wrote two Books against him, full of Reproaches and Invectives, which are compris'd in the Collection made by *Orthuinus Gratius*, under the Title of *Fasciculus rerum Expetendarum & Fugendarum*, printed in 1535. and afterwards set forth by *Goldastus*, in a Collection of Pieces, compos'd in Favour of the Emperor *Henry IV.* against Pope *Gregory VII.*

In this Collection, by *Goldastus*, is likewise contain'd a Treatise by *Conrad*, Tutor to *Henry* Bishop of *Utrecht*, call'd, *An Apology for preserving the Unity of the Church, and putting an End to the Schism between the Emperor Henry, and Pope Gregory VII.* which is also printed among the *Historians of Germany*, publish'd by *Freherus*. Indeed some Persons attribute this last Treatise to *Waldramus* of *Naumburg*, and others to *Weneric* Bishop of *Verceil*, who flourish'd at the same Time. *Trithemius* says, That the latter wrote a Letter in the Name of *Thierry* Bishop of *Verdun*, to Pope *Gregory VII.* in which he admonishes him, as a Friend, of every Thing that (as it was reported) he had acted or alledg'd contrary to the Rules of Justice and Equity, and conjur'd him to put a Stop to those Irregularities.

*Ulric*, descended of a Family of *Bavaria* at *Ratisbon*, a

Monk of *Cluny*, made a Collection of the ancient Customs of that Abby, in three Books, at the Request of *William* Abbot of *Richenaw*. This Collection is contain'd in the fourth Tome of the *Spicilegium*, by Father *Luke Dachery*.

*Bernard*, a Monk of the same Monastery, was likewise employ'd about that Time, in writing on the same Subject; but his Work being not so compleat, Father *Dachery* did not think fit to publish it. But Care must be taken, not to confound this Writer with another of the same Name, a Monk of *Corbey* in *Saxony*, who flourish'd some Time after, and wrote a Book in a very fine Style, but very Satirical against the Emperor *Henry IV.* which is mention'd by *Sigebert* and *Trithemius*.

There is also a third Author of the same Name, who was a Clerk of the Church of *Utrecht*, and wrote Commentaries on *Theodulus's* Eclogues, of which Mention is made in *Sigebert*. To these Authors may be added, certain Writers, of whom *Trithemius* takes particular Notice, and whose Works are not as yet come to our Hands.

*Ægilnothus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, famous for his extraordinary Charity, to whom he attributes a Piece in Commendation of the Virgin *Mary*, certain Letters and some other Works, flourish'd (according to his Account) under the Emperor *Conrad the Young*, A. D. 1030.

*Campanus* of *Lombardy*, a renown'd Philosopher and Astronomer, was a Man of a subtle Wit, an able School-Divine, well vers'd in the Holy Scriptures, and very skilful in the Art of Arithmetick, more especially in the Calendar: For all these commendable Qualities are attributed to him by

*Trithemius*, who adds, That he set forth many small Tracts, the reading of which might be of very great Use to Bishops, and among which he himself had perus'd the following, viz. A Treatise of Ecclesiastical Numbers; another of the Manner of making Sun-dials; a Calendar; and some other Astronomical Works. This Author flourish'd, A. D. 1040.

*Sigebert* of *Gembours*, makes mention of another Scholastic Philosopher of *Liege*, nam'd *Franco*, who liv'd in the Year 1060. He compos'd a Treatise of the Quadrature of a Circle; another of the Calendar; and certain Commentaries on the Holy Scripture.

*Berthorinus*, Abbot of the Monastery of *Mount Cassin*, joyn'd (according to *Trithemius*) the Study of the Holy Scriptures, to that of the profane Sciences: and after having written, before his Conversion, certain Works relating to Philosophy and Physick; he compos'd, when Abbot, divers Discourses for the Edification and Benefit of the Monks under his Tuition.

*Erard*, a *Benedictin* Monk, spent his Time in preaching and explaining the Holy Scriptures. *Trithemius* met with certain Commentaries on the whole Pentateuch, and divers Homilies written by this Author.

*Adam*, Abbot of *Perseme*, in the like Manner apply'd himself to Preaching: He compos'd many Discourses for the Use of his Monks, with several Homilies on the Festivals of the Saints, and on different Subjects, and some Commentaries on the Holy Scripture, of which *Trithemius* makes mention, without having seen any of them. *M. Balusius* has publish'd in the first Tome of his Miscellaneous Works, five Moral Letters by this Author, directed to *Osmund* a Monk of *Mortemer* in *Normandy*.

## C H A P. XI.

### Of the Authors who wrote Ecclesiastical History; or the Lives of the Saints in the Eleventh Century.

*Megenfroy*, *Meginfroy* or *Meginfred*, a Monk of *Fulda*, wrote in the Year 1010. the Life of *St. Emmeran* Bishop of *Ratisbon*, directed to *Arnulphus* Count of *Vogburg*, and afterwards a Monk of the Monastery of *St. Emmeran* at *Ratisbon*, and referr'd to by *Canisius* in the second Tome of his Antiquities. The same Author compos'd twenty four Books of History, cited by *Trithemius*, in the Life of *St. Maximus* Bishop of *Mentz*, which is in *Sirius's* sixth Tome, Nov. 18.

*Syrus*, a Monk of *Cluny*, and the Pupil of *St. Maiol*, wrote about the same Time, the Life of his Tutor, dedicated to *Odilo*; which was publish'd with great Accuracy by Father *Mabillon*, in the fifth *Benedictin* Century, and with *Aldebaldis's* Addition by the *Bollandists*, in May 11.

*Osbern* or *Osbert*, a Monk and Chanter of *Canterbury*, wrote in the Beginning of the Century, the Life of *St. Dunstan*, with those of *St. Odo* and *St. Alphegus*. The Life of *St. Dunstan*, was set forth by *Sirius*, under the Name of *Osbert*; but that Narration belongs to a later Author, since

it was written in *Lanfranc's* Time, and Father *Mabillon* has publish'd the genuine Life of that Archbishop of *Osbert*, as well as that of *Odo* of *Canterbury*, and the Life of *St. Alphegus*, referr'd to by *Bollandus* in April 19.

*Tangmarus*, a Saxon, Dean of *Hildesheim*, compos'd a Relation of the Life of *St. Bernard* Bishop of that City, and his Pupil, which was publish'd by *Browerus* and afterwards inserted in the last Edition of *Sirius*. This Author wrote in the Year of our Lord, 1023.

*Arnold*, a Canon of *Herfeldt*, wrote the Life of *St. Godard* Abbot of that Monastery, who succeeded *St. Berard* in the Bishoprick of *Hildesheim*, A. D. 993. and died in 1036. This Author was *Megenfroy's* Pupil, and had seen *Godard* in his Youth, but he was inform'd of the Passages which he committed to Writing, by a certain old Man, who had spent his Life with that Saint. This Piece was set forth by *Browerus*, with the Life of *St. Bernard*; and these two Lives may well be reckon'd among the most accurate, that were written at that Time.



**Eberard**, made a Narrative of the Life of **St. Harvic** Bishop of **Salzburg**, who died in 1024. He was his Pupil, and wrote a little while after his Death. This Work is inserted in the second Tome of **Canisius's** Collection.

**Arnulphus**, Count of **Vogburg**, and afterwards a Monk of **St. Emmeran** at **Ratisburg**, compos'd two Books in Form of Dialogues, of the Life of **St. Emmeran**, which were publish'd by **Canisius**, in the second Tome of his Antiquities.

**Erchinfroy** or **Erchinfred**, Abbot of **Melck** in **Austria**, wrote *A. D.* 1012. an Account of the Life and Miracles of **St. Colman** a **Scottishman**, which is cited by **Lambecius**, in his *Bibliotheca*.

**Trithemius** reckons among the Ecclesiastical Writers, of the Beginning of this Century, **Rupert**, Abbot of **Mount Cassin**, whom he much commends; and says, That he compos'd certain Sermons, and some other Works, but we have none of his Pieces in our Possession.

**Diethmar**, the Son of Count **Sigefroy** and of **Cunegonda**, born in **Saxony**, *A. D.* 976. became a Monk of **St. John** at **Magdeburg**, under the Abbot **Riddagius**; was afterwards made Provost of **Walbeck**, and at last Bishop of **Mersburg** after **Wigbert**, whom he succeeded in 1008. He compil'd seven Books of Historical Chronicles, containing the Occurrences and Transactions under five Emperors, viz. **Henry the Fowler**, the **Otbo's**, and **Henry II.** He intermixes in several Places, a great deal of Ecclesiastical History, and enlarges in the Commendation of many reverend Bishops of his Time. He died, *A. D.* 1018. and his Works were printed at **Frankfort** in 1580. as also among those of the **German Historiographers**.

**Ademar**, or **Aimar de Chabaneis**, a Monk of the Monastery of **St. Cibar** at **Angoulesme**, compos'd a Chronicle of the History of **France**, which begins *A. C.* 829. and ends in 1029 with a Catalogue of the Abbots of **St. Martial** at **Limoges**; publish'd by **Father Labbe** in his second Tome of his Library of Manuscripts: He took care to procure the Writing of the Treatise of Offices by **Amalarius**, and some attribute to him the Supplement to that Work, relating to **St. Benedict's** Rule, which **Father Mabillon** inserted in the second Tome of his *Analec'ta*, tho' 'tis more probable, that it belongs to **Amalarius** himself. We have also **Ademar's** Acrostick Verses, taken out of an Extract that he made of the Lives of the Popes, attributed to **Damasus**, by the Order of **Robin** Bishop of **Angoulesme**, which Verses were set forth by the same Father, in the first Tome of his *Analec'ta*. **M. Balusius** has in his Possession, a certain Manuscript Letter, (which he has thought fit to communicate to us) written by this Author, after the first Council of **Limoges**, held *A. D.* 1029. in which he assisted, and directed to **Jourdain** Bishop of **Limoges**, and to the Abbots and other Clergymen of that Diocese; as also, to **Arnulphus** Bishop of **Rhodesz**, to **Thierry** Bishop of **Metz**, to the Empress **Cunegonda** the Widow of the Emperor **Henry**, to **Conon**, to the Emperor **Conrad**, to **William** Duke of **Guienne**, and to Pope **John**, who is branded therein, as a brutish, cholerick and cruel Man. In this Letter, he relates many remarkable Passages that happen'd during the Contest about the Apostolical Dignity of **St. Martial** Bishop of **Limoges**, chiefly in Reference to **Benedict**, Prior of the Abby of **St. Michael** at **Cluse** in **Piemont**, who a little after the Session of that Council, being arriv'd at a certain Place call'd **La Buffiere**, in the Province of **Limousin**, on the Festival of the Nativity of the Virgin **Mary**, publickly gave it out, with a great deal of Heat and Passion, That **St. Martial** ought not to be reckon'd among the Apostles, and that the Inhabitants of **Aquitaine**, who look'd upon him to be so, were Asses and ignorant Doters.

This being reported in the Monastery of **St. Cibar**, by two Monks of that Convent, who were then present at **La Buffiere**, made so great an Impression on the Minds of the Friars, that all, except **Aimar** and **Gosbert**, imbrac'd **Benedict's** Opinion; which gave Occasion to this Letter, in which **Aimar** treats **Benedict** very rudely, who nevertheless, (even according to **Aimar's** Report) was a judicious and learned Person, but extremely Passionate, if we may give Credit in that Respect to **Aimar**, in his own Cause: For it appears, That the Prior inveigh'd against him most bitterly at **La Buffiere**; accusing him as the Author of that Innovation, which he also term'd Heresie, and affirming that 'twas devis'd by him through Flattery, on purpose to gratifie the Abbot and Monks of **Limoges**, who had corrupted him with Money. **Benedict** added, That having disputed with **Aimar** upon that Point, he had baffl'd him, and had oblig'd him to hide himself. Now **Aimar** wrote this Letter to refute the Prior's Arguments, declaring what had pass'd at **Limoges**, between himself and **Benedict**, whom he censures as an Impostor and profligate Wretch: He likewise gives an Account of the Contest that he had at **Angoulesme**, about the same Affair, with a certain Monk of **Ravenna**, being also an able Physician, nam'd **Bernard**, who came to **La Buffiere** with **Benedict**, and had learnt of him all the Arguments against the Apostleship of **St. Martial**. But it ought

to be observ'd, that this **Benedict** said, That the Dispute could not be determin'd, but by a general Council of **France** Ecclesiastical and **Italy**, held in the Pope's Presence: *Quis ausus fuit Martialem predicare Apostolum, nisi prius grande generale Concilium omnium Episcoporum Gallie & Italiae, una cum Papa Romano congregaretur, & ibi esset probatum, si est aut non est Apostolus?* And so far as much as **Benedict** and a Monk of **St. John d'Angely**, who likewise maintain'd that **St. Martial** was not an Apostle, peremptorily declar'd, That 'twas requisite to make Application to the Pope, and to cause the Monks of **St. Martial** to be forbidden to place him in the Rank of the Apostles for the Future; **Aimar** replies, 'That if the Pope being surpris'd by the Insinuations of envious Persons, should publish such a Prohibition, it would be more expedient to obey God, rather than the Pope of Rome; by Reason that no Pope has receiv'd Power to absolve or excommunicate the Holy Apostles, nor to hinder the Church of God from doing well and speaking well: *Si Papa subripiente consilio invidorum hoc prohibet, tamen obedire oportet Deo magis quam Papae Romano. Nulli etenim Papae data est potestas vel absolvendi, vel excommunicandi sanctos Apostolos Dei, vel prohibendi Ecclesiam Dei a benefaciendo & recte loquendo.* **M. Balusius** has also divers Sermons made in the Council of **Limoges**, relating to the Apostolical Dignity of **St. Martial**, which he supposes to have been written by the same Author.

**Hugh**, Archdeacon of **Tours**, compos'd a small Dialogue between him and **Fulbert** Bishop of **Chartres**, containing an Account of an Apparition of **St. Martin**, seen by **Hervicus** Treasurer of **St. Martin** at **Tours**, in the Beginning of this Century, which was publish'd by **Father Mabillon**, in the second Tome of his *Analec'ta*.

**Odoran**, a Monk of **St. Peter le Vif** at **Sens**, is the Author of a Chronicle, which begins at the Year of our Lord 675. and ends in 1032. It was printed in **M. Du Chesne's** Collection of the Historians of **France**.

**Anselm**, a Canon of **Liege**, and afterwards Dean of **Namur**, wrote upon the Request of **Ida** Abbess of **St. Cecilia** at **Colen**, the History of the Bishops of **Liege**, from **St. Theodard**, who liv'd, *A. C.* 666. to **Wafon**, who succeeded **Richard** in 1041. and died in 1048. It was set forth by **Chapeville**, in his Collection of the Historians of **Liege**.

**Hermannus**, surnam'd **Contractus**, by reason that his Limbs were shrunk, the Son of the Count of **Weringen** in **Suevia**, who was educated in the Monastery of **St. Gall**, and afterwards became a Monk of **Richenaw**, flourish'd in the middle of the Century, and acquir'd much Skill in divers Languages and liberal Sciences. He compos'd a Chronicle, from the Creation of the World, to *A. D.* 1052. continu'd by **Bertulphus** of **Constance**, to 1065. It was printed at **Frankfort**, in 1583. in the Edition of the Historians of **Germany**, by **Pistorius**; in **Canisius's** Antiquities; and in the last *Bibliotheca Patrum*. To him are also attributed certain Anthems in Honour of the Virgin **Mary**; the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*; and some other \*Proles or Hymns. **Trithemius** likewise makes Mention of the following Works of this Author, viz. a Treatise of the Science of Musick; another of the Monochord; three Books of the Manner of making the Astrolabe; one of its Usefulness; one of the Eclipses; another of the Calendar; a Treatise of the Quadrature of a Circle, one of the Discord of Sounds, one of Physiognomy; and the Lives of divers Saints.

**Glaber Radulphus**, a Monk of **St. German** at **Anxerre**, and afterwards of **Cluny**, compos'd in the Year 1045. an Ecclesiastical History dedicated to **Odilo** Abbot of **Cluny**, which begins at *A. C.* 900. and ends in 1045. This History being very accurately and faithfully written, was printed at **Frankfort** in 1596. and is contain'd **M. Du Chesne's** Collection of the Historians of **France**. He likewise wrote the Life of **St. William** Abbot of **St. Benignus** at **Dijon**, who died in 1031. which is referr'd to by **Bollandus** in *Jan. 1.*

**Gualdo**, a Monk of **Corbie**, wrote in Verse, the Life of **Anscharius** Bishop of **Hamburg**, dedicated to **Adalbert** Archbishop of **Bremen**. It is compriz'd in the second Tome of the fourth *Benedictin* Century, by **Father Mabillon**.

**Drogo**, a Monk of **St. Winock**, wrote the Lives of **St. Gonselena**, of **St. Oswald** King of **Northumberland**, and of **St. Winock**: The two first of these are in **Surius**, and the third is only to be found in Manuscript.

**Helgaud**, a Monk of **Fleury**, wrote *A. D.* 1050. the Life of King **Robert**, which was publish'd from a Manuscript of **Petrus Pitheus's** Library, and printed at **Frankfort** in 1596. also in **M. Du Chesne's** Collection of Historians.

**Witpo** or **Wippo**, Chaplain to the Emperor **Henry III.** compos'd a Relation of the Life and Actions of **Conrad** the Father of that Emperor, which is extant in the Collection of the German Writers by **Pistorius**, and a Panegyrick on **Henry III.** which is printed in **Canisius's** Antiquities.

**Eberwin** or **Everwin**, Abbot of **St. Maurice** at **Tolen** in the Diocese of **Trier**, wrote the Life of **St. Simeon** of **Syracuse** a Monk of **Trier**, who died in 1035. which was dedicated to **Poppo** Archbishop of that Diocese, and is referr'd to by **Surius** in *June 1.*

Everhelm



- Evershelm**, Abbot of *Aumont* in *Hainaut*, is the Author of a Life of *St. Poppo* Abbot of *Stavelo*, his Kinsman, cited by *Surius* and *Bollandus* in *Jan. 25*. He was made Abbot of *St. Peter* at *Ghent* in 1058. and died in 1069.
- Guibert**, Archdeacon of *Toul*, wrote the Life of Pope *Leo IX.* publish'd by *Father Sirmond*, *A. D. 1615.* and afterwards by *Henschenius* and *Papebrochius* in *April 19.*
- Metellus**, Abbot of *Tergensee*, who flourish'd, *A. D. 1060.* left certain Eclogues call'd *Quirinales*, in Commendation of *St. Quirinus* Martyr, which were set forth by *Canisius* in the first Tome of his *Antiquities*.
- Folcard**, a Monk of *St. Berthin*, wrote the Life of that Saint, and that of *St. Omer*, both referr'd to by *Surius*, viz. one in *Sept. 5.* and the other under the 15th. Day of the same Month.
- Gerard**, a *Sacristain* or *Vestry-keeper* in the Monastery of *Corbie* in *Saxony*, and afterwards Abbot of *St. Vincent* at *Laon*, is the Writer of the Life of *St. Adelard*, publish'd by *Surius* and *Bollandus* in *Jan. 2.* and by *Father Mabillon* in the first Tome of the fourth *Benedictin* Century. He was afterwards made Abbot of *St. Medard* at *Soissons*, *A. D. 1077.* but being turn'd out thence, by *Queen Bertha*, he founded the Monastery of *Sauvemajour*, in the Diocess of *Bordeaux*, where he died in 1095.
- Willrau**, a Monk of *Fulda*, and afterward Abbot of *St. Peter* at *Mersburg*, compos'd an *Epithalamium* on the Marriage between *Jelus Christ* and the Church, or a Commentary on the *Canticles*, contain'd in three Books in Prose, intermix'd with Verse: A certain Piece of that Nature, was publish'd under his Name in *Latin*, and in the old *Gaulish* Language, printed at *Leyden*, *A. D. 1598.*
- Urfio**, Abbot of *Aumont* in *Hainaut*, wrote an Historical Account of the Life of *St. Marcellus* Pope, *A. D. 1080.*
- Desiderius**, Abbot of Mount *Cassin*, who was afterwards Pope, under the Name of *Victor III.* being as yet Abbot, compos'd a Dialogue concerning the Miracles of *St. Benedict*.
- Paul**, a Canon and Provost of *Benrieden*, wrote in the End of the Century a Treatise of the Actions of Pope *Gregory VII.* and the Life of *St. Herlucia* a Virgin, both publish'd by *Gretzer*, printed at *Ingolstadt*, and inserted in the Collection of the *Bollandists*.
- Conrad**, a Monk of the Monastery of *Bruvilliers*, in the Diocess of *Colen*, wrote in the Year 1096. the Life of *St. Wolpelin* Abbot of that Abby, deceased in 1091. which was publish'd by the *Bollandists*, in *April 22.*
- Gaufroy** or *Geffrey de Maletierre*, a *Norman* Monk, compos'd an History of the Conquests of the *Normans*, under the Dukes *Robert Guiscard* and *Roger*, in *Apulia*, *Calabria* and *Sicily*. It was printed separately, and is also to be found among the *Historians of Hispania Illustrata* printed at *Frankfort*, *A. D. 1603.*
- William** of *Apulia*, wrote in the End of this Century, at the Request of Pope *Urban II.* a Poem on the same Subject, printed separately at *Paris* in 1652. as also in the Collection of the *Historians of Normandy*, by *Du Chesne*, and in that of the *Historiographers of Sicily*.
- Bertulphus** or *Bernulphus*, a Priest of *Constance*, besides a Continuation of *Hermannus Contractus's* Chronicle, and an History of his Time, from the Year 1053. to the End of the Century, compos'd a Treatise, to shew that the Company of excommunicated Persons ought to be avoided, and some other small Tracts in Favour of Pope *Gregory VII.* which were publish'd by *Gretzer* in his *Apology* for *Cardinal Bellarmine*, printed at *Ingolstadt*, *A. D. 1612.*
- Nalgod**, a Monk of *Cluny*, wrote in the End of the Century, the Lives of *St. Odo* and *St. Mayol*, set forth by the *Bollandists*, and by *Father Mabillon*.
- Othlo**, a Priest and Monk of the Monastery of *St. Boniface* in *Germany*, is the Writer of the Life of that Saint, sometime Archbishop of *Mentz*, which was publish'd by *Canisius* in the fourth Tome of his *Antiquities*, and by *Father Mabillon* in the second Tome of the third *Benedictin* Century.
- Ingulphus**, an *Englishman* of the City of *London*, the Son of an Officer belonging to King *Edward's* Court, apply'd himself to Study in his Youth, and acquir'd so great Reputation for his Learning, that *William Duke of Normandy* passing into *England*, brought him back with his Retinue, and made him his principal Minister. He undertook a Journey to the *Holy Land*, *A. D. 1064.* and returning from thence was admitted into the Monastery of *Fontanelle*, of which he was made Prior soon after, in 1076. *William I.* King of *England* invited him over into this Kingdom, and constituted him Abbot of *Croyland*, from whence he had turn'd out *Wulketulus*; but *Ingulphus* obtain'd Leave to retire from that Abby, the History of which he compos'd from *A. C. 664.* to 1091. It was publish'd by *Sir Henry Savil* in 1596. and among the *Historians of England*, printed at *London* in 1684. This Author died in 1109.
- Thierry**, a Monk of *St. Peter* at *Ghent*, and afterwards Abbot of *St. Trudo* in the Diocess of *Liege*, wrote the Lives of *St. Bavo*, *St. Trudo*, *St. Rumold*, and *St. Landrada*, publish'd by *Surius*. *Trithemius* says, That he was likewise the Author of a Life of *St. Benedict*, and of an Account of the Translation of his Body, with certain Letters and some other Works in Prose and Verse: He flourish'd, *A. D. 1050.*
- Alphanus**, a Monk of Mount *Cassin*, afterward Abbot of *St. Benedict* at *Salerno*, and at last Bishop of that City, from *A. D. 1057.* to 1086, is reputed to be the Author of divers Hymns, in Honour of the Saints, and of some other Poetical Pieces, referr'd to by *Ughellus*, in the second Tome of *Italia Sacra*.
- Amatus**, a Monk of Mount *Cassin* and Bishop in *Italy*, although 'tis not known of what Church, compos'd four Books in Verse, dedicated to Pope *Gregory VII.* on the Actions of the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and eight Books of the History of the *Normans*, which (as they say) are kept in Manuscript in the Library of Mount *Cassin*. He likewise wrote certain Poems in commendation of *Gregory VII.* on the twelve precious Stones of the Breast-plate of the High Priest; and on the Celestial *Jerusalem*.
- Hepidannus**, a Monk of *St. Gall*, who flourish'd during a considerable Part of this Century, is the Author of a Chronicle which begins at the Year 709. and ends in 1044. It is inserted in the Collection of the *Historians of Germany*, set forth by *Goldastus*, and printed at *Frankfort* in 1606. He likewise compos'd two Books of the Life and Miracles of *St. Wiborad*, dedicated to *Ulric* Abbot of *St. Gall*, which are referr'd to in the same Place, as also by the *Bollandists*, and by *Father Mabillon*. They were written, *A. D. 1072.* and this Author might be dead in 1080.
- Marianus**, a *Scotishman* or *Irishman* by Nation, related to venerable *Bede*, (if we may give Credit to *Matthew of Westminster*) was born *A. D. 1028.* turn'd Monk in 1052. pass'd over into *Germany* in 1058. was ten Years a Recluse in the Monastery of *Fulda*, and spent the rest of his Life at *Mentz*, where he died in 1086. He compos'd a Chronicle from the Creation of the World; to *A. D. 1083.* in which he follow'd *Cassiodorus*. It was continu'd to the Year 1200. by *Dodechin* Abbot of *St. Dyfiod* in the Diocess of *Triers*, and was printed in several Places, more especially among the *German Historians*.
- Lambert** of *Aschaffenburg* assum'd the Monastick Habit, in the Convent of *Hirsfeldt*, under the Abbot *Meginher*, *A. D. 1058.* was ordain'd Priest the same Year, by *Lupold* Archbishop of *Mentz*; and soon after undertook a Journey to *Jerusalem*, without the Knowledge of his Abbot, from whence he return'd the next Year. He compos'd an Historical Chronology from the Creation of the World, to *A. D. 1077.* which is only an Epitome of general History to the Year 1050. and a particular History of *Germany* of a competent Largeness, from that Year to 1077. This Work is written with a great deal of Accuracy and Elegancy, and there are few *German* Authors. who have shew'd so much Politeness in their Writings. It was printed separately at *Tubingen* in 1533. and also among the *Historians of Germany*.
- Adam**, a Canon of *Bremen*, in the Year 1077. compos'd four Books of the Ecclesiastical History of his Church, in which he treats of the Original and Propagation of the Christian Religion in the Diocesses of *Bremen* and *Hamburg*, from the Time of the Emperor *Charlemagne*, to that of *Henry IV.* He has annex'd at the End, a small Treatise of the Situation of *Denmark* and other Northern Kingdoms; of the Nature of those Countries, and of the Religion and Manners of the Inhabitants. The whole Work was publish'd by *Lidembrocus* and printed at *Hanaw*, *A. D. 1579.* at *Leyden* in 1595. and afterwards at *Helmstadt* in 1670.
- Sigebert** and *Trithemius* make mention of a *Benedictin* Monk of *Mets*; nam'd *Albert*, who wrote certain Works, and among others, an History of his Time, dedicated to the Bishop of that Diocess.
- They likewise take Notice of another *Benedictin* Monk of the City of *Rheims*, nam'd *Anselm*, who compos'd an Historical Account of the Voyage of Pope *Leo IX.* to *France*; of the Synods he held there; and of other Affairs transacted by him in that Kingdom. This Piece was call'd *Pope Leo's Itinerary*.
- Lastly, *Sigebert* mentions a Monk of *St. Amand*, known by the Name of *Gonthier* or *Gonthierius*, who wrote in Verse a Relation of the Martyrdom of *St. Syricius*.



## An Addition of some other Authors who wrote in the Eleventh Century.

Ecclesiastical Authors of the Eleventh Century.

Warman Bishop of Constance  
Britwol Bishop of Winton.  
Ingelran Abbot of St. Riquier

**W**Arman, Count of Dillingen, afterwards Monk of Richenaw, and at last Bishop of Constance, wrote the Life of St. Pyrrin. He died A. D. 1034.

Britwol, a Monk of Glassenbury, and afterwards Bishop of Winchester, wrote the Life of St. Egwin, sometime Bishop of the same Diocese, and died A. D. 1045.

Ingelran, a Monk, and afterwards Abbot of St. Riquier, compos'd a Poem divided into four Books, the first of which contains the Life of St. Riquier; the second and third, a Narrative of the Miracles wrought by him; and the fourth, an Account of the Translation of his Body to the Abby that bears his Name. Some Part of this Poem is inserted in the second Century of the Acts of St. Benedict. This Author likewise wrote certain Copies of Verses, in Honour of St. Wilfrid Archbishop of Sens, and died A. D. 1045.

Bertha a Nun of Willock.

Bertha or Bertrada, a Nun of Willock near Bonne, the Sister of St. Wolphemus, Abbot, wrote the Life of St. Adelaida, the first Abbess of her Monastery.

Gislebert Monk of St. Germain at Auxerre.

Gislebert, a Monk of St. Germain at Auxerre, under the Abbot Winneman, compos'd in the middle of the Century, two Books of the Life of St. Romanus, an Abbot near Auxerre, who is suppos'd to be the same that gave Food to St. Benedict, in the Grot of Subiaco, of which St. Gregory makes mention in his Dialogues. This Piece is contain'd in the first Benedictin Century by Father Mabillon.

Diodericus Monk of Hirsfeldt.

Diodericus, a Monk of Hirsfeldt, compos'd in the Beginning of this Century, a Treatise concerning the Translation of St. Benedict, which is inserted in the second Part of the fourth Benedictin Century. Tritheimus falsely attributes to him the Book of the Translation of St. Benedict, which belongs to Adalbert a Monk, who died A. C. 853.

Andrew Monk of Fleury.

Andrew, a Monk of Fleury, or of St. Benedict on the Loire, wrote in like Manner, at the same Time, a Treatise of the Miracles of St. Benedict.

Odo Monk of St. Maur des Fosses.

Odo, a Monk of St. Maur des Fosses, completed a Relation of the Life of Count Burchard, A. D. 1058.

Bovo Abbot of St. Berthin.

Bovo, Abbot of St. Berthin, compos'd a Narrative of the Canonization of that Saint, and dedicated it to Guy Archbishop of Rheims. He died A. D. 1069. four Years after having resign'd the Government of his Abby.

Gislebert Monk of St. Amand.

Gislebert, a Monk of St. Amand, wrote four Books containing an Account of the Life of that Saint, and of the Destruction of his Monastery. He died A. D. 1095.

St. William Abbot of Richenaw.

St. William, Abbot of Richenaw, compos'd two Books concerning the Customs of that Abby, with some other Works, and died in 1091.

Alberic Cardinal.

Alberic, Cardinal, is the Author of the Life of St. Dominick of Sora. See Petrus Diaconus, Cap. 12.

Josfald Monk of Cluny.

Josfald, a Monk of Cluny, wrote the Life of St. Odilo his Abbot. Father Mabillon designs to publish it more entire,

than it has been hitherto, in his sixth Benedictin Century.

Wolferus, a Monk of Altaich, or rather Canon of Hildesheim, left a Relation of the Lives of St. Gombier the Hermit, and of St. Godehard Bishop of Hildesheim. Some have attributed this Piece to Albuin, by whom it was only revised.

Gotzelin, a Monk of St. Berthin, and afterwards of Canterbury, compos'd an History of the Life and Miracles of St. Augustine the Monk, who converted the English Nation to Christianity, with an Account of the Translation of the same Saint, made in his Time. William of Malmesbury extols him as the most famous Writer in England after Bede; especially in Reference to the History of the Saints of this Kingdom, many of whose Lives were written by him.

Peter, a Monk of Maillezais, wrote the History of his Monastery, and dedicated it to Goderan Abbot of the same Convent, who flourish'd, A. D. 1070.

William, a Monk of Chiuffi in Tuscany, wrote the Life of St. Benedict Abbot of that Monastery in the Eleventh Century.

Raimond, a Monk of St. Andrew at Avignon, compos'd a Relation of the Life of St. Pons Abbot of the same Monastery, in the End of that Century.

Heymo, a Monk of Richenaw, is the Author of the Life of St. William of Richenaw, which is refer'd by Tritheimus to the Year of our Lord 1091.

Gerard de Venna, a Monk of La Chaise Dieu, left a Relation of the Life of St. Robert Abbot and Founder of that Abby. This Life not being well Written, was revised by Marbodius Bishop of Rennes.

Egerward, a Monk of St. Burchard at Wurtzburg, made some Additions to the Life of the same Saint.

Gautier or Gasterius, wrote the Life of St. Anastasius the Hermit, who liv'd in the End of this Century, in the Diocese of Rieux.

Grimaldus, compos'd an Historical Account of the Translation of St. Felix, sometime Pupil to St. Emilian the Patron of Spain.

Rudolf, a Monk of La Chaise Dieu, wrote the Life of St. Adelelm the third Abbot of that Monastery, and afterwards Prior of St. John at Burgos in Spain, who died in the End of the Century.

Notcherus, Abbot of Hautvilliers in the Diocese of Rheims, compos'd in the End of the Century, a Narrative of the Translation of St. Helena, made in his Monastery.

W. a Monk of Walsor, wrote in the middle of the Century, the Life of St. Hiltrada a Virgin, which is inserted in the second Part of the third Benedictin Century.

Ecclesiastical Authors of the Eleventh Century.

Wolferus Canon of Hildesheim.

Gotzelin Monk of Canterbury.

William of Malmesbury.

Peter Monk of Maillezais.

William Monk of Chiuffi.

Raimond Monk of St. Andrew at Avignon.

Heymo Monk of Richenaw.

Gerard de Venna Monk of La Chaise Dieu.

Egerward Monk of St. Burchard at Wurtzburg.

Gautier Monk of Rieux.

Grimaldus Monk of Hautvilliers.

Rudolf Monk of La Chaise Dieu.

Notcherus Abbot of Hautvilliers.

W. Monk of Walsor.

To these may be added the nameless Writers of the same Age, who compos'd the following Works, viz.

Nameless Authors.

**T**HE Life of St. Gildas, surnam'd the Wise, Abbot of Ruis in Bretagne, written by a nameless Author, who likewise makes mention of certain Saints of the same Monastery, who liv'd in his Time.

This Piece is extant in the Library of Fleury, and in the first Benedictin Century.

A Relation of the Miracles of St. Martin at Vertou, in the same Benedictin Century.

The Life of St. Bertulf Abbot of Renty, written by a Monk of Blandin at Ghent, in the first Part of the third Benedictin Century.

The Life of St. Chafer, which is contain'd in the same Volume.

The Author of the Chronicle of St. Vincent at Vulturno in Italy, in M. Du Chesne's third Tome.

The Life of St. Odilia Abbess of Homburg in Alsatia, which is to be found in the second Part of the third Benedictin Century.

An Account of the Miracles of St. Hubert Bishop of Liege, written by a certain Monk of St. Hubert's Abby in Ardenne, which is in the first Part of the fourth Benedictin Century.

A Narrative of the Translation of St. Cuthbert Bishop, by a Monk of Durham, contain'd in the second Part of the same Volume.

Another of the Life and Translation of the Body of St. Hugh a Monk of St. Martine at Antun, by a nameless Monk. This Piece is in the fifth Benedictin Century.

Another of the Translation of the Body of St. Valery of Flanders, to the Abby that bears his Name, by a Monk of the same Convent, which is inserted in the same Volume.

The Life of St. Simon Count of Crepy, who died, A. D. 1082. written by a nameless Author of the same Time.

The Life of St. Simeon an Armenian Hermit, at Padolirona near Mantua.

The Life of St. Thierry Abbot of St. Hubert, in the Forest of Ardenne. who died, A. D. 1037.

The Life of St. Richard Abbot of St. Vannes, decess'd in 1046. which was written by a certain Monk of the same Monastery, a little after his Death; although that Abbot was never seen by him.

The Life of St. Tarn Abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles, who died, A. D. 1048.

The Life of St. Bononius Abbot of Lucedia in Piemont, who died in 1026. written by one of his Pupils.

A Relation of the Life and Miracles of St. Gautier or Gauterius, the first Abbot of St. Martin at Pontoise, decess'd in 1094. which was compos'd in like manner by one of his Pupils.

The Life of St. Guy Abbot of Pomposa in Italy, who died, A. D. 1046.

Nameless Authors.



## C H A P. XII.

## Of the Greek Ecclesiastical Writers who flourish'd in the Eleventh Century.

Of the  
Greek  
Ecclesiasti-  
cal Writers  
in the  
Eleventh  
Century.

**L**EO, the Grammarian, is the Author of a Continuation of *Theophanes's* Chronicle, from A. C. 813. to 1013. which is apparently the Year when he Wrote. It was publish'd by Father *Combesis*, in the End of *Theophanes's* Works; printed at Paris, A. D. 1655.

*Alexius*, a Monk of the Monastery of *Studa*, and afterward Patriarch of the Church of *Constantinople*, which he govern'd from A. D. 1025. to 1043. compil'd certain Constitutions relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs, which are referr'd to in the Collection of the *Greek* and *Roman* Law.

*Eugesippus*, an Author very little known, compos'd a Geographical Treatise of the Holy Land, publish'd by *Allatius*, in his Collection of the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers. 'Tis reported that this Treatise was written about A. D. 1040.

*Theophanes the Ceramean*, Archbishop of *Tauromenium* in *Sicily*, liv'd in this Century, although we have already made mention of him in the ninth Age, to which he is generally referr'd; but two Reasons invincibly prove, that he belongs to the Eleventh: The first is, That he cites *Metaphrastes*; and the other, that 'tis express'd, that the Homily on *Palm-Sunday*, was made in the Prefence of King *Roger*, who could be no other Person but the Count of *Sicily*, whom he Styles King and Emperor, according to the usual Custom of the *Greeks*. The Homilies attributed to *Gregory the Ceramean*, in some Manuscripts, are not different from those of *Theophanes*; insomuch, that it must either be an Error of the Transcribers, or else *Theophanes* had two Names. Let the Case be how it will, these Homilies being 72 in Number, are not Contemptible; in which the Author explains the literal Sense of the Gospels, and afterwards enlarges on the Allegorical and Moral; but his Style is Plain, without any Manner of Ornament, or Loftiness of Expression.

At the same Time likewise flourish'd *Nilus Doxopatrius*, *Archimandrita* or Abbot of his Convent; who by Count *Roger's* Order, compos'd a Treatise of the five Patriarchal Sees, and of the Archbishopricks and Bishopricks under their Jurisdiction; as also concerning the Institution of those Patriarchs, their Ranks, Titles, Rights and Privileges. *Allatius* has produc'd many Fragments of this Piece; and it was publish'd entire by M. *Le Moine*, in the first Tome of his sacred Varieties.

*Nicetas Pectoratus*, besides the above-mention'd Treatise against the *Latins*, compos'd also some other Works; particularly a Treatise of the Soul, of which *Allatius* set forth a Fragment; an Hymn in Honour of St. *Nicolas*; and another in Commendation of *Metaphrastes*, referr'd to by the same Author.

*Michael Psellus*, descended of a noble Family in *Constantinople*, made so great Progress in the Studies to which he apply'd himself, that he became one of the most learn'd Men of that Age: He exercis'd the Office of a Senator, and was highly esteem'd by the Emperors: He was one of those Deputies whom *Michael* surnam'd *Stratioticus*, sent to *Isaac Comnenus* to treat with him, and the latter made Use of his Service against *Michael Cerularius*; afterward he was chosen Tutor to *Michael Ducas*, who was advanc'd to the imperial Throne by his Means, A. D. 1071. He follow'd the Fortune of that Emperor; and was oblig'd, when the same Prince was depos'd in 1078. to retire to a Monastery, where he died a little while after. The *Greek* Writers, who succeeded him, made many *Encomium's* on his profound Skill in all Manner of Sciences; more especially *Allatius*, who gives us a very particular Character of him; and says, that none in that Age nor in the following, was ever more Successful in inventing; nor observ'd a more regular Method; nor wrote with so admirable Eloquence, and discuss'd Matters so thoroughly; and lastly, that there is no Science, in which he has not written Commentaries, Abridgments or Treatises.

The printed Works of *Michael Psellus*, are a Paraphrase in Verse on the *Canticles*, dedicated to *Nicephorus Botaniata*, which was publish'd in *Greek* by *Meursius*, and printed at *Leyden*, A. D. 1617. and in *Latin* at *Venice* in 1573. A Commentary on the same Book, taken out of St. *Gregory Nyssen*, St. *Nilus* and St. *Maximus*, which is extant among *Theodore's* Works: Certain Questions about the Holy Trinity and the Person of Jesus Christ, printed as *Augsburgh* in 1608. Iambick Verses on the Vertues and Vices: Moral Discourses on *Tantalus* and *Circe*, and an Allegory of *Sphinx*, printed at *Basil* in 1545. A Dialogue of the Ope-

ration of Demons, printed at *Paris* in 1615. with M. *Gaulmin's* Notes: A *Scholion* or brief Commentary on the *Chaldaick* Oracles, printed at *Venice* in 1593. and at *Paris* in 1599. A Treatise of the Faculties of the Soul, printed at *Paris* in 1624. with *Origen's Philocalia*: Annotations on some Passages of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, publish'd by *Bililius*: The Panegyrick and Office of *Simeon Metaphrastes*, set forth by *Allatius*: And a Treatise of the seven general Councils, publish'd with several Poems by M. *Bosquet*, and printed at *Paris* in 1632. Not to mention a great Number of Books of Philosophy and Commentaries on *Aristotle*, which bear the Name of this Author, and are printed at several Places.

*Allatius* likewise produces a Catalogue of many other Treatises written by *Psellus*, which are only extant in Manuscript; particularly, a Treatise against *Eunomius*; an Epitome of the Books of *Moses*; certain Theological Questions; divers Tracts about the Mysteries of Jesus Christ; many Homilies and some Letters: Notwithstanding the high Esteem that *Allatius* has for this Author, his Works do not appear to be very useful, nor very learn'd, in respect of Ecclesiastical Matters, nor very eloquent. Although he was no Friend to *Michael Cerularius*, yet he maintain'd the Opinion of the *Greeks* concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost.

In the End of the same Century liv'd *Simeon* surnam'd the *Simeon Younger*, Abbot of the Monastery of *Xerocerce*, of whom the Younger, we have 33 Orations or Sermons on Faith, and on the Christian and Monastick Manners; as also a Pious Treatise *Xerocercall'd*, *Hymns of Divine Love*, in measur'd Prose, which the *Greeks* call *Politick* or *Blank Verse*; and 228 moral Maxims, which *Jacobus Pontanus* translated into *Latin* from the Manuscripts of the Libraries of *Bavaria* and *Augsburg*, and caus'd to be printed at *Ingolstadt* in *Quarto*, A. D. 1603. *Allatius* gives us a Catalogue of 79 Homilies, 58 Hymns, and some Instructions by this Author, with the Titles and Beginnings of them: Of the Homilies there are only fifteen among those of *Pontanus*, and of the Hymns there are twenty, which *Pontanus* has not publish'd, no more than the Instructions of which he makes Mention. These Works are full of Moral and Ascetick Precepts; but there are also certain Maxims of the *Hesychasts* or Quietists: So that perhaps it may not be amiss, here to shew after what Manner he lays down those Principles of Quietism, in his third Discourse of Prayer.

'In the first Place, (says he) three Things are to be practis'd, in Order to attain to what you desire, viz. the Contempt of all rational and irrational Creatures, Mortification, and a pure Conscience, free from all Manner of Passions and particular Interests. Afterwards sitting alone in Tranquility in a Corner of your Cell, do what I am now about to tell you: Keeping your Door shut, lift up your Mind above all Vanities; that is to say, above all temporary and transitory Things, and bowing your Head to your Belly, hold your Breath; seek your Heart in Mind: At first you'll find thick Darkness, but by continuing this Practice Day and Night, you will discover Wonders and meet with endless Consolation: For when the Mind has once found out the Place of the Soul, it clearly perceives Things which it never comprehended before; it discerns Air round about the Heart, and becomes altogether Luminous and full of Wisdom: And when a Man is arriv'd to that Height of Perfection, if any evil Thought intervenes, it is expell'd and immediately disappears, before it can make any Impression; so that the Mind being exasperated drives away the Devil: You may learn the rest with God, by preserving Jesus Christ in your Heart.

This is the Model of Quietism fram'd by that Monk, who talks of nothing for the most part in his System of Divine Love, but Divine Illuminations and Lights, Divine Unions, Essential Unions with God; the Transformation of our Members into those of Jesus Christ, and other Matters of the like Nature. However it must be acknowledg'd, that otherwise the Works of this Author are full of most excellent Maxims, solid Principles, and very useful Instructions for promoting the Spiritual Life. There are also two other small Tracts by the same Author, viz. one of the Alteration and Impressions which the Elements make on the Bodies and Souls of Men; and the other, of the Manner of God's Omnipresence in all Places, and how his Light is dispers'd every where. The same Method of Writing, and the same Principles are observable in these Pieces:



But *Simeon* was cast into Prison in the End of his Life, for reproving the Emperor too freely (as some say) or as others will have it, upon account of his Erroneous Doctrines. He is also reputed to have first broach'd the Error of those Greek Monks, who imagin'd, that the Light which appear'd on Mount *Tabor*, was the uncreated and Eternal Light of the Divine Majesty; and that all Happiness consisted in the Contemplation of it.

*John*, Archbishop of *Euchaïta* in *Paphlagonia*, compos'd in the Middle of this Century, certain Poetical Pieces in Iambick Verse, on the principal Histories of the Festivals of the Year, printed at *Eton*, A. D. 1610. As also a Relation of the Lives of *St. Eusebius* and *St. Dorotheus* the Younger; some Extracts of which are produc'd by *Allatius*, in his Book of the Agreement of the Greek and Latin Churches, concerning Purgatory.

*Joannes Thraceſius Scylitzes*, † *Curopolata*, who flourish'd under *Alexis Comnenus*, wrote a Continuation of *Theophanes's* History, from the Year 813. to 1081. when *Alexis Comnenus* was advanc'd to the imperial Dignity. It was printed at *Venice* in *Latin*, of *Gabius's* Translation; and *Peter Goar* publish'd it in *Greek*. at the end of *Cedrenus's* Chronicle, part of the same History by *Scylitzes*, which begins at A. D. 1057. and ends in 1081.

*Georgius Cedrenus*, a Monk, flourish'd in like manner in the end of the Century, and wrote Annals or an Epitome of History, from the beginning of the World to the Year 1057. It is only a Collection of divers Authors, more especially of *George the \* Syncellus*, whose Chronography he copied out from the Creation of the World, to the Reign of *Diocletian*; of *Theophanes*, from *Diocletian* to *Michael Curopolata*; and of *Joannes Thraceſius Scylitzes*, afterward *Curopolata*, to his Time. In a word, his whole History is taken out of the Works of several Writers, the Extracts of which he has drawn up without much Judgment or Skill, in the Art of Critick. These Annals were translated by *Xylunder*, and printed at *Basil*, A. D. 1566. and afterward at *Paris* in the Royal Printing-House, with the Notes of *Fabre* and *James Goar*, in 1647.

*Constantin Lichudes*, who succeeded *Michael Cerularius*, A. D. 1058. in the Patriarchal See of *Constantinople*, compil'd certain Synodal Constitutions, which are contain'd in the Collection of the Greek and Roman Law, as well as a Synodal Decree of *Michael Cerularius* about Marriages, to the seventh Degree of Consanguinity; and some other Fragments of Constitutions by the same Patriarch, relating to forbidden Marriages.

*John Xiphilin*, of *Trebisond* or *Trapezunt*, a Monk of Mount *Olympus*, succeeded *Constantin Lichudes*, A. D. 1066. and died in 1078. We have still in our Possession his Homily on the Cross, or on the third Week of Lent, cited by *Gretzer*, and certain Decrees about Marriage inserted in the Collection of the Greek and Roman Law. 'Tis also reported, That there are to be seen in some Libraries, certain Homilies by this Patriarch, on all the Sundays of the Year; and some have imagin'd him to be the Author of the Epitome of *Dion Cassius's* History, but the latter assures us himself, that he was his Nephew, and that he compos'd that Abridgment under the Emperor *Michael Ducas*.

*Samonas*, Archbishop of *Gaza*, flourish'd (as 'tis suppos'd) in the End of this Century, and wrote a small Tract in form of a Dialogue, between Himself and a *Saracen*; in which he proves, that the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist, are chang'd into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. This Piece is extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; but 'tis more probable, that that Archbishop did not live till the thirteenth Century.

*Nicolas*, Bishop of *Metone*, is also referr'd to the eleventh Century: He compos'd a Treatise of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, like that of *Samonas*, against those who doubted that the consecrated Bread and Wine, were really his Body and Blood: But there is yet a much greater Probability that this Author belongs to the twelfth Century.

He likewise compos'd three Treatises of the Procession of the Holy Ghost against the *Latins*, of which some Manuscript-Copies (as we are inform'd by *Allatius*) are preserv'd in the *Vatican Library*: His Treatise of the Eucharist is in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

*Theophylact*, Archbishop of *Acria* in *Bulgaria*, flourish'd under the Emperors *Romanus Diogenes*, *Michael Ducas* and *Nicephorus Botaniata*. He took a great deal of Pains in explaining the Holy Scripture, by making an Abridgment of *St. Chrysostom's* Commentaries, and after that manner compos'd his Commentaries on the four Gospels, on the Acts of the Apostles, on *St. Paul's* Epistles, and on four of the lesser Prophets, viz. *Habakkuk*, *Jonas*, *Nahum* and *Hosea*.

These Commentaries were printed in *Latin* at *Paris*, A. D. 1554. and at *Basil* in 1570. The Commentaries on the Gospels were printed in *Latin* at *Antwerp* in 1564. in *Greek* at *Rome* in 1542. and 1568. and in *Greek* and *Latin* at *Paris* in 1562. The Commentaries on the Acts, were printed in *Greek* and *Latin* at *Colem* in 1568. The Commentaries on *St. Paul's* Epistles, were printed in *Latin* at *Rome* in 1469. at *Antwerp* in 1564. at *Colem* in 1531. and at *Paris* in 1552. as also in *Greek* and *Latin* at *London* in 1536. Lastly, The Commentaries on the four lesser Prophets were printed at *Paris* in 1549. and 'tis reported that there is extant an entire Manuscript Commentary on all the lesser Prophets, in the Library of *Augsburg*; *Meursius* has publish'd 75 Letters by this Author in *Greek*, printed at *Leyden* in 1617. which were afterward translated into *Latin* by *Marinerius*, and printed at *Colem* in 1622. *Gretzer* likewise set forth under *Theophylact's* Name, a Discourse of the Cross, and *Father Pontin* another Treatise, which is an Institution dedicated to *Constantin Porphyrogeneta*. *Joannes Vedes* has cited certain Passages of the same Archbishop, relating to the Procession of the Holy Ghost, against the *Latins*; and 'tis reported that there is to be seen in the Library of the Duke of *Bavaria*, a Manuscript Treatise by him, concerning the Differences between the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and a Discourse on the Emperor *Alexis Comnenus*. *Theophylact's* Commentaries are very useful for the Literal Explication of the Holy Scriptures.

*Nicetas Serron*, a Deacon of the Church of *Constantinople*, and afterwards Archbishop of *Heraclea*, Cotemporary with *Theophylact*, wrote a Commentary on *St. Gregory Nazianzen's* Homilies, which is inserted in *Latin* among the Works of that Father: To him likewise is attributed a *Catena* on the Book of *Job*, printed in *Latin* at *Venice* in 1587. and at *London* in 1637. which nevertheless may be rather appropriated to *Olympiodorus*, than to this Author; but 'tis probable that the Commentary on the Poems of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, printed at *Venice* in 1563. under the name of *Nicetas the Paphlagonian*, belongs to this *Nicetas* of *Heraclea*.

*Nicolas*, surnam'd the Grammarian, chosen Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in the Year 1084. wrote a large Letter to the Emperor *Alexis Comnenus* to prove, that 'tis not lawful to take away Bishopricks from the Metropolitans. He likewise made certain Constitutions about Marriage, which are to be found with this Letter, in the Collection of the Greek and Roman Law.

*Peter*, Deacon and *Chartophylax* or Keeper of the Records of the Church of *Constantinople*, made, A. D. 1090. Chartophylax, his brief Answers to certain Cases that were propos'd to him: They are in like manner compris'd in the Collection of the Greek and Roman Law.

Among all these Authors may be reckon'd, a certain Jew of *Africa*, nam'd *Samuel* of *Morocco*, converted to the Christian Religion; who compos'd a small Tract to prove, that the Messiah was come; in which he gives us to understand, that he wrote a thousand Years after the Destruction of the Temple of *Jerusalem*: This Piece was printed at several Times separately, and is extant in some Collections of Authors.

## C H A P. XIII.

### Of the Councils held in the Eleventh Century.

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HAVING already given an Historical Account of divers Councils, treating of other Ecclesiastical Affairs transacted in this Century, we shall now

proceed to do the same Thing, in reference to those of which we have not hitherto had Occasion to make Mention.

Of the Councils held in the Eleventh Century.

The



# The Councils of France.

**I**N the Year of our Lord, 1017. certain concealed Hereticks were discover'd, who spread abroad detestable Doctrines and committed no less infamous Actions; and this Discovery was first made by a Norman Lord nam'd *Arefastus*: He had a Clergyman in his House, who going to Orleans to hold Conferences with the learn'd of that City, met two other Clerks, one nam'd *Stephen*, Professor of School-Divinity in St. Peter's Monastery, and the other *Lifoius*, Clerk of the Convent of St. Croix, who were then in great Repute for their Learning and Piety. He convers'd with them for some Time, till they communicated their Errors to him, and afterward returning to Normandy, acquainted his Patron with their Tenets, who disclos'd the matter to Duke Richard. Whereupon the Duke gave Notice of it to King Robert, and at the same Time sent *Arefastus* with his Chaplain in order to discover and convict the Hereticks. *Arefastus* pass'd through Charters, to know of *Fulbert* what Measures were most expedient to be taken in this Case; but not meeting with him, he consulted *Evrard*, a Doctor of Divinity and Prebend of the Church of Chartres, who advis'd him to give himself up to Prayer, to receive the Holy Communion, and to fortify himself every Day with the Sign of the Cross, before he enter'd into Conference with those Hereticks; not to contradict what he heard them say, and feigning to be their Disciple, to make a Discovery of all their Errors. He follow'd this Advice, and having associated himself with them several Times, was inform'd by them, ' That they did not believe that Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, nor that he died for the Salvation of Mankind, nor that he was bury'd and rose again: And that they maintain'd, That Baptism did not procure the Remission of

' Sins; that the Consecration by the Priest did not constitute the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord; and that it was unprofitable to make Prayers to the Holy Martyrs and Confessors. Afterward *Arefastus* having interrogated them about the Salvation which they hop'd to be partakers of, they inform'd him, that at certain Hours of the Night, they were wont to meet together in a particular Place, every one being furnish'd with a Lamp, where after having invoc'd the Demons, they perpetrated infamous Villanies, and even burnt the Children born of their incestuous Copulations, whose Ashes they reserv'd to be given to sick Persons as a kind of Viaticum.

King Robert being arriv'd at Orleans with some Bishops, caus'd this Herd of Miscreants to be apprehended and *Arefastus* among them, by whose Testimony they were convicted, and their Errors were refuted by the Bishops: But upon their Refusal to abjure their Heresy, they were deprived of their Ecclesiastical Habits and all Burnt in a House, except one single Clerk and a Nun, who were converted. These Circumstances are thus related in an ancient History of the Council of Orleans, referr'd to by Father *Luke Dachery*, in the second Tome of his *Spicilegium*; and *Glaber* a Cotemporary Historian, relates them almost after the same Manner as to the Matter of Fact, except that he makes no Mention of *Arefastus*; but he attributes to them some other Errors, viz. ' That they deny'd the Holy Trinity, affirm'd the World to be Eternal, and believ'd that sensual Pleasures are not to be punish'd in the future State, and that good Works are Unprofitable. This Author adds, That the Persons burnt upon that Account, were thirteen in Number:

## The Synod of Arras, held in the Year, 1025.

**S**OME Time after there appear'd in Flanders another Sect of Hereticks, which was likewise condemn'd in a Synod held at Arras, A. D. 1025, on the Festival of Christmas, by Gerard Bishop of Cambray and Arras; for both these Cities had then but one Bishop. Gerard residing some Days in the latter, News was brought him, that certain Persons were arriv'd from Italy, who introduc'd a new Sort of Heresy, which ruin'd the Gospel Ordinances, and the Discipline of the Church; and that these Miscreants making Profession of perfect Righteousness, gave it out, that that alone was sufficient for the Justification of a Person, and that there was no other Sacrament in the Church for the attaining of Salvation.

Upon this Report, Gerard caus'd a strict Search to be made after those, who were suspected to be Maintainers of this Heresy; inasmuch, that they were apprehended by the Governor's Order, and even brought before the Bishop, who being taken up at that Instant with other Affairs, after he had examin'd them for some Time concerning their Doctrine, and perceiv'd them to be in an Error, caus'd them to be confin'd during three Days, and order'd a Fast to be kept the next Day, by the Clerks and Monks who were there Present, that Almighty God might be implor'd to give Grace to those Miscreants to acknowledge their Errors. On the third Day, being Sunday, he held a Synod compos'd of the Abbots, Archdeacons, Monks and other Clergy, and caus'd the Prisoners to be brought forth in the Presence of the People: Then, after having made a Speech to the Assembly, he demanded of the Prisoners, what their Doctrine was, and who were their Teachers: They reply'd, that they were the Disciples of an Italian nam'd *Gandulphus*, who had instructed them in the Commandments of the Gospel, and of the Apostles; that they receiv'd no other Scripture, but that they observ'd that very strictly. The Bishop having heard it reported, that they abhor'd Baptism; that they reject'd the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; that they gave it out, that Penance was altogether unprofitable; that they despis'd the Churches; that they condemn'd lawful Marriages; that they did not acknowledge any Eminency in the Confessors; and that they affirm'd, that none ought to be honour'd except the Apostles and Martyrs; he thought fit to interrogate them, and to give them Instructions about those Points. As to the first, they own'd, ' That their Master had taught them, that provided that they practis'd the Precepts of the Gospel; that they renounced the Vanities of the World; that they did not follow their Passions; that they got their Livelihood by the Labour of their Hands; that they did no Injury to any; and that they exercis'd Charity toward those, who were animated with the same Zeal; it was not necessary to receive Baptism; that if the Performance of these Duties were neglected Baptism would be unprofitable, and that altho' 'twere granted that it had

' some Efficacy; yet it was now become altogether useless and of none Effect for these three Reasons, viz. 1. Upon Account of the irregular Practices and Conversation of the Ministers. 2. Because the Sins which might have been remitted by Baptism, are committed again by Professors during the whole Course of their Lives. 3. In regard that Infants are Baptis'd, who have neither Faith nor Free-will; who cannot desire Baptism, nor know what is meant by Faith or Free-Will; neither can the Profession of others avail them any Thing.

The Bishop reply'd upon that Article, ' That altho' Jesus Christ was perfectly Righteous, yet he condescended to receive Baptism from St. John; That he instituted it for the Regeneration and the Remission of Sins: That in this Sacrament the Holy Ghost operates invisibly in the Soul, what is done outwardly by the Water, on the Body; That altho' it be administer'd by worthy or unworthy Ministers, nevertheless it is always effectual; because it is the Holy Ghost who sanctifies, and the Iniquity of a Man cannot hinder the Effect of the Operation of God: That whilst the Minister outwardly sprinkles the Body, the Soul is inwardly purify'd by the Operation of the Holy Ghost: That afterward Holy Unction is administer'd to the Infant, for its farther Sanctification after Baptism; by Reason that as Sin is remitted by Baptism, so Unction sanctifies the Person after Baptism: That the Imposition of Hands was also added, to procure the Descent of the Holy Ghost: That the necessity of Baptism is prov'd by the Doctrine of the Gospel and of the Apostles: That how Holy or Innocent soever, the Life of a Man may be, yet he cannot be sav'd without receiving this Sacrament: That Baptism takes away both Original and Actual Sins, and re-establishes Man in the same State of Uprightness, in which he was created, altho' it does not render him immortal: That the Example of the Man sick of the Palsy, whom our Saviour cur'd, having regard to the Faith of those Persons, who brought him into his Presence; and that of the Canaanitish Woman, who by Faith obtain'd a Cure for her Daughter, give us to understand, that the Faith of those who present an Infant to be Baptis'd, may stand it in some stead. Lastly, he demanded of them, for what Reason, they express'd so great Contempt of the Sacraments of the Church, who were so punctual in observing the Ceremony of washing their Feet? Neither does he insist less on the second Article, concerning the Mystery of the Eucharist, of which he explains the Effects, proving the real Presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and answering the Objections that was made about the Impossibility, that the same Body should be present in divers Places, to which Purpose he relates a great Number of Miracles.

These Hereticks being convinc'd by his Discourse, acknowledged their Error; and sued for a Pardon: The Bishop



shop gave them some hopes of obtaining their Request, and proceeded to the other Points of Discipline, to which they had no regard, viz. those that related to the Churches, Altars, Sacred Orders, Unction, Exorcisms, Bells and Funeral Rites. After having vindicated the Customs of the Church as to these Matters, he endeavour'd to prove against them, the Usefulness of Penance for the Living, and that of Prayer, good Works and Sacrifices for the Dead. He shews, ' That lawful Marriages is not forbidden by the Ordinances of the Gospel: That the Confessors ought to be honour'd as well as the Martyrs: That the singing of Psalms is not only allow'd of, but also commendable: That a due Veneration ought to be had for the Cross, by referring that Worship to Jesus Christ: That the Use and Adoration of the Images of our Saviour, and of the Saints is profitable; because the Sight of them represents their Actions, and puts us in Mind of their Virtues. He concludes with discoursing of the Usefulness and Distinctions of Sacred Orders, and about the Necessity of the Grace of Jesus Christ.

### The Council of Bourges, held in the Year, 1031.

**A**imo, Archbishop of Bourges, held a Council on the first Day of November, A. D. 1031. in that City, in which assisted the Bishops of Puy en Velay, Clermont, Alby, Cahors and Mande, with the Abbot of Micy and several others. Pope John's 18th. Letter was read concerning the Affair of St. Martial's Apostleship; proper Means were sought for, to put a stop to the Civil Wars and to establish Peace in the Kingdom, and the following Constitutions were redress'd.

The first Ordains, That the Commemoration of St. Martial shall be made among the Apostles, and not among the Confessors.

The second, That the Priest shall not keep the Body of Jesus Christ, consecrated under the same Hosts longer, than from one Sunday to another.

The third imports, That the Bishops shall not receive any Presents upon Account of Ordinations, nor even their Officers, who were wont to take somewhat for Registering the Names of those Persons, who were propos'd for Ordination.

The fourth, That none shall obtain an Archdeaconry, who is not a Deacon.

The fifth, That Priests, who cohabit with their Wives, shall only be Readers or Chanters for the future; and that Deacons and Subdeacons shall not be suffer'd to keep either Wives or Concubines.

The sixth, That the Bishops shall oblige them to take an Oath to that Purpose, at their Ordination.

The seventh enjoins, That all those who are employ'd in the Ministerial Functions, shall have Ecclesiastical Tonsure; that is to say, their Beards shav'd, and the Crown made on their Heads.

The eighth, That the Sons of Deacons and Subdeacons, shall not be admitted into the Clergy.

The ninth, That Slaves shall not be ordain'd Clerks, till they have obtain'd Freedom of their Masters.

The tenth, That such Persons shall not be look'd upon as the Sons of Clergymen, as were born after their Fathers quitted the Ecclesiastical State, and return'd to that of Laicks.

The eleventh, That the Bishops shall declare at the Time of Ordination, that they excommunicate those who shall presume to present to them any Sons of Clergymen or Slaves to be ordain'd, and that Persons under such Circumstances, who have got their Ordination by surprise, shall be depos'd.

Upon the Conclusion of this Discourse, the Hereticks, who were present, declar'd, That they acknowledg'd the Truths, which the Bishop of Arras had explain'd to them; infomuch that a Form of a Confession of Faith contrary to the Errors which were refuted by that Prelate, was immediately drawn up and recited by him and the rest of the Clergy: Afterward they caus'd it to be explain'd in the Vulgar Tongue, by an Interpreter in Favour of these Hereticks, who did not well understand the Latin: Then they approv'd and sign'd it, and were dismiss'd in Peace after having receiv'd Benediction from the Bishop. The said Gerard himself compil'd the Acts of this Synod, and dedicated them to one of his Neighbouring Bishops whose name is mark'd by the Letter R prefix'd at the Beginning of the Epistle which he wrote to him, and who is apparently Reginald of Liege. These Acts were publish'd by Father Luke Dachery, in the thirteenth Tome of his *Spicilegium*, and may well be esteem'd as one of the finest Monuments of those Times.

The twelfth, That nothing shall be exacted for the Administration of Baptism and Penance, nor for burying the Dead; nevertheless that it shall be permitted to receive whatever the Faithful shall think fit to bestow voluntarily upon those Occasions.

The thirteenth Orders, That the Priests shall have the Offerings, and the Funeral Torches, which are presented to them, but that the Paschal-Taper shall remain to give Light to the Altar.

The fourteenth, That Linnen Cloths which have serv'd to cover dead Bodies, shall not be laid on the Altar.

The fifteenth, That no publick Meetings shall be held on Sundays for the Management of Secular Affairs, unless they be call'd to perform Works of Charity, to oppose the Insults of Enemies, in case of Danger, or to transact Business upon some other emergent Occasion.

The sixteenth ordains, That those Persons who leave their Wives, except upon Account of Adultery, shall not marry others as long as the former are living, nor the Women other Husbands in the like Cases.

The seventeenth, That no Man shall take to Wife a Relation to the sixth or seventh Degree of Consanguinity.

The eighteenth, That none in like Manner shall be permitted to marry his Kinsman's Wife.

The nineteenth, That no Man shall give his Daughter in Marriage to any Priest, Deacon or Subdeacon, nor to their Sons.

The twentieth, That none shall marry their Daughters.

The twenty first imports, That Lay-men shall not enjoy Ecclesiastical Benefices.

The twenty second, That Laicks shall not put Priests in their Churches without the Approbation of the Bishop.

The twenty third, That those Ecclesiastical Persons, who renounce their Clerkship or Ministerial Functions, shall be separated from the rest of the Clergy.

The twenty fourth, That Monks, who quit their Habit, shall be depriv'd of the Communion of the Church, till they have resum'd it; and if the Abbots or Monks refuse to re-admit them, they shall reside with the Clerks in Churches or in other Monasteries, wearing the Habit of Monks and observing the Monastick Rule.

The twenty fifth, That neither the Canons nor Monks shall pass from one Church or from one Monastery to another, without a Licence from the Bishop or Abbot.

After the Session of this Synod, Aimo made a Declaration, that St. Martial should be styl'd an Apostle in all the Church-Offices.

### The Council of Limoges held in the Year, 1031.

**T**HE same Question was debated at large in the Council of Limoges, assembled eighteen Days after in the Church of that City, where the greatest Part of the Prelates who had assisted in the Council of Bourges, were present, with Jourdain Bishop of Limoges, Isambert of Poitiers, Arnold of Perigueux, Robon of Angoulesme and some others. There were only two Sessions, viz. the first on the 18th. Day of November, and the other on the 19th. In the former after many Debates, the Apostolical Dignity was confirm'd to St. Martial.

In the second, after having observ'd, that different Customs might be in Use in several Churches, the Constitutions made in the Council of Bourges were read; and the second, concerning the renewing of the Host every Sunday was alter'd, because 'twas judg'd sufficient that they should be renew'd twelve Times a Year. Afterward the Affair of the Abby of Beaulieu was propos'd, which was possess'd by a secular Abbot: He was summon'd to the Synod, and

after he had consented that it should be reform'd according to the Rule, 'twas ordain'd that the Bishop of Limoges should place a regular Abbot therein, before the Festival of Christmas. This gave Occasion to treat of the Monastick Regularity in the Council: The Bishop of Limoges was very well satisfied with the Conduct of the Abbots and Monks of his Diocese, and only complain'd of one Abbot, who had suffer'd a certain Viscount, excommunicated by the Bishop and deceased without Absolution, to be interr'd in his Church: The Abbot vindicated himself; alledging, That it was done without his Knowledge by the Soldiers of that Viscount, who bury'd him themselves; but that as soon as he was inform'd of the Matter of Fact, he caus'd his Corps to be dug up, and to be laid without the consecrated Ground. The Bishop of Cahors related an Accident of the like Nature, which happen'd in his Diocese. Then the Prelates of the Council proceeded to find out Means to oblige the great Lords and Noblemen to make Peace



**Councils held in the Eleventh Century.** Peace one with another, and Excommunication and Suspension from Divine Service were propos'd to that End. The Monks of St. *Martial* had their Custom confirm'd of administering Baptism on the Festivals of *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*; and the Abbots had a Privilege granted them to have a Chaplain and three Deacons assisting at their Celebration of Mass, on the solemn Festivals: The Canons against incontinent Clergymen and Simoniacal Practices were reviv'd; and the time of Ordination was fix'd on the four *Ember-Weeks*. Upon a Remonstrance, that divers Persons excommunicated by their Bishops for notorious Crimes, went to *Rome* and receiv'd Absolution from the Pope; the Bishop of *Puy en Velay* reported, that some Years ago, the Count of *Clermont* being excommunicated by the Bishop, for leaving his lawful Wife to marry another, made a Journey to the Court of *Rome*, where he obtain'd Absolution of the Pope, who had no Notice of the Sentence of Excommunication pass'd against him: That the Bishop having made a Complaint, the Pope return'd for Answer, That he ought to blame himself for what had happen'd; by reason that he never gave him any Information that the Count was excommunicated; the Pope added, That if he had known it, he would have confirm'd the Bishop's Sentence, because he makes Profession to assist his Brethren in every Thing, and not to oppose them; that he should be very sorry, to hear of any Schism or Misunderstanding between him and them; and that therefore he abrogated and made void the Penance and Absolution, which he had granted to that excommunicated Person, by whom he was surpriz'd, and who ought to expect nothing but a Curse, till he has

made Satisfaction and has been duely absolv'd by his Diocesan.

This Narrative makes it appear, That these Sorts of Absolutions were often surreptitiously got of the Popes, as it may be further evinc'd from another Passage of the like Nature, which happen'd at *Angoulesme*; where a certain excommunicated Person, who could not obtain Absolution, by reason that he was unwilling to make Satisfaction, presented to his Bishop a Letter from the Pope, in which he intreated him to admit the said Person to the Penance which he had enjoyn'd: The Bishop, without being surpriz'd, reply'd, That he did not believe that that Order came from the Pope, and that it should not be serviceable to the Offender, who should remain under the Sentence of Excommunication, till he had accepted of, and done the Penance, that should be impos'd on him by himself or by his Archdeacon by his Order. Upon these Considerations, the Bishops unanimously declar'd, That the Pope had indeed a Right to confirm, augment or diminish the Penance enjoyn'd an Offender by his Diocesan, or even to impose it on those whom the Bishops should nominate for that Purpose; but that he had no Power either to impose Penance or to grant Absolution, in respect of an excommunicated Person, without consulting the Diocesan. And that it was his Office, rather to confirm than to disannul the Sentences of the other Bishops; in regard that if the Members ought to follow their Head, the Head also ought to take Care not to oppress the Members: The Acts of this Council are very large, and contain a great Number of Matters of Fact, Authorities and Arguments, relating to the Affair of St. *Martial*, which are of no very great Moment.

### Divers Councils held in France, A. D. 1040.

**Councils held in France.** **M**Any other Councils were conven'd at the same Time in divers Provinces of *France*, particularly in *Aquitaine*, *Burgundy* and *Lyonnois* for the re-establishing of Peace and Church-Discipline. Effectual Means were chiefly sought for therein, to put a Stop to the Civil Wars, publick Robberies and Outrages that were committed, more especially in reference to the Church-Revenues and Clergy. It was ordain'd in all these Councils, that the People should abstain from eating Flesh on *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, and from drinking Wine on *Fridays*; that those who were desirous to be exempted, for some lawful Cause, should be oblig'd to maintain their indigent Persons on those Days; and that in Consideration of this Abstinence, Offenders should be discharg'd from other Penances, provided that they bound themselves by an Oath to observe it. However some Bishops oppos'd this Constitution, and among others *Gerard* Bishop of *Cambray*, who maintain'd, That that Yoke ought not to be laid equally on all People, because there were some who were not able to undergo it, by Reason of the Weakness of their Bodies; neither perhaps did their Transgressions deserve so severe a Chastisement; and there were others, in Respect

of whom, this Satisfaction is not proportioned to the Heinousness of their Offences: That it were more expedient to follow the Canonical Rules in the imposing of Penances; and that much less ought the People to be constrain'd by an Oath to observe this Abstinence; since that were by such Means to expose them not only to the Hazard of breaking a Commandment, but also of incurring Perjury. The same Prelate did not think fit that the Bishops should be concern'd in Military Affairs, and the bearing of Arms; saying, *That it is the Province of Kings to take Cognizance of those Matters, and not that of Clergymen.*

'Tis a Thing very observable, that a great Number of Bodies of Saints and Abundance of Relicks were brought into those Councils, and that 'twas generally believ'd, that many Miracles were wrought therein: There were also held at the same Time divers other particular Councils, either for the Dedicating of Churches, or for the granting of Privileges to Monasteries, or for the determining of private Differences among the Bishops, about the Limits of their Diocesses, or to put an End to other Contests, which are mention'd by the Writers of that Time, but do not deserve to be insist'd upon in this Place.

### The Council of Rheims, held in the Year, 1049.

**Council of Rheims.** **H**Ermar, Abbot of St. *Remy* at *Rheims*, having invited over *Leo IX.* to consecrate his new Church, that Pope arriv'd there in the Month of *October*, A. D. 1049. accompany'd with the Archbishops of *Triers*, *Lyons* and *Bezançon*, and the Bishop of *Porto*, and after having perform'd the Ceremony, and that of the Translation of the Body of St. *Remy* to this new Church, he held a Council therein, which continu'd during some Days: It was compos'd of the Archbishops of *Rheims*, *Triers*, *Lyons* and *Bezançon*; of the Bishops of *Soissons*, *Terouane*, *Senlis*, *Mets*, *Langres*, *Coutances*, *Lisieux*, *Bayeux*, *Auranches*, *Verdun*, *Nevers*, *Angers*, *Nantes* and *Porto*, and of a Bishop of *England*, with divers Abbots and other Clergymen, to the Number of fifty. *Peter* Deacon of the Church of *Rome* open'd the Council, declaring, *That it was requisite to treat about the Reformation of many Abuses which had crept into the Churches of France, particularly Simony, the seizing of Churches by Laicks, forbidden Marriages, the Apostacy of Clerks and Monks, &c.* But above all Things, he admonish'd the Bishops to declare under Pain of an *Anathema*, whether they were ordain'd for Money or otherwise: The Archbishops of *Triers*, *Lyons* and *Bezançon*, protested that they were not, but the Metropolitan of *Rheims* desired Time to return an Answer: Among the Bishops there were only four, who were not able to clear themselves, *viz.* those of *Langres*, *Nevers*, *Coutances* and *Nantes*. The Abbots being ask'd the same Question, many of them protested themselves innocent, and others own'd their Fault by their Silence. The Abbot of *Poitiers* was accused of Incontinency by the Bishop of *Langres*, and not having sufficiently clear'd himself, was depos'd. In the End of this Session,

it was prohibited under the Penalty of an *Anathema* to attribute the Title of Universal Primate of the Church to any but the Bishop of *Rome*.

The next Day, the Archbishop of *Rheims* after having had a private Conference with the Pope and some other Prelates, entreated the Bishop of *Senlis* to speak in his Favour, who accordingly declar'd that the Archbishop was not guilty of Simony; but the Pope order'd that he should clear himself by Oath; whereupon he sued for longer Time, which was granted, on Condition that he should appear in a Council to be held at *Rome* in the middle of *April* in the following Year. The Determination of the Cause that was depending between that Archbishop and the Bishop of *Toul*, about the Abby of *Monstier-Randy*, was referr'd to the next Day. Afterward certain Clerks of the Church of *Tours*, brought an Accusation against the Bishop of *Dol* for assuming the Quality of Archbishop, and withdrawing himself with the seven Bishops of *Bretagne* from the Jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of *Tours*: It was order'd that he should be summon'd to the Council of *Rome*, in the Month of *April* following. Then the Bishop of *Langres* was accused of Simony, of bearing Arms and committing Murders, of tyrannizing over his Clergy, and of perpetrating other more notorious Crimes: One of his Clerks depos'd, that the said Bishop took away his Wife, whom he had whilst he was as yet a Layman, and after having abus'd her, made her a Nun: A certain Priest gave in Evidence, that he caus'd him to be kept in Custody under a Guard and to endure much Hardship, on Purpose to extort Money from him. The Bishop of *Langres* demanded Counsel, and made Application to the Archbishops of *Lyons* and *Bezançon*: The latter



*Councils held in the Eleventh Century.* latter going about to plead for him, falter'd in his Speech, and the other acknowledg'd, that the Bishop had expos'd the sacred Orders to Sale, and exacted a Sum of Money of that Priest, but deny'd that he caus'd him to be mis-us'd.

On the third Day, the Bishop of *Langres* not daring to appear, and being summon'd thrice, and sought for to no Purpose, was at last excommunicated. The Bishop of *Nerzers* own'd, that his Relations had given a Sum of Money for his Bishoprick, but that he was altogether ignorant of what they had done; nevertheless he declar'd, that he design'd to leave it, and even at the same Time laid down his Crozier-Staff at the Pope's Feet, who caus'd him to take it up again, after he had taken an Oath, that that Money was paid without his Knowledge. Then an ancient Copy of a Privilege granted to the Church of *Rheims* was read, which made it appear, that the Abby of *Monstier Randy* belong'd to its Jurisdiction, and it was accordingly adjudg'd to that Church. The Bishop of *Contances* confess'd, that his Brother had laid out a Sum of Money to get him advanc'd to the Episcopal Dignity; but having taken an Oath, that it was done without his Knowledge, he was declar'd innocent. The Bishop of *Nantes* was not so favourably treated; for having own'd that he succeeded his Father in his Bishoprick, after having disburs'd a certain Sum of Money, he was depos'd, and only permitted to exercise the Office of

a Priest. Lastly, a Sentence of Excommunication was denounc'd against the Prelates who were summon'd to this Council but did not appear, and the following Constitutions were agreed upon, viz.

1. That none shall be promoted to Ecclesiastical Dignities, but by the Election of the Clergy and People. 2. That none shall buy or make Sale of the Sacred Orders, Ecclesiastical Offices or Altars. 3. That Laicks shall not retain Spiritual Livings. 4. That none but the Bishop or some Person deputed by him shall be empower'd to levy any Sums of Money within the Precincts of the Churches. 5. That nothing shall be exacted for burying the Dead, or for administering the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. 6. That Clergymen shall not bear Arms, nor go on Warfare. 7. That no Clerk nor Layman shall lend Money upon Use. 8. That the Monks and Clerks shall not quit their Profession. 9. That none shall offer Violence to Clergymen as they are travelling. 10. That there shall not be suffer'd any Manner of Oppression of the Poor. 11. That no Man shall take to Wife any of his near Relations. 12. That it should be prohibited to leave a lawful Wife, in order to marry another. Lastly, all those Persons were excommunicated, who should protect or hold Correspondence with the new Hereticks of *France*, the *Sodomites* and certain Lords, who had contracted forbidden Marriages and assaulted some Bishops and other Clergymen.

### The Council of Tours, held in the Year, 1060.

*Council of Tours.* THE Custom being now introduc'd, that the Councils for the Reformation of Church-discipline, should be held in the Presence, or by the Authority of the Legates of the See of *Rome*; *Stephen* Cardinal and Legate of Pope *Nicholas II.* call'd one *A. D.* 1060. at *Tours*, in which it was ordain'd,

1. That all those Persons who give Money for any Ecclesiastical Dignity, shall be depriv'd of it for ever.
2. That if any Bishop or Patron confer Benefices for Money, the Clerks shall be allow'd to oppose their Proceedings, and to have Recourse to the Arbitration of the neighbouring Bishops; nay, even to appeal from them to the See of *Rome*.
3. That no new Benefice can be sold, nor any Church-Revenues alienated.
4. That none shall purchase any Spiritual Livings of Laymen.
5. That the same Person cannot enjoy two Benefices in different Churches.

6. That the Bishops, Priests and Deacons, who knowing the Prohibition made by Pope *Nicholas*, do not forbear the Exercise of their Ministerial Functions, when they have been engag'd in a scandalous Conversation with Women, or who shall refuse to desist for the future, after having receiv'd Information of that Prohibition, shall be depos'd without a Possibility of Restoration.

7. That Clergymen who bear Arms, shall be depriv'd of their Benefices and Dignities.

8. That Laicks, who presume to sell or dispose of the Church-Revenues shall be excommunicated.

9. That those Men who marry their Kinswomen, or those Women who keep an unchast Correspondence with their Kinsmen, and refuse to leave them, or to do Penance, shall be excluded from the Communion of the Faithful, and turn'd out of the Church.

10. That those Monks who quit the Monastick State, shall likewise be separated from the Communion of the Church as Apostates.

### The Council of Soissons, held in the Year, 1092.

*Council of Soissons.* *Roscelin*, a Clerk of the Church of *Compiègne*, and a very able Logician, gave it out in the End of the Eleventh Century, That the three Divine Persons of the Holy Trinity were three Things: This Opinion was condemn'd in a Council held at *Soissons*, *A. D.* 1092. under *Raynold* Archbishop of *Rheims*, and confuted by *St. Anselm*, by *Ives* of *Chartres*, and even by *Abelard*,

who is reputed to have been his Pupil. *Roscelin* was oblig'd to make an Abjuration of his Error in that Council, but afterward he did not forbear to maintain it obstinately, and for that Reason was banish'd from *France* and *England*. *Theobald*, a Clerk of the Church of *Evampes* likewise wrote a Letter against him, on another Subject, viz. to shew, That the Sons of Priests may be admitted into the Clergy.

### Divers Councils held in Normandy.

#### The Council of Rouen, conven'd, A. D. 1050.

*Council of Rouen.* *Mauger*, Archbishop of *Rouen*, held a Council in that City, *A. D.* 1050. with *Hugh* Bishop of *Eureux*, and *Robert* of *Contances*, in which he drew up a Letter directed to the Bishops and Faithful of his Province, containing the following Constitutions, viz.

1. That the Articles of Faith, compris'd in the Creed of the Catholick and Apostolick Church, ought to be firmly adher'd to.
2. That no Presents shall be made to Princes, nor to their Officers for the obtaining of Bishopricks.
3. That the Bishops shall not covet to be translated from one See to another, out of a Principle of Ambition.
4. That the Monks shall not cause themselves to be made Abbots for Money.
5. That one Bishop shall not disposses another, nor one Abbot another.
6. That the Bishops shall not exact any Thing for Ordinations.
7. That their Officers, that is to say, their Archdeacons or Secretaries shall not in like manner demand any Thing upon that Account.

8. That no Person shall be ordain'd who is not of a competent Age, and who has not made a sufficient Progress in Learning.

9. That a Bishop shall not ordain a Clerk of another Diocese without the Permission of his Diocesan.

10. That the Bishops shall not bestow the Revenues, Lands and Benefices of the Clergy on Laicks.

11, 12, and 13. That Clergymen shall not endeavour to supplant one another.

14, 15, and 16. That nothing shall be exacted for the Holy Chrism, nor for the Consecration of Churches, nor for the Administration of Baptism.

17. That on the eight Days, during which new baptized Persons wear the \* *Albe*, they shall be oblig'd only to offer their Wax-Tapers and the Linnen with which their Heads were cover'd, by reason of the Holy Chrism.

18. That the Penance impos'd on Offenders, shall neither be augmented nor diminish'd for Money.

19. That the new baptized Persons shall spend eight Days in wearing the *Albes*, and holding lighted Tapers in the Church, where they were baptized.



The Council of Lisieux, held A. D. 1055. and that of Rouen in 1063.

Council of  
Lisieux.

THE Archbishop of Rouen, under whom the preceding Council was held, was depos'd, A. D. 1055. in another Council conven'd at Lisieux, in the Presence of Stephen Bishop of Sion in Switzerland, the Pope's Legate, which consisted of the Bishops of that Province. He was accus'd of having robb'd his Church, of consuming its Revenues in unprofitable Expences, and of dissipating Part of them to Largeesses only to satisfy his Ambition: He was also suspected to be guilty of infamous Crimes, and was censur'd for not shewing a due Respect to the See of Rome: He was apparently culpable, but that which chiefly brought upon him this Condemnation, was the Displeasure of Duke William his Nephew, who was incens'd against him, because he had excommunicated that Prince upon Account of his Marriage with the Princess

Mathilda his Kinswoman, the Daughter of Baldwin Count of Flanders, and favour'd the Party of Duke Arques his Brother: Therefore the Duke banish'd him immediately after his Condemnation, to the Isle of Guernsey, and caus'd Maurillus, a Monk of Fecamp, to be substituted in his Room. The latter was zealous in endeavouring to re-establish the Church-Discipline and to reform the Corruption of Manners: To which Purpose he call'd divers Synods, and made some Constitutions. In that which was held by him at Rouen, A. D. 1063 for the Dedication of the Cathedral Church, the building of which was compleated at that Time, he publish'd a Confession of Faith against Berenger's erroneous Opinion, of which we have made mention elsewhere.

Council of  
Lisieux.

The Council of Rouen, held A. D. 1072.

Council of  
Rouen.

Maurillus dying A. D. 1069. Duke William caus'd John de Bayeux, Bishop of Auranche, to be chosen to supply his Place, and sent Lansfrank on Purpose to Rome, to get that Election confirm'd by the Pope. This Archbishop held a Council at Rouen in 1072. with his Suffragans; in which after having reviv'd the Creeds of the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon, they set forth twenty four Canons, relating to Church-Discipline.

† One of  
the Popish  
Canonical  
Hours.

The first imports, That the Bishop shall perform the Consecration of the Holy Chrism and of the Oils, after the Hour of † None, having at least twelve Priests for his Assistants.

The second, That the Archdeacons shall not content themselves, only with receiving some few Drops of the Chrism and consecrated Oil, to be mixt with the other Oil; as it is commonly practis'd in some Places by an Abuse, but that they shall present all their Chrism and Oil to the Bishop to be consecrated by him.

The third, That the Deans, being cloathed with Albes, shall distribute the Chrism and consecrated Oil with Reverence, and keep them in well stop'd Vessels.

The fourth ordains, That none shall celebrate Mass without the Communion.

The fifth, That the Priests shall remain fasting and cloath'd with the Albe and Stole, when they go about to administer Baptism, unless in Case of Necessity.

The sixth, That the Viaticum or Holy Water, shall not be kept above eight Days; and that Hosts already consecrated, shall not be consecrated a second Time.

The seventh, That to confer Confirmation, 'tis requisite that the Bishop and those Persons who receive it should be fasting, and that Tapers be lighted.

The eighth, That sacred Orders shall be conferr'd in the Evening on Saturdays or Sunday Morning, if Saturday's Fast were not broken.

The ninth, That the Fast shall be exactly observ'd during the Ember-Weeks.

The tenth, That Clerks who have caus'd themselves to be ordain'd by Surprise, shall be depos'd.

The eleventh, That those who have receiv'd Crowns with Benediction, and presume to quit them, shall be excommunicated, till they have made Satisfaction; and that Clerks who are desirous to be ordain'd, shall repair to the Bishop on Fridays for that Purpose.

The twelfth enjoyns, That vagabond Monks, or such as have been turn'd out of their Monastery for some Misdemeanour, shall be constrain'd by the Bishop's Authority to return to them; but if the Abbots refuse to re-admit those whom they have expell'd, they shall be oblig'd to give them Alms, and to maintain them.

The thirteenth, That no Merchandise shall be made of Spiritual Livings.

The fourteenth, That no Marriages shall be solemniz'd privately, nor after Meals; but that the Bridegroom and Bride being fasting, shall be bless'd by a Priest in like Manner fasting; and that before he proceed to marry them, Enquiry shall be made, whether the Parties be not Relations in the seventh Degree of Consanguinity.

The fifteenth declares, That Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons, who are marry'd, cannot enjoy any Church-Revenues, nor dispose of them themselves, or by others.

The sixteenth, That a Man cannot marry a Widow, with whom he is suspected to have convers'd scandalously, in her Husband's Life-time.

The seventeenth, That a Man, whose Wife is vail'd a Nun, cannot take another, as long as she is living.

The eighteenth, That a Woman cannot marry again, till she be certainly assur'd of her Husband's Death.

The nineteenth orders, That Clerks who have committed enormous and publick Sins, shall not be restor'd to their Dignities, till after a long Course of Penance.

The twentieth, That if any Clergyman be guilty of a Crime, for which he ought to be depos'd, his Diocesan shall summon such a Number of his Colleagues, as is requir'd by the Canons; that is to say, six for the deposing of a Priest, and three for that of a Deacon; and that those who cannot assist in Person, shall be permitted to send their Deputies to supply their Place.

The twenty first, That during the time of Lent, none shall take any Repast before the † Hour of None.

The twenty second, That on Saturday the Vigil of Easter-Festival, the Office shall not be begun before the Hour of None, by reason that it is the Nocturnal Office, which belongs to Easter-Sunday, and that no Mass ought to be said during the two preceding Days.

The twenty third, That if any Festival happens to fall on a Day, when it cannot be celebrated; it shall be transferr'd to another within the Octave.

The twenty fourth, That the solemn and general Baptism of adult Persons, shall be administer'd only at Easter and Whitsuntide, and not even on the Festival of the Epiphany, unless in Case of Necessity; but as for Infants, they may be baptiz'd at all times.

In the following Year, there happen'd a notable Quarrel between John de Bayeux the Archbishop, and the Monks of the Abby of St. Owen at Rouen: It was a customary thing for the Metropolitan of that City, to celebrate a solemn Mass in their Church on the Patron's Festival; Archbishop John having made them stay somewhat longer than ordinary, they began the Office without him; but he arriv'd when the Hymn call'd *Gloria in excelsis* was ended; and being incens'd, because they did not wait for him, he excommunicated all the Monks, caus'd the Divine Service to cease, and the Abbot of Sees, who was officiating, to depart from the Altar. By this Means a great Tumult was rais'd, during which one of the Monks, or one of their Servants, got up into the Steeple, rung the Alarm-bell, and cry'd out from the Top of the Tower, That the Archbishop was come to take away the Relicks of St. Owen: Whereupon the People were gathered together; some with Hatchets, and others with Staves; ran in Crowds to the Church; and broke in furiously; whilst others climb'd upon the Vaults: The Archbishop terrify'd with the Danger, retir'd toward the Church-doors, caus'd them to be shut, and made a Rampart of Seats and Benches against those who were in the Church. In the mean While his Attendants fell foul upon the Monks with Candlesticks and Staves, and the Monks on the other side, defended themselves as resolutely; till at last the Sheriff of the City being inform'd of this Tumult, and of the Danger to which the Archbishop was expos'd, came with his Guards and rescu'd him out of the Hands of the Rabble: The latter immediately wrote to King William about the Affair, and the Monks did the like on their Side. This Prince order'd, that the Archbishop should reconcile the Church, and upon his Refusal, caus'd it to be done by the Bishop of Auranche; nevertheless, to give Satisfaction to the Archbishop, some of the Monks were put into Prison, and others were dispers'd in divers Monasteries.

Council of  
Rouen.



## The Council of Rouen, held A. D. 1074.

**I**N the Year 1074. the same Archbishop *John*, held another Council at *Rouen* with his Suffragans, in which he publish'd fourteen Canons.

Council of Rouen.

The first imports, that to extirpate Simony, 'tis forbidden to buy or sell any Sort of Benefice, whether it be an Abby, Archdeaconry, Deanry or Cure of Souls, and to exact any Thing for Admission into Orders.

The second, that Abbies shall only be bestow'd on those who are well vers'd in Matters of Church-Discipline, by the Means of a continu'd Practice of it for several Years.

The third, that the ancient Constitution shall be observ'd, which prohibits to entertain any Clerk, without a Letter of Recommendation from his Diocefan.

The fourth, that several Orders shall not be receiv'd on the same Day.

The fifth, that the Subdeacons, Deacons and Priests, shall not be ordain'd but upon making a solemn Profession, according to the Injunctions of the Council of *Toledo*.

The sixth, that Monks or Nuns, who have fallen into any publick notorious Enormity, shall be excluded for ever from the Exercise of their Functions.

The seventh enjoyns, that the Monks and Nuns take care exactly to observe St. *Benedict's* Rule.

The eighth, that Clergymen who are ordain'd, shall be instructed in those things which are express'd in the eighth Canon of the eighth Council of *Toledo*.

The ninth, that Christian Burial shall not be deny'd those Persons who die suddenly, if they do not actually lie under the Guilt of some notorious Crime: Nor to Women with Child, or newly brought to Bed.

The tenth, that no Credit shall be given to the Depositions of those Persons, who under a Colour of a Scruple of Conscience, declare that they have had to do with the Sisters or Relations of their Wives, to have a Pretence to leave them, unless they bring sufficient Proof of the Matter of Fact.

The eleventh, that they shall likewise be oblig'd to the same thing, who give it out that they did not receive all the inferiour Orders, when they were ordain'd Priests, on purpose to get an Opportunity to quit the Sacerdotal Functions.

The twelfth, that Clergymen degraded for their Misdemeanours, shall not have the Liberty to lead a secular Life, as Laicks.

The thirteenth, that those Persons whose Marriage is declar'd null, because it was contracted with near Relations, shall live continently till they be married to others.

The fourteenth, that the Christians shall not have any *Jews* for their Slaves, nor any *Jewish* Women for their Nurses.

Some time after, this Archbishop of *Rouen* falling sick of a Palsey, King *William* the Conqueror demanded a Licence of *Gregory VII.* to substitute another Clerk in his Room. This Pope gave Orders to *Hubert* Subdeacon of the Church of *Rome* his Legate, with the Bishops and Abbots of the Province, and the Clergy of the City of *Rouen*, to enquire whether *John de Bayeux* their Metropolitan were really incapable any longer to perform the Episcopal Functions, and in case it appear'd so, that they should exhort him to consent to the Election of another Archbishop; but if his Distemper hinder'd him from giving such Consent, they might proceed to the Choice of a Person worthy of being advanc'd to that Dignity. Upon mature Deliberation, *John* being found incapable was oblig'd to make a Resignation in due Form, and retir'd to one of his Country-Houses: The King caus'd *William* Abbot of *St. Stephen* at *Caen*, the Son of *Radbodus* Bishop of *Sees* to be chosen to supply his Place. Pope *Gregory* disapprov'd this Election, because he was the Son of a Priest; but notwithstanding his Prohibition, *William* was ordain'd, A. D. 1079. whilst *John* was as yet living, who died some time after.

Council of Rouen.

Council of Rouen.

## The Council of Lillebonne, held A. D. 1080.

**W**illiam I. surnam'd the Conqueror, King of *England* and Duke of *Normandy*, caus'd a Council of the Prelates of *Normandy* to be held at *Lillebonne* in his Presence, A. D. 1080. *William* Archbishop of *Rouen* presid'd in this Synod, and divers Constitutions were made therein, against those who married their Relations; against Clergymen, who had Wives;

Council of Lillebonne

to prohibit Simoniackal Practices and Exactions for the Performance of Ecclesiastical Functions; concerning the Restitution of Revenues usurp'd from the Churches; the Rights of Bishops and Archdeacons; the Maintenance of Priests to serve the Churches that belong to Monks; and about the Punishments to be inflicted on Criminals and the Infringers of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws.

Council of Lillebonne

Council of Lillebonne

## The Councils of the Province of Aquitaine.

### The Council of Narbonne, held in the Year 1054.

**G**effrey, Archbishop of *Narbonne*, held in that City, A. D. 1054. a Council consisting of ten Bishops, and made a large Ordinance concerning the Laws of Peace and Truce; in which he marks the Days on which it is forbidden to make War, as also the Persons

Council of Narbonne

and Goods that ought to be free from Insults, even in the Time of War, who are more especially Clergymen, Husbandmen and Merchants; with the Effects belonging to their respective Qualities.

Council of Narbonne

Council of Narbonne

### The Council of Toulouse, held A. D. 1056.

**P**ope *Victor II.* having given Orders to *Rambaldus* Archbishop of *Arles*, and to *Pontius* Archbishop of *Aix*, his Vicars, to call a Council for the Extirpation of Simony, and the Restoration of Ecclesiastical Discipline: They met together, A. D. 1054. at *Toulouse*, with the Archbishop of *Narbonne*, and divers other Bishops of *France*, and drew up thirteen Canons.

Council of Toulouse

In the first it is decreed, That those Persons who receive Ordination for Money, shall be degraded from their Dignity, as well as they who ordain'd them.

In the second, that a Bishop, Abbot or Priest shall not be ordain'd till the Age of thirty Years, nor a Deacon till he has attain'd to that of twenty five.

In the third, that nothing shall be taken for the Dedication of Churches.

In the fourth, that nothing shall be given to obtain Ecclesiastical Benefices.

In the fifth, that they who turn Monks with a Design to get the Government of an Abby, shall never be promoted to that Dignity.

In the sixth, that the Abbots shall govern their Monks according to St. *Benedict's* Rule, and that they shall not suffer them to enjoy any private Estate, nor to hold a Propriety or Superiority without their Consent.

The seventh enjoyns Priests and Deacons to lead a single Life.

The eighth, that Laymen shall not have any Spiritual Livings.

The ninth, that the Estates and Goods of deceased Persons shall not be pillag'd, but that they shall be dispos'd of according to their last Will and Testament.

The tenth ordains, that the Churches shall be oblig'd to pay the accustomed Duties to the Episcopal See, and that those that do not pay any, shall allot the third Part of their Tithes and the Oblations, for the Use of the Bishops and Clerks.

The eleventh, that in the Churches which belong to the Jurisdiction of Noblemen, the third Part of the Tithes, and the Offerings shall be reserv'd for the Priests and Clerks, who officiate therein.

The twelfth denounces a Sentence of Excommunication against Adulterers and incestuous Persons, as also against those who are found guilty of Perjury.

The thirteenth orders the like Sentence to pass upon those who hold Correspondence or Converse with excommunicated Persons, unless to reprove or admonish them.

Council of Toulouse

Council of Toulouse



# The Councils of Germany.

## The Council of Dortmund, held in the Year, 1005.

**I**T is related by *Dithmar* the Historian, that a great Council was held at *Dortmund* in *Westphalia* July 7. A. D. 1005. in which the Emperor *Henry II.* complaining of the Irregularities in reference to Church-Discipline, induc'd the Bishops to revive the Ecclesiastical

Laws, and to endeavour to reform the Exorbitances and corrupt Manners of the Clergy and Laity, by making Divers useful Canons : But the Acts and Constitutions of this Council are lost.

## The Council of Seligenstadt, held A. D. 1023.

**A**RIBO, Archbishop of *Mentz*, held in the Year, 1023. a Council at *Seligenstadt*, compos'd of *Burchard* Bishop of *Worms*, *Vernarius* Bishop of *Strasburg*, *Bruno* of *Augsburg*, *Eberhard* of *Bamberg* and *Meginhard* of *Wurtzburg*, in which these Bishops made the following Constitutions, viz.

The first ordains, That Abstinence from eating Flesh shall be observ'd fourteen Days before the Festival of *St. John*, as many before that of *Christmas*, and on the Vigils of the *Epiphany*, of the Festivals of the Apostles, of the Assumption of the Virgin *Mary*, of *St. Laurence* and of all the Saints.

The second, fixes the *Ember-Weeks*.

The third, denotes the Time, when the Solemnization of Marriages is forbidden, viz. from *Advent* till after the *Epiphany*, and from *Septuagesima* till after *Easter*, as also on the above specified Days of Abstinence, as well as the Vigils of the solemn Festivals.

The fourth imports, That a Priest who has drunk plentifully after the Cock-crowing in the Summer, or even in Winter, shall not be allow'd to say Mass the next Day, unless in case of Necessity.

The fifth, prohibits Priests to celebrate above three Masses in one Day.

The sixth, forbids under Pain of an *Anathema* that *Corporals* should be thrown into the Fire to put a stop to the Conflagration.

The seventh ordains, That if two Persons suspected to have committed Adultery together, one confesses the Crime, and the other denies it, the Party who owns it shall be put to Penance, and the other shall clear himself by taking his Trial.

The eighth, forbids the carrying of Swords into the Church, except the Sword of State.

The ninth, prohibits Meetings in the Church-yards.

The tenth, condemns the Custom of some Laicks, and more especially of certain Ladies, who contented themselves only to hear every Day the Gospel *In principio*, or to cause the Masses of the Trinity and of *St. Michael* to be said in their Presence; and ordains, That this shall not be done for the future, but in the proper Time: Otherwise if any Persons be desirous to hear a particular Mass, being mov'd by a singular Veneration for the Holy Trinity,

and not by any superstitious Conceit; they shall hear a Mass for the Day, or one for the Consolation and Safety of the Living, or one for the Dead.

The eleventh imports, That the first Degree of Consanguinity shall be reckon'd from the Cousins German.

The twelfth, That the Houses of Laicks which are contiguous to Churches shall be pull'd down, and that none shall be built in the Courts belonging to them, except those of Priests.

In the thirteenth, Laymen are forbidden to consign their Churches to Priests, without the Consent and Approbation of the Bishop or of his Grand Vicar.

The fourteenth imports, That two Persons being accus'd of having committed Adultery together, which they deny; if either of the Parties desire that they may both undergo a Trial, and if one be cast, they shall both be reputed guilty.

The fifteenth enjoins, That the publick Fasts appointed by the Bishops shall be observ'd, or else that they shall be redeem'd by allotting a certain Largess for the Sustenance of poor People.

The sixteenth, That none shall take a Journey to *Rome*, without a Licence from the Bishop or his Grand Vicar.

The seventeenth, That no Priest shall retrench any thing from the forty Days Fast imposed on Penitents.

The eighteenth is against those who being guilty of enormous Crimes, refuse to receive Penance from their Diocesan, upon a Presumption, that going to *Rome*, the Pope will forgive all their Sins: The Council declares, that this Indulgence shall stand them in no stead, and that they ought at first to receive a Penance proportioned to the Heinousness of their Offences, after which they may go to *Rome* with the Permission and commendatory Letters of their Diocesan.

In the nineteenth, Penitents are prohibited to Travel during the forty Days of their Fast.

The twentieth, forbids Priests to admit into the Church, such Persons as are not allow'd to enter therein, by Reason of their Crimes, without having receiv'd an Order from the Bishop.

These Canons are follow'd with a Form of Ceremonies to be observ'd, and Prayers to be said during the Session of a Synod.

## The Council of Mentz, held, A. D. 1069.

**S**igefroy or Sigefrid Archbishop of *Mentz* succeeded *Liutbold*, A. D. 1059. and govern'd that Church till 1084. He held a Council in 1069. at *Mentz*, in which the Emperor *Henry IV.* made a Proposal to divorce his Wife, by Reason that he could not have any Issue of her Body. *Sigefrid* inclin'd to his Opinion; but *Peter Damien* the Pope's Legate being arriv'd, and having prevented the Divorce, the Archbishop wrote to *Alexander II.* that he had prohibited the Emperor from Divorcing his

Wife, under Pain of Excommunication; but that this Prince having alledg'd, that he could not have Carnal Copulation with her, and the Empress having own'd her Impotency, he found himself oblig'd to consult the Holy See, about so extraordinary a Case; that he was unwilling to pass Judgment on the Affair in a Council, which was call'd upon that Occasion, till he had receiv'd his Answer; and that he entreated him to send his Legates to examine and decide the Matter in *Germany*.

## The Council of Mentz, A. D. 1071.

**T**HE same Archbishop held another Council at *Mentz*, A. D. 1071. to enquire into the Ordination of *Charles* nominated to the Bishoprick of *Constance*: He was accus'd of Simony, and the Pope forbid *Sigefrid* to Ordain him Bishop; nevertheless the Emperor peremptorily requir'd it, and wrote to the Pope about the Affair, who referr'd the Examination of it to the Archbishops of *Colen* and *Mentz*. Whereupon they summon'd a Council, but the Emperor would not suffer it to be held, and took a Resolution to send *Charles* to *Rome*, to the End that the Pope might take Cognizance of the Matter and ordain him Bishop. *Sigefrid* prevented the Pope, and entreated him not to consecrate *Charles*, but if he found him Innocent, to send him back to him and

to his Colleagues, to receive Ordination from them. The Pope refusing to determine this Affair at *Rome*, sent him back to be examin'd in his own Country, and it was referr'd to the Council which *Sigefrid* held at *Mentz* in the Month of *August*, A. D. 1071. The Archbishops of *Saltzburg* and *Triers* with nine Bishops of *Germany* assisted in this Synod, in which, Matters were debated during four Days between *Charles* and his Adversaries, till at last *Charles* fearing lest he should not be able to carry the Point, declar'd that he would not be Bishop contrary to the Inclination of those whom he was to govern, and deliver'd up his Ring and Crosier into the Emperor's Hands. The Acts of this Council, which were sent to the Pope and *Sigefrid*'s Letters are still Extant.



## The Councils of Erford, A. D. 1073.

The Councils of Erford.

**I**N the Year, 1073. there happen'd a Difference between *Sigefrid* and the Clergy of *Thuringen*, about the Tithes of that Province, which this Archbishop claim'd as his Right, and which were contested with him by the said Clergy, more especially by the Abbots of *Fulda* and *Herfeld*. The matter was debated in an Assembly held at *Erford* in the same Year, and determin'd by the Emperor

to the Advantage of *Sigefrid*, who wrote about it to *Hildebrand*, and to Pope *Alexander*. The History of this Council is written by *Lambert*, and we still have *Sigefred's* two Letters, in the last of which, he makes mention of the Outrages committed against the Archbishop of *Triers*, declaring that he was taken away by Force, extremely abus'd, and at last shamefully put to Death.

## The Councils of England.

## The Council of Aenham, held in the Year, 1010.

The Council of Aenham.

**K**ING *Ethelred* call'd a Council about the Year, 1010. in which *Elphegus* Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *Ethelred* Archbishop of *York* assisted, and made a great Number of Constitutions concerning the Reformation of Manners and Church Discipline; Rules that ought to be follow'd by the Clerks and Monks; the Celebacy of Priests and other Clergymen; against superstitious Practices and Incontinency; about the Rights of Churches, particularly *St. Peter's Pence*, the Tribute of funeral Torches, which was paid thrice a Year, that of Burials, &c. concerning the Festivals and Fasts that ought to be observ'd, viz. the great Festival of the Virgin *Mary*, preceded by a Fast; and the Festivals of the Apostles in like manner preceded by their respective Vigils, except that of *St. James* and *St. Philip*, when a Fast is not to be kept,

by reason of the Paschal Solemnity; the Fast of the four *Ember-Weeks*, and that on all *Fridays*: Concerning the Time, in which Marriages are forbidden to be solemniz'd, that is to say, the solemn Festivals; the *Ember-Weeks*; from *Advent*, to the Octave of the *Epiphany*, and from *Septuagesima*, to the End of the Fortnight after *Easter*: About the Interval that ought to be observ'd by Widows before they marry again, which is the space of a Year: Lastly, concerning frequent Confessions; the receiving of the Communion; and divers other Points of Morality. For the Ordinances of this Council contain many excellent Instructions and very prudent Exhortations: Forasmuch as it was held under *Elphegus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, it must needs be between the Year of our Lord, 1006. and 1013. There are two different Editions of the Acts of the Council of *Aenham*.

## The Law of the Kings Ethelred and Canut.

The Council of the Kings Ethelred and Canut.

**T**HE same *Ethelred* publish'd A. D. 1012. certain Laws, among which are some relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs; particularly, about the Payment of *Peter's Pence*; to oblige all the Faithful to Fast three Days before the Festival of *St. Michael*; concerning the Prayers which ought to be said in the Churches for the State, and about Alms-giving.

King *Canut* in like manner in the Year, 1032. caus'd divers Laws to be proclaim'd which relate to Church-Af-

fairs, viz. concerning the exterior Religious Worship; the Peace of the Churches; the Respect due to Clergymen; unlawful Marriages; the Payment of Tithes, *Peter's Pence* and other Tributes; the Observation of Festivals, *Sundays* and Days of Abstinence; the Functions and Manners of the Clergy and of the Faithful; and against Irregularities, Abuses and Misdemeanors. These Laws are full of moral Maxims and Pious Exhortations; There are also some others of the like Nature enacted by King *Edward III.*

## The Council of London, held in the Year, 1075.

The Council of London.

**T**WAS a long Time since any Councils were held, or any Constitutions made relating to Church-discipline in *England*, when *Lanfranc* was ordain'd Archbishop of *Canterbury*, neither could such an Assembly be summon'd for some Time after, because the King would not suffer any to be conven'd without his Permission. At last he held a National Synod at *London*, A. D. 1075. in which *Thomas* Archbishop of *York* assisted and eleven Bishops of *England*, with the Bishop of *Contances*, who was admitted to the Council, because he had a considerable Estate in this Kingdom: There were also present 21 Abbots in this Council, in which it was first ordain'd, that all the Bishops should take their Places according to the Antiquity of their Ordination, except those who had a peculiar Privilege upon Account of the Dignity of their Sees; and after having sought for those who might lay claim to such a Privilege in *England*, it was determin'd that the Archbishop of *York* should be plac'd on the right

Hand of the Metropolitan of *Canterbury*; the Bishop of *London* on the left, and the Bishop of *Winchester* next the Archbishop of *York*; and that in the Absence of the latter, the Bishop of *London* should sit on the right Hand of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Winchester* on the Left. Afterward it was decreed, That all the Monks should live according to *St. Benedict's* Rule; that they should take care to instruct the Youth, and that they should not have any private Possessions: Then three Episcopal Sees which were erected in Towns, were translated to Cities, according to the Tenor of the third Constitution, and the ancient Injunctions were reviv'd, which prohibited to receive a Clerk who was Subject to the Jurisdiction of another Bishop, without Letters of Recommendation from his Diocesan, and to marry a near Kinswoman. Simonical Practices, Witchcraft and Pagan Superstitions were likewise forbidden, and the Celebacy of the Clergy was strictly enjoyn'd.

## The Council of Winchester, held, A. D. 1076.

The Council of Winchester.

**I**N a Council held the next Year at *Winchester*, *Lanfranc* caus'd divers Canons to be drawn up against Persons guilty of Simony; for the Celebration of Provincial Councils; the Subjection of Clerks to their Bishops, and the Payment of Tithes; concerning the Administration of the Sacraments and Divers other Points of Discipline, among which the following are more especially remarkable, viz.

That the Altars ought to be made of Stone: That the Mass cannot be celebrated with Beer or Water: That Divine Service shall not be perform'd in Churches till they be consecrated by the Bishops: That none shall be bury'd in the Churches: That the Bells shall not be rung during the Canon of the Mass: And that the Chalice shall not be made of Wax nor Wood. Constitutions were also made about the Time of Penance for Divers Crimes.

## The Council of London, held A. D. 1102.

The Council of London.

**A**rchbishop *Lanfranc* continued to celebrate divers other Councils in *England* in his Life-time, the Canons of which are not as yet come to our Hands; but after his Death, much time pass'd ere any could be conven'd, and *St. Anselm* his Successor in vain importun'd the Kings of *England* to that Purpose, till at last he held a solemn Synod at *London*, A. D. 1102. the Constitutions of which were transmitted to us by *Eadmer*:

The Archbishop of *York* and twelve Bishops of *England* assisted in this Council, and made the following Constitutions.

By the first, They condemn'd Simony, and depos'd several Abbots, who were convicted of that Crime.

The second, Forbids Bishops to exercise the Functions of Civil Magistrates, and enjoyns them to wear Habits suitable to their Profession.



The Study  
of Divi-  
nity in the  
Eleventh  
Century.

In the third, It is prohibited to let out Archdeacons to Farm, or to confer them on any other Persons than Deacons.

The fourth, Revives the Constitutions about Celibacy.

In the fifth, Clergymen are forbidden to undertake the Management of secular Affairs, or to sit as Judges in Criminal Causes, and to drink in Victualling Houses or Places of publick Resort: They are also enjoyn'd to wear Habits of one single Colour, and to have their Crowns shav'd.

The seventh declares, That Tithes ought only to be paid to the Churches.

The eighth, Is a Prohibition to build new Chappels without the Consent of the Bishops, and without raising a sufficient Fund for the Maintenance of the Priest and Church.

In the ninth, Abbots are prohibited to bear Arms, and enjoyn'd to reside in their Monasteries, with their Monks.

The tenth, Prohibits that Monks should administer Penance without the Consent of their Abbot, and that Abbots should impose it on other Persons than those, who are under their Tuition.

In the eleventh, Monks are forbidden to hold Farms; to stand as God-fathers; to get Churches into their Possession without the Consent of the Bishops; or to take the Revenues of those that are granted to them, without allow-

ing a competent Maintenance for the Priests who serve in them, and a sufficient Fund for the keeping them in Repair.

The twelfth, Declares the Promises of Marriage, made without Witnesses, to be Null, if it be deny'd by one of the Parties.

The thirteenth, Enjoyns the cutting of the Hair short, so that part of the Ears and the Eyes may be discover'd.

The fourteenth, Prohibits Marriages, to the seventh Degree of Consanguinity.

The fifteenth, Forbids to bury the Dead without the Bounds of their Parish, unless the accustomed Duties be paid to the Curate; and to honour their Memory, without the Bishop's Authority.

In the sixteenth, It is prohibited to make Merchandise of Men, by selling them for Slaves as it was often Practis'd. Lastly, Sodomy is forbidden under very severe Penalties, and this Case it reserv'd to the Cognizance of the Bishops. These Constitutions were confirm'd by the Authority of the See of Rome.

In the Year 1108. St. Anselm held another Council at London, in which he made ten very rigid Canons against Priests and Deacons, who were marry'd or liv'd incontinently.

The Study  
of Divi-  
nity in the  
Eleventh  
Century.

The Coun-  
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don, 1108.

## The Councils of Spain.

### The Council of Leon, held A. D. 1012.

The Coun-  
cil of Leon.

FEW Councils were call'd in Spain in this Century, by Reason that Part of that Kingdom was then under the Dominion of the Moors. However, King Alphonfus held a notable Assembly at Leon, A. D. 1012 in which the Bishops drew up seven Canons.

The first imports, That Ecclesiastical Affairs shall be first treated of, at the opening of the Synods.

The second, That the Churches shall peaceably enjoy such Revenues as are left them by last Wills and Testaments, and that the Clergymen shall pass Judgment as to their Validity.

The third that Abbots, Abesses, Munks and Nuns shall be Subject to the Jurisdiction of their Diocesan Bishop.

The fourth ordains, That none shall seize on the Church-Revenues.

The fifth, That the Kings Officers shall Prosecute those who have kill'd a Clergyman:

The sixth, That after having dispatch'd Ecclesiastical Affairs, the Bishops shall proceed to the Examination of those of the Kingdom:

The seventh, That none shall buy the Estate of a Vassal of the Church, and he who has done it, shall lose the Money he gave for the Purchase.

These Decrees are follow'd with forty others for the Advantage of the State, some of which nevertheless have reference to the Preservation of Ecclesiastical Revenues.

The Coun-  
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The Coun-  
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The Coun-  
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aco.

SINCE the Time of King Alphonfus, we do not find that any Ecclesiastical Constitutions were made in Spain, till the Reign of Ferdinand I. King of Castille, who being desirous to revive the ancient Church-Discipline, which was for so long a time disus'd, call'd a Council in the Year 1050. at Coyaco, a Castle in the Diocess of Oviedo, where the Bishop of that City assisted, together with eight other Bishops of Spain; and the following Constitutions were ratify'd by them.

The first ordains, That the Bishops shall govern their Diocesses, and perform their Ecclesiastical Functions with their Clerks, according to the Order of the Church.

The second, That the Abbots and Abesses shall likewise govern their Monasteries according to St. Benedict's Rule, and shall be Subject to the Bishops; and that they shall not admit any Religious Persons of another Monastery, without the Permission of their Abbot or Abess.

The third, That the Churches and Clergy shall be under the Jurisdiction of the Bishops, and not under that of Laicks: That the Churches shall not be divided, but that they shall be supply'd with Priests and Deacons, and furnish'd with Service-Books and Ornaments; so that there may be no need of wooden or earthen Chalices: That the Habits of the Priests during the Celebration of the Mass, by the *Amict*, the *Albe*, the *Cincture*, the *Stole*, the *Chasuble* and the *Maniple*; and those of a Deacon, the *Amict*, the *Albe*, the *Cincture*, the *Stole*, the *Dalmatic* and the *Maniple*: That the Altar be intirely made of Stone, and consecrated by the Bishop: That the Host be altogether of pure Wheat and without any Defect: That the Wine be likewise pure, and the Water clean; the Altar decently adorn'd and cover'd with a white Linnen Cloth, with a Corporal above and below the Chalice: That the Priests and Deacons shall not bear Arms; but that they shall always have the Crown of their Head and Beards shav'd: That they shall not keep any Women in their Houses; unless their Mother, Sister, Aunt or Mother-in-Law: And that they shall teach Children the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.

The fourth imports, That Persons guilty of Murder, Adultery, or any other sort of Uncleaness, shall be oblig'd to do Penance; and if they refuse to submit to it, they shall be separated from the Church and the Communion.

The fifth, That those whom the Archdeacon presents for Ordination, in the *Ember-Weeks*, shall be well vers'd in the Psalter, the Hymns, the Canticles, the Epistles, the Gospels, and the Prayers: That the Priests shall not be present at Weddings to eat among the Guests, but only to give the Benediction: That the Clerks and Lay-men, who partake of the funeral Banquets, eating the Bread of the Deceased, shall do some good Work for their Souls, and that they shall invite the Poor and the Sick to these Banquets.

The sixth, That all the Christians shall go to Church, on *Saturday Evening* and on *Sunday Morning*; that they shall assist on that Day at the Masses and the whole divine Service; that they shall do no servile Work, nor undertake any Journeys except for Devotion sake, or to bury the Dead and visit the Sick, or to put in Execution some private Order receiv'd from the Prince, or to defend themselves against the *Saracens*: And that the Christians shall not keep any Correspondence with the *Jews*.

The seventh, That the Counts or chief Magistrates shall govern the People with Justice; shall admit upon a Tryal, only the Evidence of Eye or Ear Witnesses; and shall severely punish false Witnesses.

The eighth, That Justice shall be administer'd in the Kingdoms of *Leon*, *Gallicia*, *Asturio* and *Portugal*, according to *Alphonfus's Law*, and in *Castille*, according to those of *Sanchez*.

The ninth declares, That the Triennial Prescription shall not take Place, in reference to the Churches.

The tenth, That he who has manur'd Land or cultivated a Vineyard, shall gather the Fruits with a Proviso, till the Point be debated by the Parties concern'd about the Propriety.

The eleventh imports, That all the Christians shall Fast on *Fridays*.

The twelfth, That those who have taken Sanctuary in the Churches; nay, even within thirty Paces of the Church, cannot be taken away from thence by Force.

The thirteenth, That the Subjects of the Kingdom shall be Obedient to their Prince, as they were to *Alphonfus* and *Sanchez*. These Constitutions were made in the Presence, and by the Authority of King *Ferdinand* and Queen *Sanchia*.



## The Council of Elna in Rouffillon, held A. D. 1065.

The Council of Elna in Rouffillon.

The Council of Elna in Rouffillon.

TO these Councils may be join'd an Assembly of Bishops and Counts, held in the Year 1065. at Elna in the County of Rouffillon, where the Episcopal See of Perpignan was formerly fix'd: Divers

Constitutions were made in this Council, for the Prefermentation of Church-Revenues, and more especially that which was call'd, *The Truce of God*.

## C H A P. XIV.

## Observations on the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Eleventh Century.

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THE Study of Divinity, which was neglected in the preceding Age, was reviv'd in this Century; and many Persons made publick Lectures of it in the Schools of the Cathedral Churches or of the Monasteries. In the Beginning, they contented themselves (according to the ancient Method) to relate the Explications of the Fathers on the Holy Scriptures, and Points of Doctrine were only treated of by the Way, and when some remarkable Occasion induc'd them to do it. But in the End of this Century, they began to make Divinity-Lectures on the Doctrinal Points of Religion; to propose divers Questions about the Sacred Mysteries; and to resolve them by the Principles of Ratiocination and according to the Logical Method. This was the Original of Scholastick Divinity, which became in a little after, the Principal and almost only Employment of those, who studied Matters of Religion.

Some of those, who follow'd this Method, relying too much on their nice Ratiocinations, and departing from the plain manner of Discouraging us'd by the ancient Fathers of the Church, advanc'd some Erroneous Propositions. In this Century, *Roscelin*, who was Professor of Divinity at *Compiègne*, started a Proposition about the Holy Trinity, which gave Offence to every Body; viz. *That the three Divine Persons were three Things*; nevertheless 'tis not probable, that he design'd to maintain the Error of the *Trinitaries*, or to admit three different Substances in God; and one may reasonably suppose, that by those *three Things*, he understood only three subsisting and distinct Persons, altho' of the same Nature.

\* We have not thought fit in this Translation, any where to omit the Words of the Author; who being of the Church of Rome, relates many things as Heresies, which the Protestants esteem not so: Wherefore we doubt not but the discreet Protestant Reader will always use his own Judgment.

But altho' no new \* Heresie sprung up in this Age about the Mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation, yet there were divers in respect of the Sacraments and Church-Discipline. We have shewn that in the Beginning of the Century, certain Hereticks were discover'd at *Orleans* in *Flanders*, and at *Toulouse*, who deny'd the real Presence of the Body of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist; the Necessity of Baptism, and the Efficacy of the Sacraments; who rejected the Worship of Saints and Crosses, and the Use of Images; who condemn'd lawful Marriages, and censur'd the most Part of the Ceremonies of the Church. Some time after, *Berengarius* divulg'd his Opinions about the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which were condemn'd in divers Councils. The Controversies that were debated in this Century, between the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches, have regard only to Points of Discipline, and particularly to the Use of unleavened Bread in the Communion. *Lutheric* Archbishop of *Sens*, is wrongfully accus'd of having deny'd the real Presence of the Body of Jesus Christ in the same Sacrament, in the Beginning of this Century; and 'tis falsly suppos'd that he was reprov'd by King *Robert* upon that Account: For *Helguad* does not say, that he embrac'd that Opinion, but only that he was wont to make use of the *Eucharist*, to try whether Persons were unworthy or not, by saying to those to whom he was ready to administer that Sacrament, *If you are worthy to receive it, draw near and take it*: And that King *Robert* found great Fault with this Expression, and reprov'd him very sharply for it; but that *Lutheric* turn'd the Reprimand to his own Advantage.

Of the Rights of the Popes, and of the Church of Rome.

The Quarrels that broke forth between the Popes and the Emperors, caus'd very great Confusions and Disorders in the Church and the Western Empire. During these Comotions, the Popes took an Occasion to establish their Temporal Sovereignty in *Rome*, and endeavour'd to make themselves independent of the Emperors. *Gregory VII.* extended his Pretensions yet farther, and us'd his utmost Efforts to persuade the World, that he was rightful Sovereign of the whole Universe, as well in Civil as in Ecclesiastical Affairs: He was the first of the Popes, who attempted directly to dispossess the Emperor and the Kings of their Dominions, and imagin'd that he had a Right to dispose of them in favour of whomsoever he should think fit to ad-

vance to that Dignity. As for the Spiritual Supremacy, he carry'd it beyond its due Bounds, and abrogated almost the whole Authority of the Bishops, and the Liberties of particular Churches. The great Number of Legates of the See of *Rome* sent abroad on all sides, and the Power which they assum'd to themselves, did not a little contribute to ruin the Authority of the Ordinaries, and was extremely Chargeable to the respective Churches: The Dignity of the Cardinals was augmented to the Detriment of that of the Bishops, and they began to have the greatest share in the Election of Popes, and in the Managment of the Affairs of the Church: The Archbishops were oblig'd to receive the Pall, before they were permitted to exercise the Functions of their Order; and to conclude, the Court of *Rome*, under divers Pretences, got the Cognizance and Determination of all manner of Ecclesiastical Affairs.

The Simoniack Practices, Marriage and Concubinage of Clergymen were repress'd, and their Career at last quite stopt by the means of a vast Number of Decrees: Some to palliate Simony, thought fit to distinguish the Temporal Revenue of Benefices from the Spiritual; and maintain'd, That in giving Money for a Benefice, they did not commit Simony, because they purchas'd only the Temporalities. This gave Occasion to determine, That it was Simony, to buy the Revenues annexed to Church Livings, the Functions of which were Spiritual: The famous Distinction of three Sorts of Simony, *ab officio*, *a manu*, *a lingua* was in Vogue at that Time: *St. Gregory* was the first who made the Remark, and it was reviv'd by *Gregory VII.* The Laicks who had Tithes in their Possession, were mov'd by a scruple of Conscience to restore them; but they often bestow'd them on Monks, and apply'd them to the Founding of Monasteries: The Bishops oppos'd this Practice, and ordain'd that they cannot be given to Monasteries: without the Permission of the Diocesans and of the Pope: However, the Monks did not forbear to retain those that they had in their Possession, nor even to accept of others, when offer'd to them. The Elections of Bishops were still in Use; but the Princes often nominated them, or caus'd those to be chosen whom they thought fit to promote, and sometimes the Popes took care to provide them, or ordain'd those who were elected, when the Metropolitan refus'd to do it.

The Emperors and Kings still had the Power of granting the Investiture of Bishopricks and Abbys; and this Right was not contested with them, till about the End of the Eleventh Century: The Plurality of Benefices began to be in Use, and was condemn'd by divers Constitutions: A great Number of Monks were promoted to the Episcopal Dignity, and some Bishops left their Bishopricks to retire to Monasteries, after having obtain'd a Licence from the Pope. Many Bishopricks were made Metropolitan Sees, and many others were newly erected. The Archbishop of *Lyons* was instituted Primate of *France*: In the End of the Century, the Bishopricks of *Arras* and *Cambray* were separated, and the Episcopal Sees of *Gascogne*, which had lain for a long time vacant, were fill'd up again. The Sons of the Clergy were declar'd unworthy to be admitted into Holy Orders; but this Decree was not generally receiv'd, nor without Opposition: For in many Places, the admission into the Monastick State, or into the Order of Regular Canons, remov'd that Obstacle. A great Number of Churches, Abbies and Monasteries were then founded, and almost all the old Churches were demolish'd, to build new ones.

The Discipline of the Church, relating to Penance, was not so strict nor so severe as in the preceding Century; for the Pilgrimages, the Absolutions fetch'd from *Rome*, the Redemptions, the Disciplining Whip and the Crusades, contributed much to the Abolishing of the Injunction: Private Confession was more especially recommended. The Sentences of Excommunication were so frequent, that they became contemptible; and they were extended not only to Persons actually excommunicated, but also to those who convers'd or kept Correspondence with them, even to the third Generation; a Practice which can scarce be met with in any other Age of the Church. The ancient Severity of the Canons, which ordain, that Clergymen guilty



of notorious Offences, more especially of Simony, should be suspended from their Office for ever, was no longer observ'd; but they were generally re-establish'd in the Functions of their Orders, and restor'd to their former Rights, by the Means of certain particular Ceremonies.

The Use of the Disciplining Whip, unknown to all Antiquity, began in the End of this Century, having had its Opposers and Maintainers; the Custom of doing Penance for another, was likewise introduc'd at that Time. The Fasts on the four Ember-Weeks were strictly observ'd; but the Ember-Week of the Summer-Quarter, was not as yet fix'd; for some took it to be the second Week of the Month of June, and others referr'd it to the Week immediately following Whitsunday. Divers Councils ordain'd Abstinence from Flesh on Saturdays, and from Flesh and Wine on Fridays: In the former Ages of the Church, 'twas customary to fast on Fridays and Saturdays, till the Hour of Nine: The Church of Rome was wont to keep a Fast on Saturdays instead of Wednesdays: The Churches of France for a long time, observ'd the Fasts of Wednesday and Friday, but that Custom was abolish'd; neither was any Regard had even to Abstinence on those Days. A Constitution was made to that Purpose in this Century, for Friday and Saturday, although it met with some Opposition.

The Priests were forbidden to celebrate above one Mass in a Day, unless in Case of Necessity, or when it was requisite that one should be said for a deceased Person; for then they were allowed to say such a Mass, and that of the Day: Some Sorts of Penance were impos'd on Priests who let fall an Host through Carelessness: In some Churches 'twas customary to give a consecrated Host to the Priests on the Day of their Ordination, with which they communicated during forty Days. This Question was debated at that time, viz. Whether it were lawful for a Priest to celebrate Mass, without being attended with divers Assistants, and when he officiated in that Manner, whether he ought to say, *Dominus vobiscum*? All the Faithful were obliged to receive the Holy Communion at Easter, and it was still usually administer'd in all the Churches, under both Kinds: However, in some, the consecrated Bread was kept in the Wine; and perhaps the Canon of the Council of Clermont, which ordains, That both the Species should be receiv'd separately, was made against that Custom.

The general Commemoration of all the Dead, the next Day after the Festival of All-Saints, was instituted in the End of this Century: Odilo Abbot of Cluny, enjoin'd it to his whole Order; and this Custom was introduc'd into the Church a little while after. It was ordain'd in the Council of Clermont, That the Office of the Virgin Mary should be said every Saturday, and there arose Disputes about the Festival of her Annuntiation, viz. Whether it ought to be celebrated on March 25. or on Dec. 18. but it was usually referr'd to the former: Some other Questions of less Importance were likewise started, and hotly debated, particularly, that about the Apostolical Dignity, attributed to St. Marial, The Benedictins of the Abby of Fleury, and those of Mount Cassin, had a long Contest for the Body of St. Benedict, the Founder of their Order, and the Monks of St. Dennis and of St. Emmeran at Ratisbon, in like Manner contended for that of St. Dionysius, or Dennis the Areopagite.

The Monastick State receiv'd very considerable Accessions and Advantages in the Eleventh Century. The Congregation of Cluny was much augmented by a vast Number of Monasteries newly founded, and by the great Revenues, with which it was endow'd; but the Increase of Riches occasion'd Remissness of Discipline; caus'd Ambition to be predominant, and immers'd the Monks in secular Affairs. A serious Reflection on these Irregularities induc'd many Persons to imbrace a more austere Sort of Monastick Life, and more conformable to that which is enjoin'd in St. Benedict's Rule, and gave Occasion to the founding of several new Orders, who all made Profession to follow the same Rule made by St. Benedict; altho' they had their peculiar Customs. Thus St. Romuald founded that of the Camaldolites in Italy, in the Beginning of the Century. He became a Monk, A. C. 971. at the Age of 20 Years in the Abby of Clafee in the Diocess of Ravenna, but perceiving the Disorders in which his Monastery was involv'd, and considering that the Engagement of the Monks in secular Affairs, was the Cause of their Irregularity, he put himself under the Tuition of a certain reverend Hermit nam'd Marinus, who resided in the Territories of Venice, and imbrac'd the Hermetick Life, which he re-establish'd in the Western Countries. Their Institution was not to live alone, as the ancient Hermits, but to dwell together in the same Place, separated from other Men, and in distinct Cells, under the Government of the same Superior, and observing the same Rule: These Sorts of Monasteries were anciently call'd *Laur*, and St. Romuald founded a very great

Number of them in Italy: One of the most famous, was that which was built on Mount Apennin near Arezzo, in a Place which was given them by a certain Person nam'd of Divi-Mandol; from whence the Order took the Name of Camaldoli: St. Romuald liv'd 100 Years after he had taken upon him the Vows of Religion; and saw his Order in a flourishing Condition. Peter Damien in like Manner instituted a Congregation of Hermits of the same Kind: These Hermits practis'd great Austerities, and are reputed to have done very extraordinary Things. John Gualbert of Florence having likewise quitted his Monastery to lead a more regular Course of Life, retir'd to Vall' Umbrosa, and there laid the Foundation of a new religious Society.

The Order of the Carthusians was instituted A. D. 1086. by Bruno, a Native of Colez, and Canon of Rheims, who repair'd, with six of his Companions, to the Solitude of Chartreuse, which was assign'd to them by Hugh Bishop of Grenoble. Some time after, two Gentlemen of Vienne nam'd Gaston and Girond, having devoted their Persons and Estates to the Relief of those who being seiz'd with the Dissemper commonly call'd St. Anthony's Fire, came to implore the Intercession of St. Anthony at Vienne, where the Body of that Saint was translated from Constantinople by Juscelin D'Albon, in the time of King Lothaire the Son of Lewis D'Outremer, gave Occasion to the Institution of the Order of St. Anthony, which was compos'd at first of certain Laymen, and afterwards of Monks, who made Profession of St. Augustine's Rule. In the Year 1098. Robert Abbot of Molefine retired to Cisteaux in the Diocess of Challon upon Saene, with 21 Monks of his Convent, to practise St. Benedict's Rule with greater Strictness: His Design being approv'd by Gautier Bishop of Challon, and by Hugh Archbishop of Lyons, he built a Monastery in that Place, which was endow'd by Eudas Duke of Burgundy; but he had not long the Government of it, for Pope Paschal II. enjoin'd him, the next Year, to return to Molefine. The other Monks continu'd at Cisteaux, under the Tuition of Alberic, and this Reform was approv'd by the Pope, A. D. 1100. Stephen Harding, who succeeded Alberic, in 1109. brought this Order to its full Perfection, insomuch, that it became very numerous and obtain'd great Reputation. About the same Time Robert D'Arviselles Archdeacon of Rennes, having receiv'd a Mission from Pope Urban II. to preach to the People, by that Means gather'd together a great Multitude of Persons of both Sexes, and caus'd many Cells to be built for them in the Forest of Frontrewault, at the Distance of three Leagues from Saumur. Afterward he shut up the Nuns in a separate Apartment, and in the Year of our Lord, 1100. made a great Monastery, which was govern'd by him till the End of his Life; but before he died, he caus'd Petronilla de Chemilla to be chosen Abbess, A. D. 1115. and conferr'd on her, both the Government of the Nuns, and of the Monks of that Order.

The regular Manner of living in Common, peculiar to the Canons, which was instituted in the Ninth Century, was now almost every where abolish'd; nevertheless some Bishops reviv'd it in their Chapters, and it was re-establish'd in the End of the Century in another Form: For then certain religious Houses were founded, in which Clergymen, who were desirous to lead a more regular Course of Life, retir'd thither, to live in Common, without having any Manner of private Property. These last Canons were different from those of the Ninth Century. 1. In regard that the former had Benefices annex'd to Churches, and were oblig'd to officiate in them; whereas there were many among these who had not any peculiar Church-Living. 2. Because the former were wont to live in Common, of the Church-Revenues, but they might also retain those of their private Patrimony; whereas these were oblig'd to renounce them, as well as the Monks. 3. Upon Account that the others were at Liberty to quit that Course of Life; whereas these last profess'd to live always after the same Manner, and they were positively forbidden to do otherwise. The latter Canons liv'd in Common, under an Abbot, Superior or Provost, and made Profession, as the Monks, of Poverty, Constancy and Obedience; altho' they were not as yet bound by an express Vow; neither were they only employ'd in serving the Church or Monastery, where they resided, but they were also taken sometimes out of their House, to receive a Cure, and to exercise other Ecclesiastical Functions. Ives afterwards Bishop of Chartres, establish'd this strict Reform in the Monastery of St. Quentin, A. D. 1078. Afterward that religious House supply'd France, with many other Convents of regular Canons, and in the Beginning of the following Century, the Congregations of St. Rufus and St. Norbert were instituted; insomuch, that the Order of regular Canons, became very numerous, and extended very far within a short Space of Time.



## C H A P. I.

## Of the Life and Writings of Ivo, Bishop of Chartres.

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Bishop of  
Chartres.

**I**V O, Bishop of *Chartres*, (though born in the XIth. Age of the Church,) not dying till the Year 1115. shall begin our Catalogue of the Writers of this XIIth. Century; and his Life and Works have so many Things remarkable in them, as to deserve a Chapter by themselves.

He was the Son of *Hugo de Altylo* and *Hilemburga*, and was born at *Beauvais*; where he also began his Studies; but removing afterwards to the Abby of *Bec*, he applied himself to Divinity under *Lanfranc*, and chiefly to the reading and studying of the Ecclesiastical Canons. *Guy* Bishop of *Beauvais* made Choice of him for Abbot of the Monastery of *St. Quentin*, which he had founded in the Year 1078. He gave all his Estate to this Foundation; wherein, by his Care and good Government, Religion and Learning did mightily flourish, and by some of the Members of this, were several other Monasteries of Canons Regulars erected in divers Parts of *France*.

*Geofry*, at this time Bishop of *Chartres*, was summon'd to answer before Pope *Gregory VII.* to the Charge of Simony, laid against him, which, nevertheless there appear'd not sufficient Evidence at that time to make out; but being afterwards cited before *Urban II.* he was found guilty of divers Crimes, and deposed by that Pope from his Bishoprick. The Clergy and People of *Chartres* elected *Ivo* into his Place, and presented him to King *Philip*, who gave him the Investiture: but *Richerius*, Archbishop of *Sens*, being enrag'd that *Geofry* was turn'd out, without acquainting him with it, refuses to consecrate *Ivo*, though the Clergy and People of *Chartres* demanded it with much Earnestness. The Archbishop persisting in his Temper, *Ivo* addresses himself to Pope *Urban II.* and from him receives his

Consecration, with an Expreß to *Richerius* to acknowledge him, and by Vertue of it was soon put in Possession of the Bishoprick of *Chartres*, and *Geofry* oblig'd to retire to that Part of the Diocess which lay in *Normandy*, which for some time after he retain'd, by the Favour and Interest of the Duke of that Province. *Richerius*, in Revenge of the affront put upon him, and to assert his own Rights and Privileges, summons *Ivo* before the Council he was to hold at *Stampæ*, to answer for his having seiz'd himself of the Church of *Chartres*, while *Geofry* was yet living: *Ivo* not thinking it safe for him to appear there, the Archbishop, together with the Bishops of *Paris*, *Meaux* and *Troyes*, declar'd him guilty of High-Treason against the King and the Ecclesiastical Laws, in having gotten himself consecrated by the Pope, and resolv'd to re-settle *Geofry* in his Diocess, but *Ivo* appealing once more to *Rome*, the Pope interdicts *Richerius* the Use of the *Pallium*, in case he shou'd any longer oppose the Establishment of *Ivo*; upon which, *Geofry* was at last intirely driven out of the whole Diocess. The great Zeal *Ivo* always express'd for maintaining Ecclesiastical Discipline, the Observation of the Canons and Purity of Manners, and his undaunted Courage in asserting the Liberties of the Church, in opposing all Innovations and Irregularities, and in discouraging and discountenancing all Remissness and Neglect of Duties, as it engag'd him in many Differences with others, and involv'd him in much Trouble, so it gave Occasion to the World to perceive and admire his great Learning and Knowledge, and his mighty Wisdom and Constancy. He died at *Chartres*, the 23d. of *December*, in the Year 1115.

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## His Works.

**T**Here are yet extant 287. Letters written by *Ivo* Bishop of *Chartres*, which, being full of remarkable Observations concerning the Discipline and History of the Church, and containing many excellent Lessons of Morality, judicious Determinations of several Cases of Conscience and Law-Questions, proposed to him by others, are of no small Value, and it will be well worth our while to give the Reader a short and exact Abridgment of each of them.

The two first in the Collection, are from Pope *Urban II.* one to the Clergy and People of *Chartres*, the other to *Richerius* Bishop of *Sens*, in which, he advertises them of his having consecrated *Ivo* Bishop of *Chartres*: At the End of them follows the Pope's Advice to him after his Consecration.

The 3d. Letter is from *Ivo* to the Pope, regretting his having been by him drawn from his Solitudes and Retirement to be made a Bishop, and recommending to him the Bishop of *Beauvais*.

In the 4th. he admonishes *Bernard*, Abbot of *Marmoutier*, not to entertain any Monks of his Diocess, and in particular, demands of him one *Walter*, who had been Abbot of *Bonneval*, and quitted his Station for that Retirement.

The 5th. Letter to *Adela* Countess of *Chartres*, severely reprimands her for countenancing the Marriage of her Kinswoman *Adelaisa* with *William*, and advises that they forbear having carnal Knowledge of each other, till the Matter be determined in a Consistory.

The 6th. is a Letter of Thanks for a Present he had receiv'd from *Girard*; (suppos'd to have been a Regular Canon of *St. Quentin* at *Beauvais*, and afterwards Abbot of the Monastery of *St. Loup* in *Troyes*) He gives him also some Account of the Contrivances of his Enemies against him, and invites him to his House. He tells him in the Conclusion, that *Geofry* was forc'd to quit the whole Bishoprick, except a small Corner of it, which he yet held by the Duke of *Normandy's* Assistance.

The 7th. is directed to *Roscelin*, a Priest of the Church of *Compiègne*, who had been condemn'd of Heresie, in the Council of *Soissons*, and forc'd to a Recantation, which he afterwards abjuring, was turn'd out of his Benefice, and not knowing, in that Condition, where to find a Retreat, had address'd himself for Relief to *Ivo* Bishop of *Chartres*. Our Prelate answers, that he would willingly grant his Request and afford him Entertainment, were he sure he had sincerely renounc'd his former Errors; but having Reason to believe the contrary of him, and fearing the People of *Chartres* would not endure him among them, must refuse what he asks of him, that the best Advice he can give him is to

bear his Condition patiently, and to resolve on a publick and authentick Abjuration of his Errors in Religion.

The 8th. Letter of *Ivo's* is to *Richerius* Archbishop of *Sens*, who had severely inveigh'd against him, in a Letter, by which he cited him to appear and answer before him, for having usurp'd the See from *Geofry*. *Ivo*, in this Letter, remonstrates to him, how injuriously he dealt, and what Inconveniencies he would draw upon himself, by undertaking the Cause of one who had been found guilty of the most notorious Crimes, and stood condemn'd by the Holy See: that for his Part, he was so far from aspiring to the Bishoprick of *Chartres*, that after the Clergy of that Church had elected him, and forc'd him to take Investiture of the King, he had still declin'd entering upon that Charge, till he was fully certified of the Deposition of *Geofry*, and that it was the Pope's Pleasure he should succeed him: that upon the Archbishop's refusing to admit him, he had Recourse to the Pope, who oblig'd him to accept the Bishoprick, and consecrated him himself. He reminds the Archbishop likewise, that the Pope had written to him, and commanded him to receive him as his Suffragan, that he had ever since endeavour'd to behave himself according to the Respect and Obedience due from him to his Metropolitan: he adds, that he is willing to attend the Council at *Stampæ*, if a safe Conduct may be granted him, and that *Stephen* Earl of *Chartres* should be ready there, on the King's Side, to answer to all that shou'd be objected against him, without Prejudice to the Authority of the Holy See, before which this Matter might one Day be brought.

The 9th. Letter is address'd to *Philip* King of *France*, and gives his Majesty an Account how *Ivo* had accommodated the Differences between the Monks of *Bec* and those of *Molefine*, with which the King was not satisfied.

In the 10th. he gives several Instructions to the Nuns of *St. Avita* near *Châteaudun*, and advises them in particular, to take care of their Reputations.

In the 11th. he congratulates *Gonthier*, upon his Return to his Duty, orders him to retire into the Church of *Santa Maria de Gournay*, where he should have the Charge of some Monks, and exhorts him to live there peaceably and orderly.

In the 12th. he consults Pope *Urban* about an odd Practice of some in his Diocess, who would live by the Altar, but not serve at the Altar, and offer'd Money to him for Altars, as they were wont to purchase them of his Predecessors, under the Title of *Personnats*: Of this Matter, *Ivo* intreats the Pope's Opinion, and his Advice how to deal with these Traders. He informs him also, that the Archbishop of *Sens*, assisted by the Bishops of *Paris*, *Meaux*, and



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and *Troyes*, had pronounc'd his Consecration void, and intended to reinstate *Geofry*. He appeals therefore to the Holy See, and judges it necessary that the Pope write to them, and oblige them either to give them no farther Disturbance, or else to appear at *Rome*, and give an Account of their Proceedings. Lastly, he delivers his Opinion, that 'twould be convenient the Pope should send a Legate into *France*, to endeavour the Reformation of the Churches: and prays the Pope, that if any Persons banish'd out of his Diocess for notorious Crimes, shall repair to *Rome*, he will not decree any Thing concerning them, till he have fully inform'd himself of the whole Merits of their Causes.

The 13th. and 14th. Letters are to the Archbishop *Richerius*, and the other Bishops invited by the King to his Marriage with *Bertrade*, whom *Ivo* dissuades from going to Court, and exhorts to do all they can to hinder that Marriage.

In the 15th. he freely declares his Mind to King *Philip*, that he neither can nor will assist at his intended Marriage with *Bertrade*, till his former Marriage be pronounced void in a General Council.

The 16th. is an Answer to *Walter* Bishop of *Meaux's*, upon this Question, If it be lawful for a Man to marry his Concubine? He tells him that some Laws have forbid it, and others have permitted it, and leaves the whole Matter to the Discretion and Judgment of the Bishops; after which, he exhorts the Bishop of *Meaux*, not to approve of King *Philip's* Marriage with *Bertrade*.

The 17th. to the regular Canons of *St. Quentin*, at *Beauvais*, does with a great Deal of Eloquence set forth the Troubles he is involved in, since he was made a Bishop; admonishes them to continue to observe the Rules of their Institution and to make Choice of a Superior in his Place.

In the 18th. *Ivo* highly blames Cardinal *Roger*, the Pope's Legate, for being inclin'd to absolve *Simon* Count of *Niofle*, whom he had excommunicated for Adultery. This Count, after the Death of his Wife, marries one with whom he had formerly been too familiar, and now demands Absolution; *Ivo* absolutely refuses it, and sends him to the Pope with a Letter, setting forth the whole Affair: The Count makes his Suit to *Roger*, hoping to meet with more gentle Treatment from him than at the Pope's Hands; *Ivo* hereupon declares to the Cardinal, that he cannot absolve him, nor will he admit him to the Communion, till he has an Answer from the Pope, either in Writing or by Word of Mouth.

The 19th. Letter is written to *William*, Abbot of *Fécamp*, who had compar'd him to *St. John* and to *Elijah*, for his Boldness, in declaring his Dislike of the King's Marriage. *Ivo* acquaints him how great Inconveniences that Liberty of his had brought him under, and desires the Prayers of him and his Monks. He cannot grant the Abbot's Request in Behalf of a Canon Regular, who would have Leave to quit his Rule and enter into the Monastery of *Fécamp*; he tells him, if he knew the Man, he would not be concern'd for him, that he is a proud and idle Fellow, that for ten Years together he had never as he ought observ'd his Week for reading Mass, but was at any Time for reading out of his Turn, when there was an Occasion of serving his Vanity by it; however, if the Canons his Brethren, would consent he should leave their House, he would not hinder him, and gave him full Leave to ask them.

*Ivo* being taken into Custody for opposing King *Philip's* Marriage, the Clergy and People of *Chartres* threaten'd to assault the Count, unless he would release him: To them therefore *Ivo* writes, dissuading them from all Thoughts of taking Arms, which would be a Means not of procuring his Liberty, but prolonging his Confinement, that it would moreover offend the Divine Majesty, that it was not fit for a Bishop to recover his Rights by Violence; that he was resolv'd rather to dye, than that any Man should lose his Life to rescue him; that that would much sooner be obtain'd by their Prayers, which was all he had to beg or expect from them. These are the Contents of his 20th. Letter.

In the 21st. he pays his Thanks to *Hoel* Bishop of *Mans*, for the Prayers he had put up to God for his Deliverance. He desires of him the Relicks of *St. Julian's* Body, which had been lately translated to *Mans*.

The 22d. to King *Philip*, acknowledges that having been by that Prince advanc'd to a Bishoprick, he owes to him under God the highest Respect and Observance: But that having had the Misfortune to fall under his Displeasure, for offering him as a true and faithful Servant necessary and wholesome Advice, he had been ill treated, and the Goods of his Bishoprick imbezled by his Enemies; that therefore he pray'd his Majesty to excuse his not coming to Court, and to allow him some time to breathe, and to put his Affairs into Order again. He hopes God will one Day convince him by Experience of the Truth of that Maxim of *Solomon's*, that the Wounds and harsh Usage of our Friends who love us, are to be prefer'd before the Kisses of our Enemies and Flatterers. He concludes with assuring the

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King, that he is ready to answer his Accusers, when he may know what they have to object against him, and that he will defend himself in the Church, if his Crimes fall under the Ecclesiastical Cognizance, or before his Majesty's Council, if he be charg'd with any against the State.

The 23d. is to *Guy*, chief Master of the King's Household, who had interceded with the King, in Favour of *Ivo*: he returns him Thanks for his good Offices, and assures him 'tis impossible they should come to any good Terms, till the King have totally quitted *Bertrade*; that he had seen a Letter of Pope *Urban's* to all the Prelates of the Kingdom, commanding them to excommunicate him in case he continu'd to live with her, and that this Letter had been long since publish'd, if he had not conceal'd it out of the true Love he bore his Majesty, and his unwillingness that his own People should rise up against him.

The 24th. is to *Hugh*, Archbishop of *Lyons*; he acquaints him how great Joy it was to him to hear that Pope *Urban* had appointed him Legate of *France*, in which Employment he had had so well acquitted himself under *Gregory VII.* but, that he was now not a little griev'd to understand he had by the Advice of several of his Friends refus'd to accept of that Office again, by reason of the too great Business which must lie upon him, at the present Juncture of Affairs, while the Church labour'd under such Troubles as would not easily admit of being compos'd: *Ivo* tells him, he had been ill counsel'd, and ought not to be sway'd by his Friends Persuasions, that though in *Italy* a second *Ahab* was arisen, and *France* had another *Jezebel*, who endeavour'd to overthrow the Altars and kill the Prophets of the Lord, yet he should remember the Saying of *Elijah*, That God had yet left him seven thousand Servants, who had not bow'd their Knees to *Baal*: That though their *Herodias* should request the Head of *John*, and *Herod* should grant her what she ask'd, yet *John* should not be afraid to tell him, 'Tis not lawful for thee to put away thy own Wife, and to marry another Man's Wife or Concubine. These and the like Instances are urged by *Ivo*, to induce *Hugh* to take upon him the Legatine Authority, which he hopes he will soon acquaint him he has yielded to; and desires to know where he may meet him about the Beginning of Lent.

His 25th. Letter is address'd to Pope *Urban*; and lays before him an Account of the Troubles and Difficulties he was daily oblig'd to encounter with, which made him often resolve to quit his Bishoprick. He then intreats the Pope not to hearken to what should be alledg'd, in his own Defence, by one of the Clergy of *Chartres*, who had been degraded for Simony, Money-coining, and other Irregularities.

The 26th. is to *Walter*, Abbot of *St. Maur des Fosses*, who had Thoughts of leaving his Monastery, by reason of the great Corruptions and Disorders amongst his Monks. *Ivo* dissuades him from pursuing that Resolution, if he hath yet any Hopes of doing Good upon, and reforming but some of them; but in case they continue all incorrigible; thinks he may leave them.

The 27th. is to *Eudes*, Chief-Justice of *Normandy*, who had ask'd his Opinion, how he ought to proceed against a certain Bishop; who, being formerly accus'd of Simony and other Misdemeanours, had gotten himself consecrated before the Day appointed for his Trial. *Ivo* advises this Magistrate not to regard him as a Bishop; but to treat him as a Heretick and an Intruder; and that if he could not have Justice done upon him by the Bishops of the Province, he should cite both him and his Judges before the See of *Rome*, without whose Determination such Causes were seldom brought to a due Issue.

The 28th. to King *Philip*, carries his Excuses for not appearing with his Soldiers at *Pontoise*, or *Chaumont*, according to the King's Orders: 1. Because Pope *Urban* having forbid the King to keep Company with *Bertrade*, under Pain of Excommunication, he could not have forborn publicly admonishing his Majesty of it. 2. Because most of the Guards and Militia of the Diocess lying under Excommunication for being concern'd in a Rebellion, he could not, till they had undergone a Penance, receive them into the Communion of the Church, nor send them against the Enemy while they were under her Censures; and 3. Because he thought it not safe for him to be at Court, where he was hated by the Sex that seldom pardon even their best Friends.

The 29th. severely reprimands *Roger* the Priest, for his ill Conduct and Behaviour.

The 30th. contains *Ivo's* Advice to *Fulk*, Bishop of *Beauvais*, not to persist in opposing *Hugh* the Pope's Legate, and communicates to him the Letters sent him by the Pope, relating to King *Philip's* Affair.

By the 31st. to the same Prelate, he resigns up into his Hands the Provostship of *St. Quentin* in *Beauvais*, conjuring him to see that his Successor be chosen by the Majority and soundest Part of that Society. And in the 32d. he sends his Advice to them, to elect a fit and able Person for their Governor

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The 33<sup>d</sup>. and 34<sup>th</sup>. Letters have nothing remarkable in them.

The 35<sup>th</sup>. is address'd to *Richerius*, Archbishop of *Sens*, and the other Prelates assembled with him at *Rheims*, and sets forth his Reasons why he would not obey their Citation of him before that Council: 1. That he was cited by Bishops of other Provinces, who had no Power to be his Judges. 2. Because they intended to try him out of the Jurisdiction of the Province he was under; and 3. Because the Accusations laid against him proceeded only from their Malice and Hatred of his Person: That therefore he appeal'd to the Holy See of *Rome*, where he should be sure to meet with the Favour allow'd to all others in his Condition, of being heard by the Pope himself, or by his Vicars: That he did not take this Method to avoid a Trial, being able enough to defend himself against their Charge of Perjury, by bringing Proof that he had not so much as taken any Oath, but that he did it to prevent his giving an ill Example to others, and exposing himself to apparent Hazard of his Life, since he could not by any Means obtain the King's Pass-port; that besides all this, he well enough foresaw he should not be allow'd Liberty of Speech in their Assembly, since they had already accus'd him of Disloyalty to the King, and of being an Enemy to his Majesty, only for having had the Courage to tell him his Duty, as he thought all of them in Conscience bound to do; whereas his Majesty's real Enemies were those who dissembled with him, and dar'd not search his Wounds with Fire and Sword; that the King might deal with him as his Majesty should think fit, but that he was firmly resolv'd never to approve of his Marriage.

In the 36<sup>th</sup>. Letter to the Bishop of *Beauvais*, he shews him the Reasons he had to complain of him; particularly, that having requested him to send a Canon Regular to be prefer'd to a Vacancy in his Diocess, that Bishop would have had him put in a Monk, contrary to the Constitutions of that Church ordained by the Pope. Hereupon, *Ivo* takes Occasion to shew the Dignity of the Regular Clergy above that of the Monks, and cites, to this Purpose, a Passage of *St. Austine*, wherein that Father says, *he scarce ever knew a Monk prove a good Clerk*, and some Places out of *St. Jerome*, preferring the Clergy before the Monks. He protests however, that he does not intend all this to reproach and disparage the Monastick Way of living, but to put them in mind that they ought to continue truly Monks, and be content to lead a retir'd Life. 'We praise their Institution,' says he, and believe their State to be as perfectly happy 'as any on Earth, while they confine themselves within the Bounds assign'd them by their Founders; but we think them fitter to be Subjects than Governors, and would have them be humble and obedient, not proud and aspiring.'

In the 37<sup>th</sup>. he exhorts a certain Canon Regular to go on as he had begun, in all due Submission to his Superiors, and in the Practice of Vertue and Religion.

The 38<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter of Thanks to the Bishop of *Winchester*, for a Chalice he had made him a Present of, to hold the holy Chrism.

In the 39<sup>th</sup>. he acquaints *St. Anselm*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that he had shewn what Kindness he could to the Monks of *Bee*, in taking their Part against those of *Molefine*, and that he had long since done them Justice, in their Demands upon the Abby of *Poissy*, if they had not resolv'd to wait first of all for the King's Consent.

There is nothing observable in the 40<sup>th</sup>. Letter.

The 41<sup>st</sup>. written to *Geofrey* Abbot of *Vendome*, treats of the following Question, *viz.* Whether a Monk taking the Vow upon him, and receiving the Benediction from another Monk, ought again to receive it from his Abbot? *Ivo* determines, that it may be either repeated or omitted, without any Prejudice either to the one or the other of the Parties, because the Benediction of a Monk is not by Imposition of Hands, nor the Administration of any Sacrament of Apostolical Tradition, and that it has no other Vertue in it than what is in the Absolution of a Penitent, or the Prayers of a Priest for his People; that a private Monk having no body but himself to take Care of, may, by his own Act, dedicate himself to that State of Life, without the Benediction of any Monk or Abbot, since that which constitutes him a Monk, is not any new Dignity conferr'd on him, but only his Contempt of the World and Love of God; that this is so, appears from considering the Practice of the first Institutors of the Monastick Orders, who neither receiv'd nor us'd any Benedictions; that indeed, when the Communities of Monks began to be numerous, Vows were exacted of them, and they were admitted by Benedictions, which Custom, was prudentially taken up, to oblige them firmer and more solemnly, in the Presence both of God and Men, to Diligence and Constancy in the Way of Life they had chose and undertaken; which if they should afterward offer to renounce, they would have the more Witnesses to condemn them; that these Ceremonies were the best Security could be found out against the Fickleness of Mens Minds and resolutions; and that therefore, 'twere convenient it should be left to the Discretion of every Abbot

to oblige his Monks, if he thought fit, to renew the Vows they had come under before Witnesses, and to repeat the Benedictions they had receiv'd from others, or wholly to omit them; since these were not Sacraments, which ought not to be repeated; but if the Benediction were look'd upon as such, it ought not to be administred a second Time, as Bishops were not to consecrate anew the Nuns that had been already consecrated by Priests.

The 42<sup>d</sup>. is a Letter of moral Advice, to the Bishop of *Soissons*.

The 43<sup>d</sup>. congratulates Pope *Urban*, upon the Restitution of Peace to the greatest Part of *Italy*; and acquaints him, that one *William*, a Clergyman of his Diocess, was elected Bishop of *Paris*.

The 44<sup>th</sup>. is an Admonition to all the Bishops of *France*, to put in Execution a Law which prohibits all Manner of War, four Days in the Week.

The 45<sup>th</sup>. forbids the whole Clergy of the Archdeaconry of *Poissy* to marry the Count *de Menlan* to the Daughter of the Count *Creppey*, they being within the Degrees of Consanguinity, as he proves from the Genealogy of the two Families.

The 46<sup>th</sup>. Letter to Pope *Urban*, advertises him that the King of *France* was dispatching a Deputation of some Courtiers to him, to obtain from him, either by Threatnings or fair Offers, an Absolution; and exhorts him not to be prevail'd on by them to grant it.

In the 47<sup>th</sup>. he tells *Guy*, the chief Master of the King's Household, that 'tis in vain for that Prince to think of procuring a Dispensation of his Marriage with *Bertrade*, by his Promises of bestowing great Endowments on the Church; that it can never be granted him, nor can he atone for his great Sin by so good a Work, or ever hope for Remission of it, while he resolves to keep to her.

In the 48<sup>th</sup>. he acquaints Pope *Urban* with the Promotion of *Manasses* II. to the Archbishoprick of *Rheims*.

The 49<sup>th</sup>. is written to *Stephen* Earl of *Chartres* and *Blais*, denying him the Exemption of the Cloyster of the Canons, from the Bishop's Jurisdiction, and refusing to swear Homage to him, out of the Bounds of the City of *Chartres*.

In the 50<sup>th</sup>. he makes his Excuses to *Richerius*, Archbishop of *Sens*, for not waiting upon him, without the King's Passport: He interposes his Advice concerning the Dispute for Primacy, between the Archbishop of *Lions* and *Richerius*, that if he have good Authorities to produce, he should do it, and desires he would send him the Copies of them; but if no such can be found, he thinks he had best refer the Matter to the Pope's Decision: He acquaints him, that *William* is elected Archbishop of *Paris*, praying that he would consecrate him before the Feast of *St. Remy*, letting him also know, that he had obtain'd leave for him of the Pope, to make use of his *Pallium* on this Occasion, though otherwise, it had been forbidden him.

The 51<sup>st</sup>. Letter is written to *Sanction*, Dean of *Orleans*, who had been elected Bishop of that Church, in the Year 1099. *John*, the Subdean, had us'd underhand Measures to get himself into that Bishoprick, and some of the Clergy of his Faction, had, by Letters to *Ivo*, accus'd *Sanction* of Simony: *Ivo* hereupon, endeavours to dissuade him from aspiring after that Dignity, and from getting himself consecrated, till he had the Pope's Order for it, and had clear'd him of the Aspersions cast upon him. In the mean while, the Clergy and People of *Orleans*, had prevail'd on the Archbishop of *Sens*, to command *Ivo* to consecrate him; he refus'd to do it at *Châteaulandon*, bordering on the Diocess of *Sens*, by reason of the Difference between the Archbishop of *Sens* and the Pope, about the Primacy of *Lions*; but the Clergy having interest'd the King to confirm their Election, *Ivo* sends forth his Citation for *Sanction's* Adversaries to appear at *Chartres*, which they not obeying, and *Sanction* having purg'd himself by Oath, of what they had alledg'd against him, he was consecrated by *Ivo* Bishop of *Chartres*, *William* Bishop of *Paris*, and *Walter* Bishop of *Meaux*, as is fully related by *Ivo*, in his 52<sup>th</sup>. Letter, written on this Occasion, to *Hugh* Archbishop of *Lions*. No sooner was *Sanction* settled in his new Dignity, but he began to abuse and insult over those of his Clergy who had oppos'd him, which drew from *Ivo* the 53<sup>d</sup>. Letter in this Collection, wherein he severely taxes him for his indecent Behaviour. The Archbishop of *Lions* was highly displeas'd at *Sanction's* Consecration, and took care to let *Ivo* know how ill he resent'd it at his Hands: To him therefore, *Ivo* protests, (in his 59<sup>th</sup>. Letter) that he had not taken any Money for performing that Office; that he knew nothing of the Crimes *Sanction* was accus'd of; that *Sanction* had denied them all upon Oath; that he did not give him Notice of that Solemnity, because 'twas not customary to do so; nor did he conceive that the Archbishop could by Vertue of his Legatine Authority, challenge such Jurisdiction over the Bishops of *France*, as that they should not have Power of Consecration, without his Leave and Licence.

In the 52<sup>d</sup>. Letter, *Ivo* writes to *Gansfroy*, Dean of *Mant*, about one *Everard* a Canon-Regular, who had entred him-

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Ivo  
Bishop of  
Chartres.

self a Monk, in the Abby of *Marmoutier*, and had a mind to return to his former Order, that he ought by no means to suffer him to quit his Monastery, nor receive him again among the Clergy.

In the 55th. he requests the Archbishop of *Lyons* to confirm the Election of one who had been chosen Bishop of *Beauvais*, notwithstanding some Objections he had against him.

In the 56th. he Answers King *Philip*, that he could not hear, that *Hugh* Archbishop of *Lyons* intended to call another General Council this Year, the Pope having already held two within his Majesty's Dominions; and that if he should Summon one, 'twould be contrary to the Apostolical Institutions and the Practice of the Church; that if the Pope's Legates shall after any reasonable Distance of Time, think fit to Convene the Bishops, they are to obey their Orders; but, if they shall begin to impose a new and intolerable Yoke upon the Bishops, he hopes his Majesty will think it his Duty to put a stop to their Encroachments.

In the 57th. he tells *Geofry*, Abbot of *Vendome*, That he ought to deny the Rite of Burial, among his Monks, to one of them, who had four Times quitted his Monastery; because, at his last Return thither, he had not brought back with him, the Goods he had Sacrilegiously carried away from the Monastery.

*Richerius*, Archbishop of *Sens*, dying in the Beginning of the Year 1096, the Clergy elected *Daimbert*, and sent to *Ivo*, to ordain him both Priest, and Bishop; who answers them, in the 58th. Letter, That he could not do it, but within the Times appointed for Ordinations; and, that before his Election could be confirm'd, he must confer with the rest of his Brethren the Bishops, about an Obstacle that offer'd it self. This Obstacle, was, the Opposition of *Hugh*, Archbishop of *Lyons*, who gave out, that no Bishops could be ordain'd in *France*, without his Permission; and that he would, in particular, do all he could to hinder *Daimbert's* succeeding to the Archbishoprick of *Sens*, 'till he should acknowledge the Primacy of *Lyons*. *Ivo*, therefore, in the 59th. Letter, demands of *Hugh*, if he may ordain him? And prays his Answer with all Speed. *Hugh* absolutely refusing to give him Leave to do it, *Ivo* lets him know by the 60th. Letter, that he will obey his Pleasure therein, and had communicated it to the Bishops of his Province; but he intreats and advises him, to be more moderate, and reserv'd for the future, in the Exercise of his Authority, and not to insist so Rigorously, in exacting their Obedience, to all the Commands of the Holy See; Lest, by imposing on them Burdens too heavy for them to bear, he force them to disown her Power, through an Impossibility of performing what she lays upon them; or out of some Necessity, and Expediency, of acting contrary to it: That tho' they are all very well inclin'd to Pay due Obedience to the Orders, or Prohibitions of the Holy See, in Matters relating to Faith and Morality, either concerning the Defence of Religion, the Punishment of wicked Men, the preventing Dangers, and Evils, and the like; and tho' they are ready to suffer any Thing, in Obedience to what she shall Command, and Appoint, to any such good Ends and Purposes; yet, as to indifferent Matters, the observing, or not observing of which, has no Influence upon our Salvation: And as to the Endeavours of the Court of *Rome*, to alter ancient Customs, established by the Holy Fathers, he intreats him to consider with himself, Whether they ought not rather to adhere to what they have establish'd, than to receive her new Constitutions? The ancient Canons (he tells him) do constantly Order, that Metropolitans be consecrated by the Bishops of the Province; and therefore, he wonders, that *Hugh* should go about to Introduce another Custom, and pretend to oblige the New-elected Archbishop of *Sens*, to come to him before his Consecration, and to promise Submission, and Obedience to him; which is contrary to what was ever practis'd in the Province of *France*, or in any other Country; and, that since *Daimbert* had not been accused of any Crimes, and had been elected duly, and without Simony, he had no Authority to cite him before him: And whereas, *Hugh* complains, in his Letter, that *Daimbert* had receiv'd Investiture from the King's Hands; *Ivo* tells him, he knew of no such Matter; and that tho' it were so, he could not see how that Ceremony should concern Faith and Religion, since, upon a Canonical Election, their Kings had always assum'd a Right of Conferring Bishopricks, and the Popes themselves had written to them, to give Investiture to such as had been duly elected; and, sometimes, had sent Orders to defer the Consecrations of Bishops, who had not obtain'd the King's Consent. He urges, moreover, that Pope *Urban* oppos'd only the real Investitures, and did not exclude their Kings from electing, or confirming Elections: And tho' the eight General Council prohibited their being present at Elections, yet it allow'd them to admit the Person elected, to the Possession of his Bishoprick; that it matters not, whether that Ceremony be administred by the Hand, or some other Sign; whether by pronouncing any Form, or

giving the pastoral Staff; since Kings pretended not to convey any thing Spiritual, but only to shew their Approbation of the Peoples Choice of a Pastor, and to give him Possession of such Lands, and other Ecclesiastical Profits and Advantages, as the Churches were intitled to, from the Liberality of Princes; that the putting a stop to the Practice of such Investitures, had occasion'd many Evils in the Church, which could not be prevented, or remedied, but by permitting again the Exercise of them: Not that he speaks this out of any Disrespect to the Authority of the Holy See, but to shew how much he wisheth, that the Ministers of the Church of *Rome*, would apply themselves to the Correcting the greatest Evils, and Distempers, and not lay out themselves, so much, upon such small and insignificant Matters: And therefore, *Ivo* demands, again, with much Earnestness, that he, and his Brethren, may be permitted to consecrate the Archbishop of *Sens*; which, if *Hugh* will grant them, he promises to prevail on him, to own the Primacy of *Lyons*; but if he deny this their Request, tho' they did not, at present, think of doing it without his Leave, yet, if a Schism should, hereupon, break out in the Church, the Blame would not lie at their Doors. *Ivo* ends this large Epistle, by letting *Hugh* understand, that he had Reason to demand Satisfaction of him, for the Wrong done to himself, and his Church, by those of *Puisset*, who lay under an Excommunication, which *Hugh* had taken off, without his Knowledge; whereby they had been encourag'd to farther Sacrilegious Attempts, presuming to get off so again for the future.

But this was not the only Instance of the strange Carriage of *Hugh*, Archbishop of *Lyons*: For he pretended, also, to oblige the New-elected Bishop of *Nevers*, to wait upon him for his Consecration, at *Autun*. And herein *Ivo* oppos'd him again, and tells him, in the 61st. Letter, that the Privilege he assum'd, was a Violation both of the Laws, and Customs of the Church, by which Bishops were to be consecrated by their Metropolitan; or, when that could not be, by the Bishops of the same Province.

*Ivo*, having accommodated Matters with *Adelecia*, Countess of *Puisset*, writes the 62d. Letter to *Sanction*, Bishop of *Orleans*, letting him know, that the Agreement made between them, did not at all meddle with the Difference that Bishop had with the Clergy, and Monks, of *Puisset*; that he may still execute the Sentence of the Canon upon them, for celebrating divine Service; while they lay under an Interdict from him; tho' he would advise him, not to meddle with them, but by the Archbishop of *Lyons's* Consent, without which he would not get Justice done upon them. He tells him also, he need not wonder at his having receiv'd *Gervase*, (Count of *Châteauneuf*, in *Thimerais*) into the Communion of the Church; being oblig'd so to do, out of Respect to the King, by the Canon, which enjoyns, That if the King admit any excommunicated Person to eat at his Table, the Bishops are to restore him to Ecclesiastical Communion.

In the 63d. Letter, he proves, That none but such as are in the Holy Orders, can consecrate, and administer the Sacraments.

The 64th. to Pope *Urban*, acquaints him, That the Bishop of *Paris* is on his Journey toward *Rome*; recommends him to the Pope, and prays, he will give him so good Instructions, and wholesome Advice, that he may return wiser, and of a more manageable Temper, than he had formerly been: He Petitions, also, in the same Bishop's behalf, for an Inhibition, to prevent the Abbot, and Monks, of *Lagny*, from withdrawing themselves from under his Jurisdiction; and Lastly, intreats the Pope to determine what should be done, in the Affair of the New-elected Archbishop of *Sens*, whom the Archbishop of *Lyons* would not consecrate, 'till he would submit to his Primacy.

*Sanction* had not been long in Possession of the Bishoprick of *Orleans*, before he was deposed by the Archbishop of *Lyons*, at the Request, and Instigation of the Archbishop of *Tours*, to make room for *John*, one of his Creatures; but a very infamous Person, who had been Archdeacon of that Church, under *Sanction's* Predecessor: To bring this Matter about, the Archbishop of *Tours* had crown'd King *Philip*, at *Christmas*, and obtain'd his Grant, that *John* should be consecrated Bishop of *Orleans*: But as soon as *Ivo* understood it, he wrote to *Hugh*, Archbishop of *Lyons*, conjuring him to put a stop to it, and accusing *John* of many notorious Crimes, particularly of having procured the Bishoprick by Simony. These are the Contents of the 66th. Letter.

In the 67th. *Ivo* writes to Pope *Urban* likewise, to interpose his Authority, that so scandalous a Wretch may not be suffer'd to get into the Episcopal Order: And in this Letter, he offers his Apology to the Pope, who was incens'd against him, on Account of what he had written to the Archbishop of *Lyons*, touching the Election, and Consecration of *Daimbert*, to the Archbishoprick of *Sens*: *Ivo* protests, he had no other Design in it, but to induce the Archbishop of *Lyons* to cut off all Occasion of those



Ivo Bishop of Chartres. those Complaints that were daily made against him, by the Bishops of *France*; and to take Care, that the Churches of that Kingdom be not oppress'd, and overburden'd by the Regulations, and Decrees of the Holy See; that if any Thing he had said, relating to the Primacy claim'd by the Archbishop of *Lyons*, had been displeasing to him, he thought he might take leave to speak his Opinion freely upon that Subject, to one, especially, for whom no Man, on this side the *Alps*, had to entire a Respect, and by devoting himself to whole Interests he had been a great Sufferer: However, if his Holiness were offended at any Expression that had dropt from him, he would retract it, and would resign his Bishoprick, rather than bear his Anger, whether he had deserv'd it or not: And if by this Means he might make Satisfaction, for any Thing his Holiness might have taken amiss, he would willingly stand to his Offer, and prays him to accept it: Adding, moreover, that if the Pope would not permit him to quit his Diocese, he fear'd he must shortly be constrain'd to do it, by the King's violent Hatred of him, and the miserable Contempt of God's Word, among the People under his Care. This Letter is dated nine Years after he came to his Bishoprick, which shews it was written in the first Year of this twelfth Century.

*Hugh*, Archbishop of *Lyons*, making no Account of these Remonstrances of *Ivo*, cites him to bring Proof of what he had to alledge against the Person, and Election of *John*: But, *Ivo*, instead of obeying this Summons, answers him, by the 68th. Letter, that the Crimes being so notorious, 'twas needless to search after farther Evidence; and if there were Occasion for it, he could produce sufficient Witness, that *John* had already distributed Money among the Queen's Servants, and had promis'd them a farther Sum, to procure for himself the Bishoprick of *Orleans*: That, besides, his being elected by the King only, made his Title void by the Canons; and, that however the Examination of this whole Affair, ought to be made in the Province, to which his Accusers were Subject, and where the Evidence lay that was to be brought against him, and not in any other.

The 69th. Letter, is, to the Provost of the Canons Regulars of *Estrepepe*, in the Diocese of *Limoges*, who complain'd, That the Bishop had issued out a Prohibition against their taking upon them the Cure of Souls, and the Administration of the Sacrament of Penance. Our Prelate tells him he is of Opinion, that the Bishop had done better, if he had endeavour'd to bring all the Clergy to a regular Way of Living, rather than to have refus'd the Pastoral Office to those who were already oblig'd to it: However, they might make a good Use of this Exemption, in having the better leisure to look after the State of their own Souls. The Regular Clergy, he thinks, ought not to be universally forbid undertaking the Cure of the Souls; nor ought it to be permitted to all of them, since it would be an Injury to the Order it self, and tend to the Dissolution of it, tho' the Correction, and Instruction of others, may more safely be trusted in the Hands of such as have been long train'd, and carefully exercis'd, in examining, and well-ordering their own Lives and Manners; therefore that Charge is not to be impos'd upon, and enjoy'd to all the Regular Clergy: For, by that means, their Discipline will soon be destroy'd; and instead of learned and able Champions in the Cause of Religion, the Monasteries will afford us but weak Defenders, and Betrayers of it: To prevent which fatal Mischief, the most prudent, and best approv'd among them, should be pick'd out for this weighty Employment, and be presented to the Bishop, as fit to be entrusted by him, with the Care of other Mens Souls.

The 70th. Letter, is an Admonition to the Bishop of *Meaux*, to Reform the Monastery of *Marmoutier*; which was scandalous for very great Irregularities.

In the 71st. he lays before *William Rufus*, King of *England*, the Reason why he had absolv'd *Nivard*, of *Septentil*, from the Oath he had taken to that King, viz. Because it was contrary to the Obligations of his former Oaths, to his own natural and lawful Princes.

The 72d. to *Girard*, Abbot of *St. Vandrille*, contains this Decision; That the chief Stone, or Altar-piece of an Altar that has been demolish'd, or pull'd down, tho' it had been formerly consecrated, is to be consecrated again, when laid upon another Altar: And whereas it is objected, that the Portable Altars do not lose their Consecration, by being carried from one place to another, he answers, That there is a Difference between the moving these Altars from place to place, and taking the Stones from an old Altar, because the Stones of these Portable Altars are fastned upon a Plank of Wood, or some other Pedestal; and so to whatever Place you remove them, they remain still as they were when first consecrated.

The 73d. Letter is sent to *Bernard*, Abbot of *Marmoutier*, whom some of the Monks refus'd to submit to, as their lawful Abbot; because, as they pretended, he had been consecrated by an excommunicated Bishop. *Ivo*, in answer to this, maintains, That the Promotion of an Abbot depends, rather upon the Election of the Monks, than

the Bishop's Benediction; which, in the present Case, is not given by Imposition of Hands, nor is it properly a Consecration, but only a Formularly of Prayer.

The 74th. Letter is to *Hildebert*, Bishop of *Mans*; who is in a great Streight, Whether, or no, he shall put himself upon the Trial of Ordeal, or walking Blindfolded, and Barefoot, over red-hot Plowshares, to justify his Innocence to the King of *England*, who accused him of having treacherously surrendered the Town of *Mans*. *Ivo* tells him, That the Ecclesiastical Laws having utterly condemn'd that Practice, he should endure any thing, rather than undergo it.

The 75th. is to *John*, who was consecrated Bishop of *Orleans*, notwithstanding all the Efforts of *Ivo* to prevent it. The Countess of *Puisset*, and her Adherents, continuing to give Disturbance to the Church of *Chartres*, *Ivo* was oblig'd to ask Leave of the Pope, to excommunicate them; which was granted him: *John*, out of spight to *Ivo*, pretended, 'twas his own Right to pronounce the Excommunication against them, being of his Diocese, and offer'd to try the Matter with *Ivo*, at *Orleans*. *Ivo* insists upon the Pope's having commissioned him to do it; and, that the Case ought to be decided at *Chartres*, not at *Orleans*; since it was the Church of *Chartres* that had received the Affront, and that all Differences ought to be tried upon the Place where they began.

The 76th. Letter is written to *Daimbert*, whom the Pope himself had ordain'd Archbishop of *Sens*, (tho' *Hugh*, Archbishop of *Lyons*, had refus'd to do it) and who had thereupon submitted to the Primacy of *Lyons*. *Ivo* lets him hereby know, That he intends to come and assist at the Provincial Council he had invited him to; prays him, to defer the Ordination of the Bishop of *Nevers*, (because of a Scruple about the Election) and to excommunicate the Lady of *Puisset*, her Son *Hugh*, and all that assisted, or belong'd to them.

The 77th. is written to *Hugh*, Dean of *Beauvais*, and to the Chapter of that Church, upon Occasion of a Trial they had had about a Mill belonging to them, but rendred useless, by some Bridges, and other Buildings, that cut off its Supply of Water: *Ivo* advises them to complain to the Metropolitan, or the Pope's Legate, in case the Bishop of *Beauvais* will not remedy that Inconvenience.

The 78th. is a Letter of Advice to the Monks of the Monastery of *Dol*, in the Diocese of *Bourges*, to put an End to their Quarrels, and Divisions, about the Election of *Bernier*, (formerly a Monk of *Bonneval*) for their Abbot. *Ivo* assures them, he had had a very good Account of his Life and Conversation; that whereas some had thought ill of him, for quitting his Monastery without Leave from his Brethren, he had been forc'd to do it by the scandalous Irregularities that were therein, which had likewise occasion'd their Abbot himself and several others of the Monks who abhor'd the Villainies of the rest to take the same Course.

The 79th. Letter is written in the Name of *Ivo* Bishop of *Chartres*, *William* Bishop of *Paris*, *John* Bishop of *Orleans*, *Walter* Bishop of *Meaux*, and *Humbaud* Bishop of *Auxerre*, assembled in Synod at *Stampes*, to *Philip* Bishop of *Trôyes*, who was summon'd to this Council, but had not made his Appearance: They tell him, they might have pass'd Sentence against him, but would allow him time, till the Sunday before *Christmas*, and then he must not fail to defend himself, if he could, for this Contempt of their Authority. This Letter appears to have been written in the Year, 1100.

The 80th. to *William* Abbot of *Ficamp*, confirms the Decision of the 72d. Letter, about the Re-consecration of Altars that have been remov'd out of their Places.

The 81st. is a congratulatory Letter to Pope *Paschal II.* upon his Elevation to the Pontifical Chair.

In the 82d. he counsels *Geofroy*, Abbot of *Vendôme*, to forbear his Severities against a certain Monk of his Convent, and either to confine him to a Cell by himself, or else suffer him to retire to some other Monastery.

The 83d. Letter is address'd to the Bishops of the Province of *Rheims*, advising them, in regard to their own Honour, and that of the Bishop of *Soissons*, not to suffer the Insults of their Metropolitan; for that if the Archbishops shall thus take upon them to do what they please in the Churches of their Provinces, and, without the Ordinaries Consent, to Judge and suspend any of the Clergy, as they shall think fit; they will quite overthrow the Credit of the Episcopal Dignity and the Orders in the Church, establish'd by the Canons: That therefore, they ought to oppose any such Innovations, and if the Clergy of *Soissons* are ready to justify themselves by their Bishop, the Metropolitan has no power to condemn them for Heresie or Sacrilege.

The 84th. is to *Manasses* Archbishop of *Rheims*, upon the same Subject. He lets him know, that he thought his Letter a little too severe, and exhorts him to use gentle Methods to bring the Church of *Soissons* to their Duty, and to accept of the Submission and Satisfaction they tender'd him.

The



*Ivo Bishop of Chartres.* The 85th. Letter to *John*, Priest, Cardinal-Liege for Pope *Paschal* in France, highly commends him for refusing to Communicate with the King, though some Bishops of the Belgick-Province had dar'd to put the Crown upon that Prince's Head, at *Whisuntide*, contrary to the Pope's express Prohibition to them all.

*Ivo* approves likewise his Intentions of assembling a Council in the Province of *Aquitain*, but wishes, he would defer it till the Beginning of Autumn.

In the 86th. he demands Satisfaction of *Stephen* Earl of *Chartres*, for having abus'd some of his Clergy.

By the 87th. he advertises *John* and *Benet*, Legates of the Holy See, that *Guarland*, elected Bishop of *Beauvais*, is an ignorant and debauch'd Sot, altogether unworthy of that Preferment; and observes to them farther, that the Church of *Beauvais* has a long time had the Misfortune to be govern'd by very ill Bishops.

By 88th. he acquaints Pope *Paschal*, that *Hilgode*, heretofore Bishop of *Soissons*, was not depos'd for any Misdemeanours, as his Holiness had been inform'd, but that he voluntarily retir'd into a Monastery, to avoid the Inconveniencies all Prelates are expos'd to, choosing rather to live in Meanness and Obscurity, to secure the State of his own Soul, than to hazard the Salvation of it, in the heights of Honour and Preferments: And whereas, some were now against his being made an Abbot, 'twas not out of any dislike of him, but because they thought it not seemly that a Bishop should come to receive Benediction from an Abbot, which *Ivo* thinks needs not be made a Scruple of, but that the Ceremony may be well enough quite omitted, or may be us'd to one of his Character, without any Prejudice, since it is not a Sacrament reiterated.

The 89th. Letter is to the same Pope, and admonishes him not to give Credit too easily to any Complaints that shall be brought to him, against the Bishops, or any private Persons of France, not to proceed to Censures against them, but upon good Evidence given in by credible Persons, and such as live near them: He acquaints him moreover, that the Bishop Elect of *Beauvais* is very undeserving of his Preferment, and that he had been already driven out of the Church, for his scandalous Behaviour, by *Hugh* Archbishop of *Lyons*.

In the 90th. to *Daimbert*, Archbishop of *Sens*, he examines this Case; if a Man who had kill'd another, excepted out of the Articles of Peace agreed and sworn to, were to be deem'd a violator of God's Laws and subject to the Punishments due to such a one! and concludes, That though he be guilty of Manslaughter, yet, he has not thereby offended God.

By the 91st. he congratulates *Adela* Countess of *Chartres*, upon the Recovery of her Health, and exhorts her to protect the Churches.

The 92d. Letter is written to Pope *Paschal*, at the request and in behalf of *Stephen*, Bishop Elect of *Beauvais*, praying his Holiness to confirm his Election, though he have not yet taken Orders, assuring him there is no other Objection can lie against him; that the Accusations that had been brought against him were found to be false and groundless; that *Lisard* Archdeacon of *Beauvais*, the chief Promoter of them has acknowledg'd as much, by being fully reconciled to *Stephen*, and vindicating him on all Occasions, and that if any be yet dissatisfied, he is ready to give them all full and Canonical Satisfaction.

Notwithstanding this Letter, Pope *Paschal* would not allow of *Stephen's* Election, but severely reprimanded *Ivo* for offering one to him so unworthy of any Favour or Preferment as every Body else represented him to be; at which *Ivo* was so far from being displeas'd, that he lets the Pope know, by the 95th. Letter, how glad he is that *Stephen* had miss'd of his Aim; and assures his Holiness, he had extorted the former Letter from him, by his Importunities, and that he did not think when he wrote it, 'twould prove a Help to his desired Advancement, or be taken for a serious Recommendation of him, by his Holiness, or any intelligent Person that should observe the Style of it. He likewise minds the Pope, that his Holiness had proceeded too far in approving of *Drogo's* Pretensions to the Treasurership of *Châlons*, because the Merits of them having been examin'd in the Council of *Poitiers*, it appear'd that the late Bishop of *Châlons* had not the Power to bestow the Place upon him, unless, as was required by the Ecclesiastical Laws, he were first Canon, (or Prebend) of that Church; which *Drogo* could never pretend to, because he was Canon and Archdeacon of another: And that therefore they had decreed his Institution to the Treasurership of *Châlons* null and void, following therein the Opinion of his Holiness himself, and of his Predecessors, who have determin'd that no Man shall have Preferment in two Churches, at the same Time: And therefore *Ivo* intreats the Pope to consider well of this Matter, and the ill Consequences that may ensue, if he do not revoke what he has order'd in it, contrary to the Opinion and Resolution of the Council.

V o l. II.

The 93d. Letter, after having complimented *Daimbert*, (or rather, *Dagobert*) Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, recommends to him some of *Ivo's* Diocess, who were travelling to that City.

By the 94th. *Ivo* requests Pope *Paschal* to grant his Bull to the Clergy of *Chartres*, empowering them to excommunicate all such as should at any time hereafter pretend to renew the Claim which the present Earl had quitted, in his own and his Successor's Name, to the Goods and Houses belonging to the Bishop and to that Church; and to proceed to the like Severity against any Bishop of *Chartres*, who shall connive at, or consent to any Attempts of that Nature.

In the 96th. Letter, he asserts that Christian-Burial is not to be denied to any one who dyes in the Communion of the Church.

The 97th. is an Exhortation to the People of *Beauvais*, to choose for their Bishop one who is Eminent for Piety and Learning.

In the 98th. he desires *Lambert* Bishop of *Arras*, and *John* of *Teroüane*, to write to the Archbishop of *Rheims*, to take care that a new Bishop be chosen at *Beauvais*, in the room of *Stephen*, whose Election Pope *Paschal* would not allow of.

The 99th. is the Resolution of a Question propos'd to him by *Gualon*, Abbot of *St. Quintin*, in *Beauvais*, viz. if Children under six Years of Age, can be contracted or be married with one another, and in case there be only a Contract between them, and one of the Parties die, whether the surviving Party may marry the Brother or Sister of the other? To which *Ivo* answers, that none can actually marry till the Age of fourteen, but that Children may promise Marriage to each other as soon as they are at Years of Discretion, which he determines they are at seven Years of Age, and that a Contract agreed on at that Age shall hinder either Party, if one of them die before they are completely married, from marrying with the Brother or Sister of the deceased.

In the 100th. Letter, he demands of *John* Bishop of *Orleans*, the Restitution of an Altar, (or Church) which had been adjudg'd by the Council of *Poitiers*, to belong to the Diocess of *Chartres*.

In the 101st. Letter, to *Adela* Countess of *Chartres*, he complains of her having assum'd Authority to cite before her Judges *Ralph*, a chief Clergyman of his Diocess, to answer for his having seiz'd the Goods of a Counterfeit Nun: *Ivo* puts her in mind, that it has ever been the undisputed Right of his and all other Churches of France, that none but the Ecclesiastical Judges shall take Cognizance of, and inflict Punishments on disorderly Clergymen and Monks, unless their Crimes are such as deserve Death, in which case only, they are to be deliver'd over to the Justice of the Civil Magistrate.

In the 102d. he presses *Manasses* Archbishop of *Rheims*, to proceed to the Consecration of the new elected Bishop of *Beauvais*, without waiting any longer for leave from the King: The Election of Bishops (he tells him) is the Churches Prerogative, and has been yielded to them by the Capitulars or Grants of *Charlemain* and *Louis le Debonnaire*.

By 103d. he acquaints Pope *Paschal*, that the Bishop of *Sens*, who had been forc'd out of his Diocess for adhering to his Holiness's Interests, could not regain Possession of it, though he had produc'd his Holiness's Letters in his behalf to the King, and to his own Metropolitan; but that moreover, the Dean of *Paris* had also seiz'd to his own Use the Prebend this Bishop had in that Church.

In the 104th. he advertises the same Pope, that the soundest and most judicious of the Clergy of *Beauvais*, having elected for their Bishop one *Gualon*, a Person of excellent Learning and Morals, some who were still zealous for *Stephen*, had slyly insinuated to the King, that the other being a Disciple of *Ivo* and nominated by the Pope, his Majesty had Reason to fear he would prove no very good Subject of his: Upon which Suggestion, the King absolutely refus'd to Consent to the Election of *Gualon*, and to give him Investiture. *Ivo* tells the Pope, he had ere this been Petition'd on that Occasion, but the Metropolitan kept the Clergy from it, under pretence of speedily compromising the Matter, perhaps to please the King by delaying it as long as he can, in hopes of terminating it to his Satisfaction; and therefore conjures his Holiness to interpose his Authority, for the Confirmation of what he has begun, and to stop his Enemies Mouths. He acquaints him, that the King has declar'd he will go shortly to *Rome*, but he scarce believes it; though whether he go or send thither, 'twould be requisite his Holiness should be cautious of absolving him, or do it only conditionally, for fear of a Return to his beloved Sin, and should signify as much to all the Churches of France.

In the 105th. Letter, he farther informs the Pope, that the King had taken a Solemn Oath, that *Gualon* should never be Bishop of *Beauvais*, in his Reign; and humbly remonstrates, that if his Holiness take any notice of this Oath, and do not resolutely shew his Power to the contrary, there shall never any more regard be had for Elections in France.

Z z z

*Ivo*



Ivo concludes this Letter with Praying the Pope's Direction what Course he shall take, if the King after obtaining his Holiness's Absolution, should re-assume his former ill Practices, as he much fear'd he would.

The 106th. and 107th. Letters are to Henry the I. King of England, and his Queen Matilda, exhorting them above all Things, to promote Religion, and take Care of the Churches in their Dominions, recommending also to their Bounty the necessitous State of the Church of Chartres, of which they would be more fully inform'd by two of the Canons of it, whom he had sent on purpose to their Majesties.

In the 108th. he gives Pope Paschal an Account of the Quarrels between Ralph Archbishop of Tours, and the Abbot of Marmontier, whom the former had accus'd of divers Misdemeanors: Ivo thinks the Archbishop ought not to be heard against him; 1. Because he was not himself legally ordain'd; 2. Because the Abbot was never guilty of what is laid to his Charge; or, 3. If he were, the Archbishop should then have objected them against him, while he was concern'd in Church-Affairs, and not now he is retir'd into a Cloyster. 4. The Ground of the Archbishop's Malice against him, is, that he cannot have leave to read Mass publickly, in the Church of Marmontier, to insult over the Monks, and embezzle the Goods of the Monastery; and therefore, to show his spite against it, he had lately in Synod, prohibited any of his Diocess from entering into that Abby: 5. All the Witnesses he had to produce against the Abbot, were either his own Kindred, or Men of a scandalous Reputation, or such as he had brib'd and suborn'd; all which, he prays his Holiness to take into his prudent Consideration, and do what he thinks requisite thereupon.

In the 109th. Letter, to the same Pope, he intreats him to constitute for his Legate in France, some Bishop whose Diocess lies on this side of the Alps; for that the Cardinals who were wont to be sent from the other side could not stay there long enough to put the Affairs of the Church in order, which ministred Occasion to the Enemies of the Holy See, to say that they were not sent to regulate Abuses, but to scrape up Money for their own Pockets, or the Use of the Court of Rome: To prevent such clamours, Ivo proposes Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons, as the fittest Person he can think of for this Employment, in which he had heretofore acquitted himself with great Applause, and done excellent Service to the Church of Rome, and to those of France.

In the 110th. he acquaints the Pope, that having almost resolv'd to resign his Bishoprick, by reason of the excessive Wickedness of his People, and his despairing of doing any good among them, he was got as far as the Alps, on his way towards Rome, to consult his Holiness on this Occasion, when he was inform'd of a treacherous Design his Enemies had against him, which oblig'd him to return home and send Gualon, who could better pass unsuspected, and by whom he desires to know his Holiness's Opinion and Pleasure.

By the 111th. he requests Daimbert, Archbishop of Sens, to excommunicate Hugh, Lord of Puisset, as he had already done, for his violent and unjust Practices against the Church of Chartres, and to interdict the Use of Divine Service in the Village of Merville, which sided with him.

In the 112th. he tells the Dean and Chapter of Paris, that they have power to excommunicate any under their Jurisdiction, as has the Church of Chartres, and several others: But he blames them for receiving into their Church Hugh Earl of Puisset, and his Followers, whom he had excommunicated.

By the 113th. he sends word to Daimbert, Archbishop of Sens, that he is glad of the Election of Manasses to the Bishoprick of Meaux, and is ready to assist at his Ordination, if it be at any Place whither he may securely come, or obtain a Pass-port for his Safety; otherwise, he would consent and approve of it by Letters under his own Hand. The 114th. Letter is to the same Purpose.

In the 114th. he assures John Bishop of Orleans, that his Conscience cannot in the least accuse him of having done any Thing that should Offend King Lewis; (the Son of Philip, surnamed le Gros,) and as to Hugh Earl of Puisset, and his Companion, he cannot receive them into the Church, till they have given good Satisfaction for their Offences.

In the 116th. he intreats Adela, Countess of Chartres, not to give credit to, nor encourage any malicious and false Stories that shall be brought to her against him.

By the 117th. Letter, he acquaints Pope Paschal, that he had publish'd the Injunctions sent him by his Holiness, for the reforming some Abuses in the Church, which were so well receiv'd by his Brethren, the Clergy of his Diocess, that few show'd any dislike of them; but that some Additions were thought necessary for the Honour and Liberty of the Churches, which he prays the Pope to confirm, that Posterity may be oblig'd to observe them.

The 118th. Letter to Henry King of England, requests him again, to bestow somewhat on the Church of Chartres.

In the 119th. he tells Daimbert, that though the Opposition made against the Validity of Manasses's Election was without any just Ground, yet, to leave no room for Suspicion or Calumny, he thinks it convenient that some of the Clergy of Meaux vouch for him upon their Oaths, and that then he may proceed to consecrate him publickly.

The 120th. Letter is to Robert Earl of Ponthieu and Belême, whose Territories were put under an Interdict, by the Bishop of Sees. This Earl had sent to Ivo for some of the consecrated Chrism, which he tells him, he must be forc'd to refuse him, because the Canons absolutely forbid a Bishop's communicating with any Person excommunicated by another Bishop: He assures him nevertheless, that he is heartily sorry for his Sufferings, and should be glad if he might have an Opportunity of doing him any Service.

In the 121st. he expostulates with Adela Countess of Chartres, concerning the outrages committed by her Servants upon his Ecclesiasticks, and assures her, he is ready to assist them in obliging her to do them Justice, if she shall not think fit to endeavour it upon this third Admonition from him.

The 122d. to Volgrin, Archdeacon of Paris, asserts, that a Jewish Woman marrying with a Christian Husband, and afterwards returning to Judaism, is not freed from her Conjugal Vow, nor, though she leave him, can the Man marry with any other Woman during her Life.

In the 123d. to Gautier, Library-Keeper of the Church of Beauvais, he gives his Opinion of a difficult Case he had consulted him upon, viz. how he should proceed against a Priest, who had in a prophane Manner, made use of other Ceremonies and Words than are prescribed in the Form of Marriage? Ivo tells him, he had never yet heard of so foul a Sacrilege, nor was there any Provision against it in the Canons; and therefore, this being a Crime wholly new and unparallel'd, some more than ordinary Punishment ought to be inflict'd on the Author of it: However, not to deal too severely without Warrant and Authority from Scripture or the Ecclesiastical Laws, he thinks it sufficient that such Punishment be laid on him as the Canons order to be inflict'd upon those that violate the Sacraments and holy Things.

In the 124th. Ivo acquaints Daimbert, Archbishop of Sens, that Hugh Earl of Puisset having restored to the Church of Chartres their Goods he had detained, and given Security for what he had taken from himself and his Domesticks, he desires he may be absolv'd from the Excommunication he lay under: But, as to King Lewis (le Gros,) he tells him, that Prince will not be yet reconcil'd to him, because he refuses to bestow Preferment on one who had begun a cruel Schism in the Church of Chartres.

In the 125th. to the same Archbishop, he gives his Opinion, that those whose Wives had committed Adultery while they were absent in the Holy-Land, ought either to be reconciled to their Wives, or, remain unmarried to any others during their Lives.

In the 126th. he returns his Thanks to the same Archbishop, for advising him to be reconcil'd with the Countess of Chartres, to which he tells him, he is very well inclin'd, but that he cannot release his Clergy from an Oath they had oblig'd themselves by, not to admit into their Church any but the Sons of Free-men.

By the 127th. to King Lewis, he excuses himself for not waiting on his Majesty, because he was not in a Condition to take a Journey, when His Majesty's Orders came to him: And besides, having agreed with the Countess of Chartres, to refer the Difference between them to the Bishop of Albano, he thought it would look unfair or suspicious in him to go to Court before the Arrival of that Bishop.

In the 128th. he sends word to Odon, a Regular Canon of St. Quintin in Beauvais, that he does not care to enter into Conference, or to have any think to do with the Person he was sending to him, who had been his bitter Enemy.

In the 129th. he writes to Geofry, Earl of Vendôme, not to marry with the Viscountess of Blois, whose first Husband was his Kinsman, and threatens him with Excommunication if he venture to do it.

In the 130th. he sends the same Message to the Viscountess of Blois, and advises her to defer the Marriage, at least, till the Scruple about their Consanguinity be cleared and tried before him.

In the 131st. he advises Volgrin, Archdeacon of Paris, not to suffer a Priest who had resign'd his Benefice to him, to re-enter it again by Force; and if he attempt it to excommunicate him and all that shall dare to assist him.

In the 132d. he prays Daimbert, Archbishop of Sens, to punish a Priest of Stampæ, in his Diocess, who had abus'd a Clergyman of the Church of Chartres; and asks his Advice about a Dispute among the Clergy of that Church about Money that had been expended out of the common Stock, to defray the charge of a Deputation to the King, to demand Justice against the bold Enterprizes of the Countess of Chartres.



*Ivo Bishop of Chartres.* The 133<sup>d</sup>. Letter is to *Richard*, Bishop of *Albane*, the Pope's Legate, who had accus'd him of conniving at Simony in his Diocese: *Ivo* clears himself from this Aspersion, and tells him, if the Dean and Chanter, and the other Church Officers demand a Fee of every one that is admitted to a Canonry, 'tis what he cannot prevent, and has endeavour'd to remedy; but a Custom they plead Authority for, from the Example of the Church of *Rome*, where the Chamberlains and the other Officers of the sacred Palace, exact of the Bishops and Abbots that come for Consecration excessive Sums, under the Specious names of Oblations, or Benedictions; and that though he has endeavour'd, with all his might, to banish this wicked Custom out of his Church, yet he is forc'd to yield to the Practice of it by the Iniquity of the Times.

In the 134<sup>th</sup>. Letter to *Daimbert*, Archbishop of *Sens*, he asserts, and proves from good Authorities, that a Daughter promised in Marriage by her Father, to another Man's Son, is not bound thereby when she comes to Years of Discretion, though her Father be then living. *Ivo* acquaints the Archbishop likewise, that *William*, Son of the Countess of *Chartres*, notwithstanding the Accommodation between them, and without any Provocation given, had himself sworn, and compell'd others to take an Oath at the Altar, to destroy him and his whole Clergy, if they will not yield to his unreasonable Pretensions; that thereupon he had refus'd to celebrate Divine Service, when they are in the Church, and to give them the Episcopal Benediction, daily us'd; but that he defer'd pronouncing them excommunicate, till he had the Advice and Assistance of the Archbishop, and the rest of his Brethren.

The 135<sup>th</sup>. is sent to Pope *Paschal*, by a Knight, who came from the Siege of *Jerusalem*: This Knight had caus'd a Priest of *Bonneval* to be gelt, for detecking his Servants in a Robbery; for this unparallel'd Presumption, *Ivo* had cashier'd him, and enjoyn'd him a severe Penance for fourteen Years; to which he readily submitted; but his Enemies taking Advantage of his Misfortunes, and beginning to be very troublesome to him, the Knight begs Leave of *Ivo* to permit him to use his Arms again, in his own Defence; *Ivo*, upon great Intercession made for him, recommends him to the Pope's Mercy for Absolution.

The 136<sup>th</sup>. Letter is to *Adela*, Countess of *Chartres*, telling her, that if his Inclinations were for War and Broils, he had the Offer of such potent Succours, as might enable him to create her great Disturbance; but, Peace he had always desir'd, and thought it had been firmly settled between them, till he had the News of her Son *William*'s rash Oath, to ruin him and his Church; that, out of Respect to her, he had hitherto forbore to excommunicate him, and hoped she should contrive some Means to prevent all such Irregularities for the Future.

The 137<sup>th</sup>. is to the Chapter of *Beauvais*, concerning one of their Canons, who was prosecuted by an Action of Law in the King's Court of Justice: *Ivo* minds them, that by the Orders of the Church, no Clergyman is to be cited before any but the Ecclesiastical Judges, and that if they have Courage enough, they ought to endure any Thing rather than the Loss of their Rights and Privileges; but if they cannot resolve to suffer in Defence of them, he can only advise them to submit to what they cannot remedy, and assist them by his Prayers, for their prudent Behaviour and good Success.

The 138<sup>th</sup>. Letter, to *Volgrin* and *Stephen* Archdeacons of *Paris*, is occasion'd by the great Contentions among the Clergy of that City, about the Election of a Bishop: *Ivo* declares, he will never consent to any Election that is not made by the unanimous Consent of the Clergy and People, and confirm'd by the Metropolitan and his Suffragans: He admonishes them not to be sway'd by Hatred or Ambition, and wonders at their consenting to a Hearing of this Cause before the King.

In the 139<sup>th</sup>. he puts *Daimbert*, Archbishop of *Sens*, in mind, that the Contest about the Election of a Bishop of *Paris*, ought to be determined by him in Consistory, and that he should convene the Bishops his Suffragans, for that Purpose, when and where he pleas'd.

In the 140<sup>th</sup>. he asserts, that no Man ought to scruple assisting at Divine Service; or receiving the Sacrament from the Hands of a Priest suspected of Scandal, or notorious for an ill Life.

In the 141<sup>st</sup>. he assures *Richard*, Bishop of *Albane* and Legate of the Holy See, that he should as heartily rejoice at King *Philip*'s Absolution, as he had griev'd at his being excommunicate, if it might be for the Honour of God and of the Holy See, to grant it; that, though he somewhat doubts of the Sincerity of the King's Conversion, yet he will not oppose his being absolv'd; but advises that the Ceremony be perform'd as publicly, and solemnly as is possible, and rather at any other Place than at *Sens*: He tells him moreover, he would willingly appear at the Council he summons him to, if he will obtain for him the King's Passport, without which he dares not venture abroad, his Ma-

jesty having been incens'd against him for these ten Years past. This Letter was written in the Year 1104.

The 142<sup>d</sup>. is a Letter of Thanks to *Mahilda*, Queen of *Bishop of England*, for the Bells she had given to the Church of *Chartres*, and her Promise of repairing and new adorning that Church.

The 143<sup>d</sup>. carries *Ivo*'s Acknowledgments, to *Robert* Earl of *Meulan*, for the kind Reception he gave to *Richard* Abbot of *Preaux*, and prays him to hasten the Restitution of the Goods of his Monastery.

The 144<sup>th</sup>. informs Pope *Paschal* of what was done in the Assembly of Bishops, call'd together at *Baugency*, by his Legate *Girard*, Bishop of *Albane*, to be Witnesses of the Separation of King *Philip* and *Bertrade*. He tells him, they were both ready to swear, upon the holy Evangelists, that they would forbear all carnal Knowledge of each other; the Legate would have had the Bishops have given Judgment upon them, but they declin'd it, and so the whole came to nothing: *Ivo* therefore prays the Pope to put an End to this Matter, and dispense with the King as far as he can. He acquaints the Pope also, that *Gualon* not finding it possible to get Possession of the Bishoprick of *Beauvais*, because of King *Lewis*'s Oath against admitting him, he hopes he may be transferr'd to the See of *Paris*, to which he has been also elected by the Clergy and People of that City.

In the 145<sup>th</sup>. he intreats *Manasses* Archbishop of *Rheims*, to determine, as speedily as may be, whether *Gualon* shall continue Bishop of *Beauvais*, or not.

In the 146<sup>th</sup>. he acquaints *Daimbert*, Archbishop of *Sens*, that the Clergy and People of *Paris* have unanimously elected *Gualon* for their Bishop, and that since no Bishop can be translated to another See without Leave from his Metropolitan, and the Pope's Dispensation, he prays him to use his Interest at *Rome*, to obtain one for *Gualon*.

In the 147<sup>th</sup>. he interceeds with Pope *Paschal* to dispense with the Oath taken by the Chapter of *Chartres*, not to admit into their Fraternity, the Sons of such as had been Servants to any one, so that they may hereafter be allow'd to admit the Sons of any of the Earl of *Chartres*'s Domesticks, or the Officers of the King's Revenues; and assures his Holiness that without abating of the Rigor of that Oath, the Church of *Chartres* could never enjoy any Peace.

In the 148<sup>th</sup>. to *Hildebert*, Bishop of *Mans*, he determines, that a certain Man who (as he writes) had promised Marriage to his Concubine in her Sickness, was bound by the Law of God, to acknowledge her, afterwards for his Wife.

In the 149<sup>th</sup>. he exhorts *William* Archbishop of *Rouen*, to expel out of the Diocese of *Lisieux* the Sons of Count *Ranulf Flambard*, who had seiz'd upon it, and to substitute in their Place the Archdeacon of *Eureux*.

In the 150<sup>th</sup>. he excuses himself to Pope *Paschal*, for not coming to the Council held by him in the Month of *March*, of which he had not Notice time enough before-hand.

In the 151<sup>st</sup>. he complains to *Walter* Bishop of *Beauvais*, of his having consecrated *Odo*, Abbot of *St. Quintin*, in that City, without his Consent, and contrary to the Opinion and Desires of the Fraternity of that House.

In the 152<sup>d</sup>. he stirs up *Ledger*, Archbishop of *Bourges*, to vindicate a certain Earl of his Country, who had formerly shewn himself his true Friend, from the Abuses he suffers under.

In the 153<sup>d</sup>. he earnestly exhorts *William*, Archbishop of *Rouen*, and *Gilbert* Bishop of *Eureux*, to drive out of the Bishoprick of *Lisieux*, *Ranulf* Bishop of *Durham* in *England*, and his two Sons, who had possess'd themselves of that Diocese.

In the 154<sup>th</sup>. he advises *Robert* Earl of *Meulan*, to petition the King of *England* not to countenance the Usurpations of *Ranulf*.

In the 155<sup>th</sup>. to *Odo*, Archdeacon of *Orleans*, *Ivo* treats of this Question; If a Woman who has committed Fornication, and is great with Child, may marry? And concludes, that in strictness, no great belly'd Woman ought to have carnal Knowledge of any Man; but considering the Infirmary of the Flesh, *St. Paul* advises Men to use their own Wives, for avoiding Fornication, although they are with Child; and therefore, by consequence, a Man may marry a Woman in that Condition.

In the 156<sup>th</sup>. to *Ulric*, he solves another Difficulty, viz. if in Confession to a Priest, a Man have own'd himself guilty of a Crime deserving Excommunication, the Priest ought publicly to refuse him the Communion of the Church? To which *Ivo* answers, That unless the Fault be publicly known, the Priest is not to take Notice of it, before others, but only to abhor it in his own Heart, and to give publick Notice to his People, in general Terms, that those who are guilty of such Crimes are already Excommunicate in the Sight of God.

In the 157<sup>th</sup>. he gives Pope *Paschal* an Account of what had hapned in the Diocese of *Lisieux*; that, after *Ranulf Flambard* was driven out, who had kept it several Years by Violence, *William*, Archdeacon of *Eureux*, was canonically



*Ivo* Bishop of *Chartres*, nically elected Bishop, who deferring being consecrated, upon Account of his Metropolitan's (the Archbishop of *Rome*'s) being under Suspension, *Flambard* had prevail'd with the Duke of *Normandy* to put one of his Clergy into that See. *Ivo* having thereupon counsell'd *William* to appeal, in Person, to the Pope, intreats his Holiness to confirm his Election, and to consecrate him at *Rome*.

In the 158<sup>th</sup>. he acquaints *Hugh*, Archbishop of *Lyons*, that King *Philip* and his Son are resolv'd to make void the Marriage of *Constance*, the King's Daughter, and *Hugh* Earl of *Troyes*, because of their being too nearly related, and desires the Archbishop to send speedily to all the Bishops, summon'd to Court on this Occasion, the Genealogy of both Families.

In the 159<sup>th</sup>. he writes to Pope *Paschal*, that, when any complain to him of Judgments given against them in the Court of *Rome*, he advises them to have Recourse again to the Holy See, for Relief, not thinking it fit to remove into any other Court a Cause that has been determin'd there: This Method he has perswaded the Monks of *St. Maur des Fesses* to take, who had been forc'd by the Council of *Tours*, held by Pope *Urban*, to surrender to the Earl of *Angers* the Jurisdiction they had held for 300 Years, over the Monastery of *St. Maur de Glanfeuil*; and prays the Pope to examine again, the Rights of their Pretensions.

The 160<sup>th</sup>. to *Odo*, Abbot of *Jumieges*, prays him to receive kindly a Monk who had left his Monastery, and desires to be admitted into it again.

The 161<sup>st</sup>. to the Provost of the Church of *Rheims*, asserts, that a Man, who promises Marriage to a Woman, and afterward marries another, ought to be divorc'd and return to his first Engagement.

In the 162<sup>d</sup>. he prays *Johu* Bishop of *Orleans*, to degrade, in as publick and severe a Manner as may be, a certain Priest, who profanely treated the Sacraments of the Church, before a Woman's Statue.

In the 163<sup>d</sup>. he perswades *Geofry*, Abbot of *Vendome*, not to suffer one of his Monks to hold a Benefice he was poss'd of.

In the 164<sup>th</sup>. *Ivo* reprimands *Geofry*, Abbot of *Blais*, for repenting of his having resign'd his Abby into the Hands of the Pope's Legate, and giving his Voice for *Maurice* to succeed him.

The 165<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter of Thanks and Friendship, to *Suspen* Bishop of *Worcester*.

The 166<sup>th</sup>. is to *Humbald*, Bishop of *Auxerre*, acquainting him that *Hugh le Blanc* having made his Complaint to *Brant*, Bishop of *Signi*, that *Pontius*, Nephew to the Bishop of *Troyes*, had married his Daughter *Mathilda* by Force, who had been promised by her Parents to *Galeran*, the King's Chamberlain, and that the Legate having given Orders to the Bishop of *Paris* to cite *Pontius* and *Mathilda* before him, to answer for themselves, that Bishop had summon'd them to appear before a Council held by him, for that Purpose at *Paris*: There *Mathilda* affirm'd, that *Pontius* married her without her Consent, or that of her Parents; *Pontius* could not answer any Thing in his own Defence, but stole out of Court: Then *Mathilda* brought ten Witnesses to swear she had been espoused to another Man, and was married to *Pontius* against her Will; upon which the Bishops declar'd the Marriage null, and that she was free to marry any other Man. *Ivo* acquaints the Bishop of *Auxerre* with these particulars, understanding that one of his Diocels had a mind to marry her, which he assures him he may do without Scruple. This Letter was written in the Year 1106.

In the 167<sup>th</sup>. he writes to the Bishop of *Meus*, to hinder the Marriage of one who had already engag'd himself to another Woman.

In the 168<sup>th</sup>. Letter to *Daimbert*, Archbishop of *Sens*, he speaks of the Difference that had been between the Viscount of *Chartres* and Count *Rotroc*, about a Farm, in the Diocels of *Chartres*: The former of them had given it to *Ivo*, Lord of *Combeville*, whom the Party of *Rotroc* seiz'd and kept Prisoner, though he were one of those appointed to go to the Holy Land: The Viscount of *Chartres* having complain'd of this Matter to the Pope, his Holiness appointed the Archbishop of *Sens*, the Bishops of *Chartres* and *Orleans*, Commissioners to settle it.

*Ivo* Bishop of *Chartres*, after he has, by this Letter, instructed *Daimbert* in the Merits of the Cause, advises him to take care how he proceeds in it, and to consider if it will be most advisable for them to excommunicate *Rotroc*, or to cite both Parties before them: *Daimbert* is of Opinion that they are oblig'd, by the Pope's Letter to them, immediately to excommunicate *Rotroc*; but *Ivo* thinking this too hard Measure, consults *Gualon*, Bishop of *Paris*, about it, in the 169<sup>th</sup>. Letter; and in the 170<sup>th</sup>. Letter, tells *Daimbert* again, that he cannot joyn in so unjust an Action, as cutting off one from the Communion of the Church, before he be found, upon fair Trial, to deserve it, especially since *Rotroc* is willing to stand to the Examination and Sentence of their Court, which his Adversaries

decline doing as much as they can. In his Letter also he determines, that a Woman that marries her Husband's Murderer, ought not to be separated from him, if she can justify her self from having a Hand in the Murder, and the Man can offer reasonable Proof, that he had never carnal Knowledge of her during her Husband's Life, nor contriv'd his Death, to have the Enjoyment of her to himself.

In the 171<sup>st</sup>. Letter, he tells *Daimbert*, Archbishop of *Sens*, that he scarce knows how to advise him to deal with some he had excommunicated for stealing the Goods of the Church, and violating the Observation of Holy-Days; if he receive them to the Communion again, before they have made Restitution, 'twill be directly contrary to the Laws; if he persist in keeping them out, he must of Necessity, incur the King's Displeasure: And though, if he have Courage enough, he ought to see that the Rigor of Discipline be observ'd; yet, because such Severity may occasion distal Inconveniences, he advises him to use Moderation: chiefly because the Administration of temporal Affairs naturally belongs to Kings, who are not, unadvisedly, to be exasperated, if they sometimes go beyond the Bounds of their Authority, but must be left to God's Judgment, when they will not yield to the humble Admonitions and Remonstrances of the Clergy. for his Part, *Ivo* protests, that were he oblig'd, in Obedience to his Superiors, to readmit an excommunicate Person into the Church, without Penance or Satisfaction, he would do it by some such Form as this; 'Do not deceive your self; I admit you into the visible Church, notwithstanding the Crimes you are guilty of; but I cannot open to you the Gates of the Kingdom of Heaven, and therefore I absolve you, no farther than I have Power to do it; those of more Courage and Piety, may find out better Methods in such Cases'. This seems to me proper enough; not that I hereby prescribe to others, but to prevent farther Mischiefs to the Church, think it best to submit, thus far, to the Necessity of the Times.

The 172<sup>d</sup>. Letter contains a Judgment given by *Ivo*, in Favour of the Monks of *St. Laurence* at *Blais*, against the Abbot and Monks of *Vendome*, concerning a Chappel near *Baugency*, which he adjudges to belong to the Jurisdiction of the former, notwithstanding the Abbot of *Vendome*'s having appeal'd to the Holy See.

In the 173<sup>d</sup>. he relates to Pope *Paschal*, what had pass'd at the Trial of *Rotroc*, who, he tells him, has now appeal'd to his Holiness.

In the 174<sup>th</sup>. he assures *Mathilda*, Queen of *England*, that he will pray for the Soul of her Brother (*Edgar* King of *Scotland*, who died without Issue, in the Year 1107.) for though he doubts not but his Soul is in *Abraham*'s Bosom; yet since we cannot be certain of the State of Souls in the other World, it is a Piece of commendable Devotion to pray even for those in Heaven, that their Happiness may be augmented; and for those in Purgatory, that their Sins may be forgiven them.

In the 175<sup>th</sup>. he excuses himself to Pope *Paschal*, for not appearing at the Council he cites him to, (held at *Troyes*, Anno 1107.) by reason of his being very much indispos'd; but tells his Holiness, he has sent his three Archdeacons in his Stead.

In the 176<sup>th</sup>. to the same Pope, he prays him not to oblige *Polgrin* Chancellor of the Church of *Chartres*, to accept of the Bishoprick of *Dol*, to which he was elected by the Deputies of that Church in the Council of *Troyes*; and,

In the 177<sup>th</sup>. Letter, he acquaints the Clergy of *Dol*, that *Polgrin* will not accept of that Bishoprick.

In the 178<sup>th</sup>. he counsels *Geofry*, Bishop of *Beauvais*, to punish one of his Clergy, who had admitted to Divine Service, and conformed with an excommunicated Person.

In the 179<sup>th</sup>. to *Adela*, Countess of *Chartres*, he complains of her denying the Clergy of his Church the Privileges of travelling the Roads, and of buying Bread and Wine, and threatens her, in case she do not revoke the Orders she has publish'd to this Effect, that the whole Clergy of the Province shall daily curse her at the high Altar.

The 180<sup>th</sup>. Letter gives *Ledger*, Archbishop of *Bourges*, Advice to abate sometimes the Rigor of Justice; and not to be so wholly govern'd by some of his Clergy, as not to do any Thing but according to their Pleasure, even in judicial Matters; as hapned lately, in the Case of *Arnoult* of *Vierzon*, who was so exasperated by his hard Usage, that he was forc'd to appeal to *Rome*, upon the very first hearing before them.

The 181<sup>st</sup>. is to *Richard*, Bishop of *Albane*, the Pope's Legate, upon a Dispute between the Monks of *Vezelay* and those of *St. Lucian* at *Beauvais*, about a Church they both of them laid claim to.

The 182<sup>d</sup>. is to *Daimbert*, Archbishop of *Sens*, concerning a Difference between *Ivo* and the Chapter of *Chartres*, who had violently opposed and affronted him, for conferring the Office of Subdeacon upon *Fulk*: The Archbishop is agreed upon to be Judge between them, and *Ivo* prays him to appoint the Day and Place, where their Cause shall be heard, which he wishes may be at *Chartres*.



*Ivo* Bishop of Chartres. In the 183<sup>d</sup>. to *William*, Bishop of *Paris*, he asserts, that if a Man challenge a Woman for his Wife, upon Pretence that her Father promis'd her to him, he must bring Witnesses of such Promise, and that the Trial by single Combat is not to be allowed in Cases of this Nature.

The 184<sup>th</sup>. to *Walter*, Library-Keeper of *Beauvais*, maintains, that all Actions about Goods belonging to the Church are to be brought before Ecclesiastical Judges.

In the 185<sup>th</sup>. he gives answer to what *William*, Archbishop of *Rouen* had written him, about one who had gotten himself ordain'd Subdeacon, before he had pass'd the inferior Degrees of Holy Orders: In strictness of Law, *Ivo* acknowledges, that he should not be permitted to exercise the Functions of the Order he has obtain'd, nor to rise to the higher Orders; however, if his Life and Conversation be unexceptionable, and the Good of the Church require it, he thinks the Archbishop may give him the Clerical Benediction, and let him assist at Ordinations, not to be re-ordain'd, but to confirm him in his Orders.

In the 186<sup>th</sup>. Letter, he answers several Questions propos'd to him by *Laurence*, a Monk of the Monastery of *Charity*: 1. He asserts that we are oblig'd to avoid only those that are excommunicated for the most notorious and abominable Faults; 2. That of such we are not to receive any Thing, but in extream Necessity, nor are we to give them any Thing, but for their Relief, in utmost Want and Misery; That those of the Clergy who buy of Laymen Goods, that formerly belong'd to the Church, or receive such from them by way of Gift, are much to blame, if they do it with any other Design but of restoring them to the Church: 4. That they who, in private Confession, discover themselves to be guilty of the greatest Crimes, are not therefore to be excommunicated, nor put to publick Penance, as publick Offenders; however, they are to be admonish'd to abstain from the Sacrament, and from the Functions of their Orders, if they are Ecclesiasticks: 5. That the Sacraments are not the less profitable for being administred by wicked Priests, nor 6. by Simoniackal ones, or such as are married: 7. That the People ought not to abandon their Prelate, nor fail in their Obedience to him, though in many Respects blameable, till he is publicly condemn'd or excommunicated: 8. That Confession of common and small Sins may be made to any Christian, but that great Faults are to be confess'd only to those who have the Power of binding and loosing: 9. That one may entertain an excommunicated Person, provided he do not eat with him, nor salute him.

In the 187<sup>th</sup>. he admonishes the Countess of *Chartres*, to leave troubling the Abbot and Monks of *Bonneval* on Account of the Murder of *Hugh the Black*.

In the 188<sup>th</sup>. to *Ralph*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, he delivers his Opinion, That a Woman who is deliver'd of a Child within two or three Months after her Marriage, is not to be divorced from her Husband.

The 189<sup>th</sup>. contains *Ivo's* Answer to the Complaints of the Archbishop and Clergy of *Rheims*, against the Archbishop of *Sens*, for having consecrated King *Lewis le Gros*: *Ivo* remonstrates, that the Consecration could not be longer deferr'd, that it could not be perform'd at *Rheims*, because *Ralph* was not then fully possess'd of that Archbishoprick, and the City of *Rheims* was under an Interdict; that besides, he knows no Law that orders that Office to be perform'd there, but can prove that several of the Kings of *France* have been consecrated elsewhere, and by the Bishops of other Cities.

In the 190<sup>th</sup>. *Ivo* gives Pope *Paschal* an Account of the Accommodation agreed to between the King and *Ralph* Archbishop of *Rheims*, on Condition that *Ralph* take an Oath of Homage to the King for his Archbishoprick: This he says they were oblig'd to consent to, not as a Thing necessary in it self, but to procure Peace, and prevent farther Distraction in the Nation.

In the 191<sup>th</sup>. he interceeds with *Hugh* Abbot of *Cluny* in Behalf of one of his Monastery, whom he had degraded, upon an Accusation brought against him of having procur'd Abortion to a Woman great with Child, before he took the Vow of a Monk upon him. *Ivo* thinks his Punishment too severe, and that though the Fact were clearly prov'd against him, as it is not, he should not suffer for ever, for a Fault he may have long since repented of.

In the 192<sup>d</sup>. to the Monks of *Colombs*, near *Nogent le Roi*, he dissuades them from hearkning to the Advice somebody had been giving them of quitting their Monastery, because their Superiors had taken away some Tithes, belonging to the Bishop's Jurisdiction; he shews them, that they ought rather to remain in Subjection to their Superiors, and live upon such Tithes as the Church shall in Charity allow to the Monasteries, as she does to Hospitals, than turn *Sarabaites*, and live upon the Goods of the Poor, or the gain of *Usury*: nevertheless, he blames the Abbots and Superiors of Monasteries, for buying Tithes of Laymen for their own Uses, to the Damage of the Church, though this be no Reason for the Monks to withdraw themselves

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from the Monasteries and the Subjection they have sworn to them: He approves well enough of the Lives of such *Anchorets*, as after having been train'd up in Monasteries, retire wholly into Solitudes; but highly blames those who make it their Business to run from Town to Town to be admir'd at themselves, and proudly despise all that are not of their Profession, desiring to be thought Masters, before they have been Scholars.

In the 193<sup>d</sup>. he advises *Geofrey*, Bishop of *Beauvais*, not to infringe the Privileges granted to the Monastery of *St. Quintin*, by the Bishops his Predecessors, and confirm'd to them by the Authorities of the Holy See and the King's Majesty.

In the 194<sup>th</sup>. he sends Notice to *Hugh* Dean of *Orleans*, and *Volgria*, his Archdeacon, that he has excommunicated *Chenard*, belonging to his Diocese, and therefore, according to the Direction of the Canon, they are not to entertain him.

The 195<sup>th</sup>. is a very severe Answer to a displeasing Letter he had received from *Geofrey*, Abbot of *Vendome*, with whom, for the future, he renounces all Correspondence, till he behave himself better.

In the 196<sup>th</sup>. to King *Lewis le Gros*, he begs that Prince not to order Process against the Abbot of *St. Denys* for what he is charg'd with by a certain Monk, who having own'd himself a Criminal, his Testimony against the Innocence of others is not to be receiv'd.

In the 197<sup>th</sup>. to *William* Abbot of *Marmoutier*, he agrees with him that a Priest, who, to fight his Enemies, set Fire to his own House, and thereby unhappily burnt a Neighbour's Child, ought to undergo the Penalties appointed by the Canons.

The 198<sup>th</sup>, the 199<sup>th</sup>, and the 201<sup>st</sup>. Letters are about a Difference, between *Gislebert*, Nephew to the Archbishop of *Tours*, and *Geofrey* Canon of that Church, concerning the Government of *Syeury*, the Determination of which Matter the Pope had put into the Hands of *Ivo* Bishop of *Chartres*, and the Bishops of *Paris* and *Soissons*: By the two first Letters, he cites *Gislebert*, to appear before them; and by the last, he acquaints the Pope, that upon his refusing to own their Authority, he had sent *Geofrey* to his Holiness for Justice.

In the 200<sup>th</sup>. Letter, he admonishes *Daimbert*, Archbishop of *Sens*, to correct two scandalous Practices in his Church; one, of the Chaunter's holding another Preferment, contrary to his Oath; the other, in one of the Chapter's keeping in his House two Women of very ill Fame.

The 202<sup>d</sup>. Letter is a notable Instance of the Liberty us'd by *Ivo*, in dealing with the greatest Princes King *Lewis* had sent to him for some outlandish Furs; *Ivo* tells him, 'tis not decent for a King to ask such Vanities of a Bishop, nor is he bound to obey any such Orders from a King; that he could not believe, at first, the Letter came from his Majesty, and sends this Answer, that he may not any more make such Requests to him, or any other Bishop, if he desire they should retain a due Esteem for his Majesty.

In the 203<sup>d</sup>. to *Lisard*, Bishop of *Soissons*, he shews him, from good Authority, that he has a Right to demand of the Archdeacons of his Diocese, Part of the Profits due to the Bishop, which they have taken upon them to receive for themselves, both before and since his Accession to the Bishoprick.

By the 204<sup>th</sup>. he informs Pope *Paschal*, that he had excommunicated *Guy of Puijet*, for his sacrilegious and outrageous Attempts against the Church of *Chartres*, and petitions his Holiness to confirm the Excommunication, and to order the Archbishop of *Sens*, and the Bishops of *Paris* and *Orleans*, to publish it in their Churches: He informs the Pope likewise, of a Difference between the Dean and Subdean of *Chartres*, and prays him to compose it.

The 205<sup>th</sup>. Letter is written to a Knight, who suspected his Wife to have been with Child by another Man, because he had been absent from her seven Days longer than is usual between the Times of Conception and bringing forth, and because the Person whom he suspected of being too familiar with her, had been burnt in passing the Trial of *Ordeal*: As to the Computation of Time, *Ivo* tells him, that ought not to sway him, since many Women go much longer with Child; and, for the Trial by Fire, no Heed is to be given to it, so that these two Reasons prove nothing against the Honesty of his Wife, whose Oath, and the good Word of her Neighbours and Acquaintance, ought fully to suffice in Vindication of her.

In the 206<sup>th</sup>. Letter, to *Hildebert*, Bishop of *Mans*, he examines by what Method an Ecclesiastick, accus'd of Crimes or Misdemeanors, is to purge himself; and says, that heretofore, his single Oath was sufficient, but that for better Security, the Oaths of six or seven other Clergymen have been requir'd, together with that of the Party's.

The 207<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter of Thanks to the Bishop of *Worcester*.

In the 208<sup>th</sup>. Letter, *Ivo* reproves *Geofrey*, Abbot of *Vendome*, that, having quitted that Place and retir'd into a pri-

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- Ivo Bishop of Chartres. vate Cell, he entertains there Monks that are disobedient to, and abuse their Abbot, and that he hinders those who hold Estates of the Abbot, from doing Homage to him.
- In the 209<sup>th</sup>. he represents to *Hugh* Earl of *Troyes*, that the Consultation intended to be held at *Sens* about the Validity of the King's Marriage with the Marquis *Boniface's* Daughter, the Earl's Kinswoman, will neither be honourable, nor of any Advantage to her: It will be to no Purpose, because the Marriage will certainly be declar'd null by the Bishops and Lords of the Realm; nor will it be for her Honour, because it will occasion the illegitimacy of her Birth to be talk'd of; so that, *Ivo* advises the Earl to hinder, if he can, all Debates about that Matter.
- In the 210<sup>th</sup>. he writes Pope *Paschal* Word, that *Odo*, Bishop of *Cambray*, complains of his Holiness, for turning out of the Archdeaconry of his Church, one who was a zealous Friend of the Holy See, and putting in one who is an Enemy to it.
- In the 211<sup>th</sup>. to *Ralph*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, he deduces the Genealogies of the Earl of *Flanders*, and the Daughter of the Earl of *Renner*, to shew they are nearly related.
- The 212<sup>th</sup>. to *Geoffrey* Bishop of *Beauvais*, is about the Validity of a Donation granted to the Monastery of *St. Simphorien*.
- In the 213<sup>th</sup>. to *John* Bishop of *Orleans*, he proves that the Regular Clergy may have Cure of Souls and Parishes committed to them.
- In the 214<sup>th</sup>. to *Bruno* Archbishop of *Treves*, he bemoans the sad State of Religion, under the unhappy Divisions between the Church and the Civil Government.
- The 215<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter of Compliment and Friendship, to *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*.
- In the 216<sup>th</sup>. and 217<sup>th</sup>. Letters, he gives *Richard*, Bishop of *Albane*, Legate of the Holy See, an Account of the Dispute between the Monks of *Bonneval* and those of *Blois*, which he tells him he had us'd his best Endeavours to accommodate, but could not yet effect it.
- In the 218<sup>th</sup>. he writes to *Gualon*, Bishop of *Paris*, that the Canon of that Church, who had lately been married, ought to loose his Preferment and be degraded from being a Clergyman, but that his Marriage must remain good and valid.
- In the 219<sup>th</sup>. he justifies himself to Pope *Paschal*, for having divided Part of a Prebend of his Church among the Canons by daily Distributions, for the Encouragement of such as assisted constantly, in performing Divine Service.
- In the 220<sup>th</sup>. to *Hildebert*, Bishop of *Mans*, he shews, that when an Appeal is made from one Judge to another, the Party concern'd is, within five Days after he appeals, to get a Letter from the first Judge to the other he appeals to, who is not else oblig'd to take Cognizance of the Matter. He asserts also, in this Letter, that it is not in the Power of any Bishop, to give up the Estate of a religious Society to the sole Disposal of the Abbot.
- In the 221<sup>st</sup>. Letter, to *John* Bishop of *Orleans*, concerning a Freeman's having married a Slave, without knowing her to be so; *Ivo* says, that by the Civil Law, the Marriage is void, and he may quit her and marry another Woman; but that, by the Laws of God and of Nature, they ought to keep together, or at least, if he put her away he may not marry again.
- In the 222<sup>d</sup>. to the Clergy of *Autun*, he inquires, if a Woman that has been guilty of Adultery, must necessarily be divorc'd from her Husband, and concludes that in Strictness, she ought; but, by the Wisdom of the Gospel, such a Temper was prescrib'd as may reconcile her to her Husband.
- In the 223<sup>d</sup>. to *Owen*, Bishop of *Eureux*, he persuades him to excommunicate and deny Christian Burial, to such as imbezels the Patrimony of the Church.
- In the 224<sup>th</sup>. he tells *Guy*, Abbot of *Moleme*, that one of his Monks having been with him, and acknowledged with great Sorrow, that he took Orders for the Sake of Temporal Gain only, though by the Rigor of the Canons he ought for ever to be turn'd out of the Clergy, yet having express'd true Repentance for his Sin, he thinks he may be permitted to retain his Orders, and to exercise the Functions of them.
- In the 225<sup>th</sup>. to *Daimbert*, Archbishop of *Sens*, he delivers his Judgment, that a certain Person who came and confess'd, that before he was married he had carnal Knowledge of his Wife's Sister, ought to be deem'd ever after infamous, and his Evidence not to be heard against any Man; that he ought also to be divorc'd from his Wife, and live the rest of his Life unmarried; but that his Wife should have her Portion back again.
- In the 226<sup>th</sup>. he requests *Bernier*, Abbot of *Bonneval*, to receive kindly one of his Monks, who was sorry for having left his Monastery, and beg'd Leave to come into it again.
- The 227<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter of Condolance to Pope *Paschal*; and acquaints him, that being desirous of bestowing a Prebend, in his Church, upon *Guarin*, he is oppos'd therein by the Dean and Chapter.
- In the 228<sup>th</sup>. to *Gonthier*, a Priest, *Ivo* answers a Scruple he had propos'd to him, viz. How to reconcile these Words of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, (At what Time soever a Sinner shall repent, and turn from the Evil of his Ways, he shall save his Soul alive, or be forgiven,) with the Sentence and Discipline of the Ecclesiastical Canons, which suspends, for some Time, even Penitents from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper? And how it comes to pass, that those whom Christ, who is the Head, immediately releases, the Church, who is the Body, should detain under the Penalty of Sin: This Difficulty, *Ivo* says, 'tis easy to solve, if we consider the Manner of God's remitting Sins, and the Frailty of Mankind; that God, who knows the Heart, forgives the Sin as soon as he sees the Heart is converted, but that the Church, which knows not the inward Thoughts of a Man, cannot absolve a Sinner till his Conversion be made evident by publick Signs of it.
- In the 229<sup>th</sup>. to *Lisard*, Bishop of *Soissons*, he declares, that a Man who defames a married Woman, to any of her Relations, by saying he had carnal Knowledge of her before her Marriage, ought not to be admitted in Court as an Evidence against her, because he is criminal himself by his own Confession.
- In the 230<sup>th</sup>. to *Hildebert*, Bishop of *Mans*, he asserts that a Jewish Woman who turns Christian may not quit her Husband, nor marry another, at least unless her Husband were her near Relation.
- In the 231<sup>st</sup>. to *Pontius*, Abbot of *Cluny*, after giving some mystical Reasons of the Elevation of the Chalice and the Host, and Signs of the Cross made upon those Occasions, he delivers his Opinion that a Monk who was forc'd to make himself a Eunuch, to prevent Epileptick Fits he was subject to, may notwithstanding be allow'd to take Orders.
- In the 232<sup>d</sup>. to *Hildebert*, Bishop of *Mans*, he maintains that a Man who had been too familiar with his Wife's Mother before his Marriage, ought not to be divorc'd from his Wife, but upon good Proof of his having been carnally joyn'd to the Mother.
- In the 233<sup>d</sup>. to *Henry* Abbot of *St. John d' Angeli*, he declares that he adheres to the Opinion of the Popes, *Gregory* and *Urban*, touching Investitures given by Laymen, and believes that they who allow them the Power of bestowing Church-preferments are Schismatics; nor is he afraid of hereby offending Pope *Paschal*, who has own'd in several Letters to him, that what he had done with Relation to the Investitures, he had been constrain'd to do by the Violence of others, but was still in his Heart of another Opinion.
- In the 234<sup>th</sup>. he persuades *William*, Abbot of *Marmontier*, to end his Quarrels with *Ralph*, Archbishop of *Tours*; and in the 235<sup>th</sup>. he tells that Archbishop, he is glad that the Bishops of *Mans* and *Angers* labour to procure Peace between him and the Abbot.
- The 236<sup>th</sup>. Letter is written in the Name of *Daimbert*, Archbishop of *Sens*, and his Suffragans, to *John* Archbishop of *Lyons*, who had summon'd them to a Council, call'd at *Anse* near *Lyons*, to consult about Matters of Faith and the Dispute of Investitures. They assure him, though they have a great Respect for him, yet they will not go beyond the Limits set them by their Ancestors, and that the Holy Fathers allow'd no Authority to the Bishop of the Chief See to call the other Bishops to any Council, out of their peculiar Provinces, unless by the express Command of the Holy See; or, that upon some Controversy, which could not be terminated within the Province, any of the Bishops of it should appeal to the Primate. As to the Matter of Investitures, propos'd to be treated of in this Council, they tell him it cannot be done without discovering the Nakedness of their Father the Pope; and besides, 'twould be needless to have any Thing prov'd against Persons they dare not pass Sentence upon; that the Pope may be excus'd for granting Investiture, since he did it only by Force; and in Cases of Necessity; that 'tis foolishly done of some to bestow the Name of Heresie upon Investitures, since Heresie can be only in Matters of Faith, not in the Practice and Discipline of the Church; or at most, those only can be reckon'd guilty of Error who suppose some Sacrament or Grace confer'd by the Investiture, if ever any were so weak as to think so; that however, Investitures are an Invasion upon the Rights and Liberties of the Churches, and ought to be abolish'd in all Places, where it may be effected without endangering a Schism.
- The 237<sup>th</sup>. is the Archbishop of *Lyons's* Answer to the foregoing Letter, wherein he protests he did not mean to force them out of their Province to a Council, but only desir'd to confer with them, and ask their Advices about the State of the Church; not but that the Church of *Lyons* has such Authority over the other Churches of *France*: As to the Persons he would have treated about, he says, there is not one of them but ought to submit to the Pleasure of a Council, even Kings and Emperors being subject to the Authority of the Bishops; that he did not design to uncover, but to hide the Nakedness of their Father the Pope; that no Dangers



Ivo  
Bishop of  
Chartres.

Dangers nor Obstacles ought to hinder them from courageously defending the Cause of the Church; that those who approve of Investitures remaining in the Hands of the Laity, are Hereticks in their Hearts; that he will not usurp any undue Authority over the Diocess of *Sens*, but prays them to remember, 'twas always subject to the Primacy of the Archbishop of *Lyons*.

In the 138<sup>th</sup>. Letter to Pope *Paschal*, Ivo endeavours to dissuade him from constituting a Bishop over the Church of *Tournay*, and exempting it from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Noyon*, it has been under these 400 Years; lest his Holiness, by so doing, create a Misunderstanding between the King and the Clergy, and raise such a Schism as happened in *Germany*.

In the 239<sup>th</sup>. he compliments King *Lewis le Gros*, upon his intended Marriage with a Niece of the Earl of *Flanders*.

In the 240<sup>th</sup>. he warns a certain Monk of the Scandal he occasions by his too great Familiarity with a Nun.

In the 241<sup>st</sup>. he writes to *Humbaud*, Bishop of *Auxerre*, not to suffer a Cause, already determin'd in the Ecclesiastical Courts, to be brought again before the Earl, or any Secular Judge.

In the 242<sup>d</sup>. to *Owen* Bishop of *Eureux*, he explains himself concerning his having given his Opinion that a Freeman, who had married a Slave, without knowing her to be such, ought to be divorced from her; and adds, that this is not dissolving a lawful Marriage, but only declaring that 'tis unlawful for them to live together any longer, their Marriage being null by Law.

In the 243<sup>d</sup>. to *Gualon*, Bishop of *Paris*, he says, that a Marriage concluded on by the Parents, between two Children in their Cradles, is of no Force.

The 244<sup>th</sup>. is written to Pope *Paschal*, in Favour of *Hubert*, Bishop of *Senlis*, accus'd by some of his Clergy, to the Metropolitan, of selling Holy Orders. He had met with hard Usage from the Bishops of his own Province, and therefore appeals to the Pope, to whom Ivo recommends his Case.

The 245<sup>th</sup>. is to *Hugh* Earl of *Troyes*, who having list'd himself for the Holy Land, design'd to put away his Wife and live in Celibacy. Ivo commends his Resolution, but advises him to do it with his Wife's consent, and to lead a regular Life.

In the 246<sup>th</sup>. to *Lisard* Bishop of *Soissons*, he declares that 'tis not allowable for a Man to marry two Sisters successively, though the Marriage with the former of them were not consummated.

In the 247<sup>th</sup>. to *John* Bishop of *Orleans*, Ivo highly blames him, that upon a Quarrel between the Earl of *Orleans* and *Ralph* Lord of *Baugency*, he and his Church had consented that they should decide it by single Combat: And.

In the 248<sup>th</sup>. he advises the latter to carry himself respectfully towards the Earl of *Orleans*.

In the 249<sup>th</sup>. to *Gilbert*, Archdeacon of *Paris*, he affirms, that those who had been assistant, and consenting to an Adultery, cannot be receiv'd as Witnesses against the Adulterers.

In the 250<sup>th</sup>. he interceeds with Pope *Paschal*, that he will grant to *Ralph*, Bishop of *Rochester*, elected to the See of *Canterbury*, the Confirmation of that Dignity, and also the *Pallium* which he is not able to come and ask in Person of his Holiness.

In the 251<sup>st</sup>. to *Manasses* Bishop of *Meaux*, he tells him, he did well to refuse administering the *Viaticum* (or last Sacrament) to a dying Person, who was troubled with a constant Vomiting.

In the 252<sup>d</sup>. he writes to *Ralph* Archbishop of *Rheims*, that he thinks it unreasonable that a Woman suspected of Adultery by her Husband, should undergo the Trial of *Ordeal*, but that it is sufficient for her to purge her self upon Oath.

In the 253<sup>d</sup>. he recommends to King *Lewis's* Favour and Protection *Godfrey*, Bishop of *Amiens*, who had met with ill Usage in his Diocess.

In the 254<sup>th</sup>. he vouches for *Geoffrey*, Archbishop of *Rouen*, to Pope *Paschal*, that it was not in his Power to wait upon his Holiness at *Rome*, as he would otherwise have done.

The 255<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter of Consolation to *Ralph*, Abbot of *Fuscin*, in his Sickness; exhorting him to bear his Afflictions patiently, and to see one chosen in his Stead to govern the Monastery, if he find himself incapable of doing it: telling him also, that the Extream Unction being a Sacrament, needs not be repeated.

In the 256<sup>th</sup>. he dissuades *Raimaud*, a Monk, from turning Hermite.

In the 257<sup>th</sup>. he gives *Philip*, Bishop of *Troyes*, an Account of the Accommodation made by the Regular Canons of *St. Quintin*, at *Beauvais*, between *Odo* Prior of *St. Georges*, and some of his Canons.

In the 258<sup>th</sup>. he recommends to Pope *Paschal* the Affairs of *Hubert*, Bishop of *Senlis*.

In the 259<sup>th</sup>. he expostulates with *Ralph*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, concerning a Judgment he had given against the Church of *St. Quintin*, at *Beauvais* with Relation to a Mill they claim'd Right to; and lays before him the wrong he conceives done to them.

In the 260<sup>th</sup>. he assures *Stephen* of *Guarland*, the King's Chancellor, that he may with a safe Conscience, be elected to succeed *Gualon*, Bishop of *Paris*, who is to be remov'd to *Beauvais*.

In the 261<sup>st</sup>. he dissuades *Henry*, King of *England*, from marrying his Daughter to *Hugh*, an Earl in the Diocess of *Chartres*, there being too near a Relation between them.

In the 262<sup>d</sup>. to *Pontius*, Abbot of *Cluny*, he shews him the Reason, why in the Consecration of the Cup, at the Lord's Supper, the words [*Mystery of Faith*] are added, which were not us'd by our Saviour, at the Institution of this Sacrament? and says, (among other things) that this is done because we judge of the greatness of the Mystery contain'd in it not by the Senses but by Faith.

By the 263<sup>d</sup>. he represents to the Clergy of *Beauvais*, how much he is griev'd for their sufferings.

In the 264<sup>th</sup>. he intercedes with King *Lois*, for the Clergy and People of that City.

In the 265<sup>th</sup>. he acquaints that Prince, how much he had been misinform'd by some, who had suggested to him that the Clergy of the Church of *Chartres*, do invade the Rights of the Chapter and represents to him, that they only hinder them from some exactions prohibited by the Holy See.

In the 266<sup>th</sup>. to *Conon*, Bishop of *Palestine*, and Legate of the Holy See, in *France*, after giving him an Account of his having excommunicated *Hugh*, for a breach of Peace, he prays him to make choice of wise and Religious Persons to be Judges at the Tryal he is to have with the *Monks* of *Marmoutier*, for the Church of *St. Nicholas de Courbeville*.

The 267<sup>th</sup>. Letter is to the same Legate, about the same Affair. Ivo, therein sends his Excuse, that he could not wait on him in Person to plead for himself.

In the 268<sup>th</sup>. he writes to the Bishops of *Beauvais*, *Chalons*, *Amiens* and *Senlis*, Commissioners for hearing this Cause, letting them know that Judgment had already been given, in Favour of the Bishop of *Chartres*, by *Hugh*, Bishop of *Die*, in a Council held at *Iffoudun*.

In the 269<sup>th</sup>. he tells *Bernier*, Abbot of *Bonneval*, that he ought not to hinder one of his *Monks* from turning *Hermite*.

In the 270<sup>th</sup>. to *Turgedus*, Bishop of *Auranches*, he advises him to submit to the Decision of the Pope's Legate, or to send deputies to *Rome*, to plead there in his own behalf.

In the 271<sup>st</sup>. he thanks Pope *Paschal*, for granting to the Clergy of *Chartres* a Confirmation of their Privileges, to shelter them from the Exactions of the Chapter: And whereas two of that Body had disputed the Authority of the Pope's Decree, and complain'd of it to the King, he prays his Holiness to do what he thinks farther necessary to enforce the Execution of it.

In the 272<sup>d</sup>. he exhorts *Reginald*, Bishop of *Angers*, to be reconciled to one *Mathilda*, of his Diocess and to endeavour to reclaim her from ill Courses.

In the 273<sup>d</sup>. he intercedes with *Conon*, the Pope's Legate, to moderate the Sentence of Excommunication, issued out by him against the Bishops of *Normandy*, in Favour of the Bishop of *Bayeux*.

In the 274<sup>th</sup>. he writes to Pope *Paschal*, concerning a Controversy he has with the *Monks* of *Marmoutier*, who to create him Trouble, had appeal'd to *Rome* and cited him to appear there, though living at a great distance and very ill: He intreats the Pope to appoint some to judge between them at Home, and wishes him not to grant any Clergyman a Dispensation to hold two Benefices.

In the 275<sup>th</sup>. he informs *Conon*, the Pope's Legate, that he has acquainted Count *Theobald* with the Sentence of Excommunication he had publish'd against all that had a hand in taking the Earl of *Nevers*, and which would have its Course against him, if he did not set the Earl at Liberty, by a time therein prefix'd him: He says the Count was somewhat surpriz'd that the King had referr'd this matter to the Ecclesiastical Judicature; since he is very ready to appear before the King's Judges, and doubts not but he can make it appear to them that not he but the Earl of *Nevers* is to blame, and offers, if they shall require it, to deliver him up to them.

By the 276<sup>th</sup>. he recommends to Pope *Paschal*, *Tarstin* Archbishop of *Tork* elect.

In the 277<sup>th</sup>. to *Aldebert*, Bishop elect of *Mans*, he tells him, he hears he was guilty of several irregularities, while he was an Archdeacon, and that he was not Canonically elected to the Bishoprick. He refers him therefore to the Witness of his own Conscience, and exhorts him not to take the Government of others upon him while he himself lies under any such Guilt.



The 27<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter of Compliment, to Robert, Bishop of Lincoln.

In the 27<sup>th</sup>. to Liliard, Bishop of Soissons, he persuades him to receive one of the Clergy of his Church, upon his submitting to Penance, or to give him leave to remove to some other Church.

In the 28<sup>th</sup>. to the same Bishop, Ivo determines, that a married Man may not be suffer'd to accuse his Wife of Adultery, upon Suspicion only, nor to force her to pass the Tryal by red-hot Irons.

In the 28<sup>th</sup>. he writes to Anselm, Bishop of Beauvais, that he is ready at any time to attest, that the Clergy of St. Peter's, in Beauvais, had granted to the Regular Canons of St. Quentin, in that City, the Inheritance of a piece of Land they now lay claim to again.

The 28<sup>th</sup>. is an Instrument in Form, by which Ivo takes into the Protection of the Church of Chartres an Hospital for poor People, lying at Châteaudun.

The 28<sup>th</sup>. is an Act, for consecrating a piece of Ground near Tirois, for a Church-yard, and putting it under the Jurisdiction of the Church of Chartres.

The 28<sup>th</sup>. is a Deed making over, for ever, to the Monastery of Bonneval the Church of St. Peter, at Châteaudun, which some of the Clergy had redeem'd from a Layman, in whose Possession it was before.

The 28<sup>th</sup>. is a Confirmation of the Gift of the Church of St. Nicasius, at Menlan, by Robert Earl of Menlan, to the Monks of Bec.

The 28<sup>th</sup>. is the Charter of the Foundation of the Abbey of St. John du Val, in the Suburbs of Chartres.

The 28<sup>th</sup>. is concerning the Eucharist, of which we have already given an Extract. It was written by Ivo, while he was a Regular Canon of St. Quentin at Beauvais.

The 28<sup>th</sup>. is a Confirmation of a Grant, formerly made, to the Monastery of Marmontier, of the Church of Manche and a Chappel annex'd to it.

The last is a Letter to the Abbot of the Monastery of Marmontier, written in very pressing Terms, to persuade him and his Monks to stand to the Arbitration made by himself and the Earl of Chartres, of the Difference between them and the Church of Chartres.

## Of the Pannormia of Ivo.

Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, has left us two Collections of the Ecclesiastical Canons; one of them intitled *Pannormia*, which makes but a small Volume; the other pretty large commonly known by the Name of the *Decretal*; the former in eight Books, the *Decretum* is divided into Seventeen. The same Preface is prefix'd to both of them,

The *Pannormia* is suppos'd by some to have been written by Hugh, Bishop of Châlons: And indeed, Vincent, Bishop of Beauvais, mentions an Abridgment of the *Decretum* of Ivo, drawn by him: But that must be different from this

we are speaking of, which is not an Epitome of any other Book, but an Original Work. In all the Manuscripts, that can be found, it bears the Name of Ivo's *Pannormia*; particularly, in that in the Library of St. Victor, which was written before the time Hugh Bishop of Châlons liv'd in; which is an evident Proof that the *Pannormia* cannot be his. The Decrees of Innocent II. who was Pope since Ivo's Death, though added in the Editions, are not in the ancient Manuscript, nor in several others, as has been observ'd by Antonius Augustinus. The *Pannormia* was compos'd before the *Decretal*.

## Of the Decretum of Ivo.

THE *Decretum* is a Collection of Rules and Constitutions in Church-Affairs, taken out of the Letters of the Popes, the ancient Canons and Councils, the Writings of the Fathers of the Church and the Laws of Catholick Princes. In the Preface, Ivo gives notice, that he has rang'd them under general Heads, or Titles, for the easier finding out any Canon the Reader has Occasion to consult. And admonishes that if one Canon shall seem to have a different Meaning from that of another, we are not presently to conclude they are contradictory; but to remember that some are to be understood according to the Rigor of their Import, others are to be taken with Allowances; for that all Ecclesiastical Discipline aiming only at that Edification which is founded upon Charity, every Rule and Order of the Church is intended for

the same End; upon which Account, the Spiritual Physicians, the Guides of Souls, accommodate their Remedies and Prescriptions to the Quality of the Distempers and the Condition of their Patients: That moreover, We are to distinguish between what is laid down by way of Advice, and what is deliver'd as a Precept or Command, what is forbid from what is permitted or tolerated only: And among those Things that are commanded or forbidden, we must carefully consider that some of them are so, by an eternal and immutable Law; others, by the Laws of Men, which may be either changed, repealed, or dispensed with: Of all which Distinctions, Exceptions, Restrictions and Allowances he gives very pertinent Instances and Illustrations out of the Writings of the Fathers.

## The Contents of the XVII. Parts of the Decretal.

THE 1<sup>st</sup>. Part treats of Faith, and of the Sacrament of Faith called Baptism, of the Qualifications requir'd in those that are to be baptiz'd, of the Ministration, the Ceremonies, the Vertues and Effects of Baptism and of Confirmation.

The 2<sup>d</sup>. is concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, of the Manner of receiving it, of the Celebration of the Mass, and of the Sanctity of this and the other Sacraments.

The 3<sup>d</sup>. is of the Church and what belongs to it, and the Reverence and Observance due thereto.

The 4<sup>th</sup>. treats of the Observation of the Feasts and Fasts of the Church, of the Holy Scriptures, of the Customs and Councils of the Church.

The 5<sup>th</sup>. of the Supremacy of the Church of Rome, the Rights of Primates, Metropolitans and Bishops; their Ordination and Sovereign Dignity.

The 6<sup>th</sup>. is of the Conversion and Ordinations of the Clergy; how they are to be tryed and punished for Offences.

The 7<sup>th</sup>. is of the Retirement and single Lives of Monks and Nuns; and of the Penance to be undergone for Breach of the vow of Continency.

The 8<sup>th</sup>. of Lawful Marriages; of Virgins and un-veiled

Besides the Works already nam'd, there are twenty four Discourses or Sermons of Ivo, Bishop of Chartres.

The 1<sup>st</sup>. of them concerning the Sacrament of Baptism.

The 2<sup>d</sup>. of the Dignity of Holy Orders, and the Conversation and Duties of Churchmen.

The 3<sup>d</sup>. upon the Mystical Significations of the Sacerdotal Habits.

Widows; of Rapes, of Concubines, of Transgressions of the Marriage-vow; of the Punishment of Adultery.

The 9<sup>th</sup>. speaks of Incestuous Marriages and Fornication; of the Degrees of Affinity and Consanguinity, within which Marriage may not be contracted; of the Penances and Punishments due to the Violators of Laws.

The 10<sup>th</sup>. of Murders voluntary and accidental, of all Sorts; and of the Guilt and Punishments of them.

The 11<sup>th</sup>. of Conjurers, Sorcerers, Juglers, Stage-Players, and the Penalties they are liable to.

The 12<sup>th</sup>. treats of Lyes and Perjuries, of Informers, Evidences, False-witnesses, Judges and Advocates.

The 13<sup>th</sup>. contains the several Canons against Ravishers, Robbers, Usurers, Hunters, Drunkards, Rioters and Jews.

The 14<sup>th</sup>. is concerning Excommunication just and unjust; in what Manner and for what Offences to be inflicted.

The 15<sup>th</sup>. of Penances, and Commutations of Penances.

The 16<sup>th</sup>. sets forth the Duties of the Laity; and in what Manner they are to be proceeded against, when they are guilty of any Crimes or Irregularities.

The 17<sup>th</sup>. consists of the Reflections and Speculations of the Fathers, particularly of St. Gregory, concerning Faith, Hope, and Charity.

The 4<sup>th</sup>. of the Dedication of Churches.

The 5<sup>th</sup>. of the Agreement between the Holy Rites of the Old and New Testament.

The 6<sup>th</sup>. upon the Birth and Sufferings of our Blessed Saviour

The 7<sup>th</sup>. upon his second Advent.

The 8<sup>th</sup>. upon the Nativity.

The 9<sup>th</sup>. upon the Circumcision.

The 10<sup>th</sup>. upon the Epiphany.

The



The Contents of the XVII Parts of the Decretal.

The 11th. upon the Purification of the Virgin Mary.  
The 12th. upon the Septuagesima.  
The 13th. upon Ashwednesday.  
The 14th. upon the Lent.  
The 15th. upon the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin.  
The 16th. upon Palm-Sunday.  
The 17th. upon Monday-Thursiday.  
The 18th. upon Easter-Day.

The 19th. upon our Saviour's Ascension.  
The 20th. upon Whitsunday.  
The 21st. upon the Day of St. Peter's being made Bishop of Rome, (as is suppos'd.)  
The 22d. upon the Lord's Prayer.  
The 23d. upon the Apostle's Creed.  
The 24th. of the indecent Apparel of Men and Women.

The Contents of the XVII Parts of the Decretal.

There is also a short Chronicle, of the Kings of France, from Pharamond to Philip the first, reckoned, by some, to be written by Ivo, Bishop of Chartres; but neither does this seem to be his, nor another much larger (ascrib'd to him by some) from Ninus King of Assyria, to Louis, le Debonnaire, which was written by Hugo Floriacensis.

The *Pannormia* of Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, was printed at Basil, in 1499. and at Louvain, in 1557.  
The *Decretum* was printed at Louvain, in 1561. And at Paris, in 1647. with the Letters and Sermons correctly published by Father Frotto, a Regular Canon of St. Genevieve: In which Edition are added the learned Notes of Juretus Canon of Langres, and of Souchet Canon of Chartres upon the Letters of our Bishop.

## C H A P. II.

### The History of the Church of Rome under the Popedom of Paschal II. Gelasus II. and Calixtus II. Containing the Rise, Progress and Conclusion of the Contests between the Holy See and the Empire, about the Right of Investitures.

The Church of Rome, &c. The Election of Paschal II.

Paschal II. call'd, before he was Pope, Rainier, was a Tuscan, the Son of Crescentius and Alasia. He embrac'd the Monastick Life, and practis'd it in the Abby of Cluny, under the Abbot Hugh. He was created Cardinal Priest of St. Clement, by Gregory VII. and made Abbot of the Monastery of St. Stephen, and St. Laurence of Rome. After the Death of Urban II. the Cardinals cast their Eyes upon him to advance him to the Papal Chair. When he had Intimation of this, he absconded for some Time; but being afterwards discovered, he was proclaimed Pope by all the Cardinals, with the loud Acclamations of the People, and consecrated the 14th. Day of August, in the Year 1099.

The Death of Guibert. The Anti-popes who succeeded him.

The first Thing he did was entirely to drive out the Anti-pope Guibert. He declar'd War against him, and forc'd him to fly to the Mountains of Abruzzo, whether he died, in the Year 1100. His Death did not put an End to the Schism which had lasted twenty Years already; for after him came three more Anti-popes, who succeeded one after another, but fell within a short Time. The first was Albert of Atella, whom Richard Duke of Campania, the great Supporter of Guibert, caus'd to be elected in his stead. At the End of four Months he was taken by Pope Paschal's Friends, and shut up in the Monastery of St. Lawrence. After this the People of Cava a small Town near Palestina, undertook to bestow the Pontificate on a Roman nam'd Theodoric, who enjoy'd the Title of Pope only three Months, and thought himself very happy in relinquishing it and becoming an Anchorite. Magnus who was elected at Ravenna, by the name of Silvester IV. seem'd to have a greater Interest, but he dy'd within a short time after. By this means Paschal being freed from all his Rivals, retok Castellano and Benevento from the Prince of Capua, and the Town of Cava, on which Peter Colonna Abbot of Farfa had seized, and driven Stephen Corso out of Rome, who having seiz'd upon St. Paul's Church, annoy'd the Romans by his continual Incursions.

The designs of Paschal II. against the Emperor Henry.

Having thus quieted Italy, his Designs were aim'd against the Emperor Henry. Conrad the Son of that Emperor, who was Governor of Italy, dying in the Year 1101. Henry had a Design of passing into Italy, going to Rome, and holding a Council there the Beginning of the Year 1102. to adjust the Differences that had been between him and the Holy See. The Pope made no open Opposition to it, nay, he invited the Emperor thither: But forasmuch as they could not trust each other, the Emperor would not venture to rely on the Italians, and Paschal was not very sorry that Henry did not come into Italy.

The Council of Rome under Paschal II. against the Emperor Henry.

However, he held a very large Council at Rome, about the End of Lent, where, Henry, not appearing in Person, nor having sent any Ambassadors thither, was excommunicated with all his Adherents. And because several maintain'd that there ought to be no regard had to such kind of Anathema's, the Pope in this Council drew up a Form in these Terms: 'I anathematize all Heresie, and chiefly that which disturbs the State of the present Church, which teaches and maintains that no regard is to be had to Anathema's, and that one may lawfully condemn the Ecclesiastical Sanctions. I promise to obey Pope Paschal and his Successors; I approve and condemn what the Holy

Catholick Church approves and condemns. The Pope exacted this Oath of all that assisted at the Council, and on Holy-Thursiday published the Excommunication against Henry, drawn up in these Words: 'Whereas Henry has not ceased from rending the Garment of Jesus Christ, that is, has not ceas'd from ravaging the Church by Fire and Sword, from dishonouring it by his Perjuries, Incontinence, and Homicides; he as been excommunicated and condemn'd for his Contumacy and Disobedience, by Pope Gregory of Blessed Memory, and by our Predecessor, Urban II, and we also have anathematiz'd him for ever in our last Synod by the Judgment of the whole Church, which we desire may be notified to the whole World, and especially the People residing beyond the Mountains, that they may have no hand in his Iniquity.

The Church of Rome, &c.

Henry, to avoid the Stroke of this Excommunication, about the End of the Year, order'd Publication to be made, that he intended to resign the Empire to his Son Henry, and to Henry V. travel to the Holy-Land. He not only caus'd this to be published by Bishop Eginard, but likewise engag'd himself by a Vow to undertake this Journey. This Proposal engag'd the Affection of the Princes and Clergy of the Empire to him; and several of his Subjects made Preparations to accompany him in this Expedition. But when they perceiv'd that he had no Design to perform his Vow, they began to change their Inclination towards him; which gave his Son Henry an Occasion of rebelling against him, when by his Father's stay he saw his Hopes of very suddenly enjoying the Empire frustrated. Having enter'd upon this Design by the wicked Counsels of three great Lords, he left his Father at Mentz, where he had spent the Christmas Holy-Days in the Year 1104 and withdrew to Bavaria, Religion being the Cloak to cover this unnatural Disloyalty. He began by anathematizing the Heresie of his Father, and by promising Obedience to the Pope. The Nobles of Austria, Germany, and the Eastern parts of France declaring for him, he enter'd into Saxony, where he was very well received; and having spent the Easter Holy-Days at Quintineburg, he was acknowledg'd Emperor by all the Towns of that Country. Rothard Archbishop of Mentz, and Gebhard Bishop of Constance, the Pope's Vicars in Germany enter'd into this Confederacy, and advis'd young Henry to reconcile all Saxony to the Holy See.

Young Henry to establish his Power appointed a general Assembly of the Bishops and Clergy to be held on the 29th. of May, in the Year 1105. at Northusa, a Royal Seat; wherein, they made several Orders with respect to the Discipline of the Church. They reform'd upon the Spot what they thought they might safely do; and what appear'd to be of the most Consequence they refer'd to the Determination of the Holy See. They therein condemn'd the Heresie of the Simoniacal, and that of the Nicolaitans, namely of such Clerks as would not live in Celibacy. They therein fix'd the Summer Ember-Week, which was to be the Whitsun-Week; and order'd that those Persons who had been consecrated by false Bishops should be reconcil'd the next Ember-Week. Henry V. would not appear at that Council till after he had been invit'd thither; and when he came he seem'd to behave himself with a great deal of Modesty, Humility, and Wisdom. He declar'd to them, that he did

The Assembly of Northusa in the Year 1105.



not covet his Father's Throne, and was ready to resign it to him, if he would but submit to St. Peter and his Successors. The Bishops of *Hildesheim*, *Paderborne*, and *Hat-berstat*, throwing themselves at the Feet of the Archbishop of *Mentz* their Metropolitan, declar'd, that they would submit to the Holy See; whereupon their Cause was referred to be tried by the Pope.

No sooner did this Assembly break up, but *Henry V.* marched towards *Mentz* at the Head of some Troops, in order to render himself Master of that City, and to re-establish the Archbishop thereof. The Emperor his Father being within the Place, *Henry* would not venture to invest it, but drew his Forces off to *Wirtsburgh*, which he took by Surprise, drove out thence Bishop *Erlong*, and put *Robert* in his Place. Afterwards he invested the Castle of *Nuremberg*, which surrendered to him at the End of two Months; and being come to *Ratisbon*, he was set upon by his Father who defeated him and retook that City. young *Henry* without being shocked at this Overthrow rally'd up more Forces, and having been joyn'd by the *Saxons*, he encamped over against his Father's Army, being separated from each other only by the River *Regen*. After several slight Skirmishes, young *Henry* found a way of winning over the Princes and great Men who were in his Father's Army. They would not fight, so that the Emperor was forc'd to fly, and left his Son Master of the Field, who seiz'd on his Father's Treasures that were at *Spires*.

About the End of the Year it was agreed that a Convention should be held at *Mentz*, to adjust the Difference then on Foot between the two Emperors. The Father came upon the *Rhine* with an Intention of being there; but the Son being afraid he should not obtain all that he desir'd from this Convention, had recourse to Fraud and Treachery. He waited upon his Father, protested to him that he was very sorry for what had passed, accompanied him towards *Mentz*: But in the Road some Body acquainted the old Emperor that a very great Number of Lords of *Saxia* and *Saxony* his Enemies were arrived there: Upon this, his Son shew'd him that it would not be safe to trust himself in their Hands, and persuaded him to retire to the Castle of *Binghen* near *Mentz*. He no sooner enter'd the Place, but the Gates were shut upon him, where he was kept close Prisoner. Afterwards they sent to him requiring him to deliver up the Ensigns of his Imperial Dignity, that they might forthwith be conferred on his Son *Henry*. The Bishops of *Albany* and *Constance*, the Pope's Legates in this Assembly, repeated the Excommunication issued out against him. At last, they took him out of the Castle of *Binghen*, and carry'd him to *Ingelheim*, where they forc'd him to renounce the Empire, to confess that he had been in Fault, and on his Knees to ask Absolution of the Bishop of *Albany*, who deny'd it him, and refer'd him to the Pope. Young *Henry* was crown'd Emperor, and acknowledged as such by the Assembly of *Mentz*. He dispatched six Bishops in the Quality of Deputies to *Rome* with several Persons of Quality, to obtain a Confirmation of all that had been done at *Northusa* and *Mentz*.

However; old *Henry* having made his Escape from *Ingelheim*, was receiv'd by *Henry de Limbourg*, Duke of the *Liege*, and *Lower Lorrain*, and by *Obert* Bishop of *Liege* who held out several Places upon the *Rhine* for him. The City of *Liege* was the Place he made choice of for his Residence, from whence he wrote Letters to the King of *France*, to his Son, to the Bishops, and to the Princes of *Saxony* and *Germany*. Wherein he makes loud Complaints of the Manner wherein he had been us'd, and protests against all that they had forc'd him to do by Constraint. In the last Letters, he declar'd that he was ready to pay all manner of Respect to the Pope, to regulate all the Affairs of the Empire by the Advice of *Henry* Abbot of *Cluny*, and appeals to the Pope's Determination of all that had been done against him in *Germany*.

His Son caus'd an Answer to be return'd to him in the Name of the Lords, to this Effect; 'That the Miseries which he had brought upon both the Church and State had oblig'd them to depose him, and set up his Son on the Throne in his stead: That he had acknowledg'd himself unworthy of the Empire, and had resign'd it into his Son's Hands: That the promises he at present made signified nothing, since they could not tell how to give any Credit to them: That however, that he might have no Reason to complain, they would consent to have the Business examin'd over again in an Assembly of the Lords and Commons.'

Notwithstanding this young *Henry* pursued his Father, and after he had been beaten off from the Bridge of *Vifet*, he invested *Cologne*, designing afterwards to march to *Liege*. But the Besieged held out more vigorously than he expected; and after two Months Siege, he was ready to break up, when he received the News of his Father's Death at *Liege*, the 7th. of *August*, in the Year 1106. The People of *Liege* obtain'd their Pardon, upon Condition, that they would dig up the Body of the late Emperor, which was

carry'd to *Spires*, and put into a Sepulchre of Stone, where it remained without the Church unburied for five Years together: The Pope's Partisans were of Opinion, that since he died excommunicated, they could not give him Ecclesiastical Burial. *Guibert* the Antipope was us'd after the same manner, whom they dug up six Years after his Burial, and cast his Bones to the Common-Shore to insult over his Memory.

After the Death of the Emperor *Henry IV.* those Princes and People who had continu'd firm to his Interests were oblig'd to submit to the new Emperor. The Pope was invited into *Germany*, and left *Rome* with that Design. In the way, on the 19th. of *October*, in the Year 1106, he held a Council at *Gnastalla*, a Town of *Lombardy*, situated on the *Po*, therein to regulate what concern'd the Churches of *Germany* and *Lombardy*, which had been engag'd in the Schism. He therein declar'd that the Bishops, the Priests, and the other Clerks who had been ordain'd during the Schism, should still keep their Orders, provided, they had not procur'd them by Simony or by Force, nor were Conscientious to themselves of being Guilty of any other Crimes. He therein renew'd the Decrees of his Predecessors against Investitures, and prohibited the Alienation of the Church Revenues: He took away from the Metropolis of *Ravenna* the Towns of *Emilia*, that is, *Placenza*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Modena*, and *Bologna*, to punish it for its Rebellion.

The Decree against Investitures was dislike'd by the Emperor, whereupon *Paschal* instead of going to *Mentz*, as he had design'd, retir'd into *France*; and after he had spent the Christmas Holy-Days in the Abby of *Cluny*, he went to implore the Protection of King *Philip*. However, the Emperor German Nobles and Bishops being conven'd at *Mentz*, resolv'd upon sending Deputies to the Pope, to let him know that the Power of creating Bishops had been granted by the Holy See to *Charlemagne* and his Successors; and that therefore he could not divest that Prince of it. These Deputies enter'd into a Conference with the Pope at *Chalons*, and the Archbishop of *Treves* being their Prolocutor, after he had told the Pope that the Emperor wish'd him all manner of Prosperity, and profer'd to serve him to the utmost of his Power so long as it did not prejudice the Rights of the Empire, he declar'd that from the Time of St. *Gregory the Great*, the Emperor had Notice given him of the Person to be chosen; that after he had given his Consent, the Election was publickly made; that then he who was elected was consecrated; and that after the Consecration he waited upon the Emperor, to receive from him the Investiture for the Royalties, by the Ring and Pastoral Staff, by which at the same Time he did Homage and swore Allegiance to the Emperor: That this Custom seem'd to be very reasonable, because without it the Bishops could not enjoy the Cities, Castles, Territories, Fiefs, or any other Revenues depending on the Empire.

The Pope reply'd by the Bishop of *Placenza*, that the Church being redeem'd by the Blood of Jesus Christ was free, and therefore ought not to be put into Bondage: That if it could not chuse its Prelates without the Consent of the Emperor, it would become his Vassal; and that if these Prelates after their Election were oblig'd to receive the Investiture from him by the Ring and Pastoral Staff, this would be an Usurpation on the Prerogative of God himself: That lastly, it was unbecoming and beneath the Sacerdotal Order and Union, that Hands consecrated by the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ should be put into Hands stain'd with Blood-shed.

The Emperor's Deputies withdrew, being very much dissatisfied at this reply, threatening to put an End to this Debate at *Rome*, with their Swords in their Hands. The Pope would willingly have renew'd the Business with the Emperor's Chancellor; but they could not come to an Agreement in any one Point, and the Emperor's Deputies return'd back into *Germany*.

The Pope on his part assembled a Council at *Troyes* in *Campagne*, about *Ascension-day*, in the Year 1107. wherein after he had made several Institutions about Church Discipline, he propos'd to renew the Decrees of his Predecessors against *Laicks* concerning themselves with Ecclesiastical Dignities. The Emperor who had spent the *Easter* Holy-Days at *Mentz*, made his approaches towards the Council, and sent thither his Ambassadors to acquaint them that the Popes had formerly granted to *Charlemagne*, the Right of making Bishops; and that if they would not content thereto, to declare that he would prevent the determining of that Affair in a strange Country. Upon this Remonstrance the Council granted the Emperor a Years Time, that he himself might come in Person to *Rome*, there to plead the Cause in a general Council which should determine it.

The Emperor put off his Journey till such time as he had fully regulated the Affairs of the Empire; after which, in the Beginning of the Year 1110. he held a Convention at *Ratisbon*, wherein he declar'd that he had resolv'd to go to *Rome*, there to receive the Imperial Crown, and to adjust the Differences betwixt the Pope and him. He order'd







Of the Church of Rome, &c.

vilage extorted from Pope *Paschal*, by the Compulsion of *Henry*, particularly that which imply'd, that those who should be canonically Elected by the Clergy and People, could not be consecrated till such Time as they had received Investiture from the King. This Sentence was approv'd by all the Prelates of the Council, consisting of twelve Archbishops, an hundred and fourteen Bishops, and twenty three Cardinals, Priests and Deacons.

The Decrees against Henry upon the Account of Investitures.

There was nothing done in this Council against the Person of the Emperor *Henry*, but *Guy* Archbishop of *Vienna* the Pope's Legate, a Man very zealous for promoting the Interests of the Holy See, call'd a Council together in *September*, wherein he not only cancell'd the Privilege of Investitures, as had been done before in the *Lateran* Council, but farther declar'd, that it was Heresie to receive Investiture at the Hand of any Laicks, and excommunicated the Emperor *Henry*. He sent the Pope Word of what he had done in that Council, and desir'd that he would be pleas'd to confirm it. The Pope who had already declar'd against what himself had done, made no Scruple to grant his Request. Cardinal *Conon*, Bishop of *Palestrina*, and Legate of the Holy See in the East, thunder'd out Excommunications against *Henry*, as well in a Council held at *Jerusalem*, as in those he held at his Return, in the Years 1114, and 1115. at *Beauvais*, at *Rheims*, at *Cologne*, and at *Chalons*. *Thierry* Cardinal and Legate of the Holy See appointed a Council to be held at *Cologne*, in the *Christmasts* Holy-days, 1115. and set out with an Intention of being there; but he dy'd by the Way; however, the Council thunder'd out an Excommunication against the Emperor *Henry*.

The Emperor Henry's second Journey into Italy.

That Prince perceiving himself to be thus frustrated of the Hopes which he had conceiv'd of quietly enjoying the Investitures, resolv'd upon marching a second Time into *Italy*, and the rather because his Presence there was requisite for the taking Possession of the Dominions of the Princess *Matheis*, who dy'd the 24th. of *July* 1115. Thereupon having enter'd into *Lombardy*, he made a stay near the River *Po*, to take Possession of the Estates left him by the Death of that Princess; and in the mean Time sent the Abbot of *Cluny*, and several other Deputies to the Pope, to endeavour an Accommodation with the Holy See.

The Lateran Council in the Year 1115.

The Pope held at that Time a second Council in the *Lateran*, which commenc'd the 6th. of *March*, the three first Sessions whereof were wholly taken up in discussing the private Affairs of some Bishops. Several of those who assisted in this Council complained that they spent too much Time on such Affairs as were of little or no Consequence to the Church, and required that they might enter immediately upon the Debate of that, for which they were more especially assembled, that they might know what the Pope's Sentiments were, and what they ought to teach when they were returned to their Diocesses. Upon this Remonstrance the Pope declar'd, that he freely acknowledg'd, that designing to put a Stop to the Robberies, Burnings, Murders, and other Crimes which were daily committed; he had done amiss in granting the Privilege of Investitures, which now he condemn'd with an eternal *Anathema*, and desir'd they would do the same. All who were there present, cry'd out, *Let it be so, Let it be so*. *Bruno* of *Signi* immediately said, 'Let us give God Thanks, for that Pope *Paschal*, President of this Council, has in our hearing condemn'd this wicked Privilege so full of Injustice and Heresie.' Moreover, a Bishop averr'd, that since this Privilege was Heresie, he who had granted it, by consequence, was an Heretick. This Discourse mov'd Cardinal *John Cajetan*, who applying himself to that Bishop, *How dare you*, says he, *in our Presence call the Pope Heretick? The Writing indeed which he granted was bad, but not heretical*. Another added, that strictly speaking, it could not be call'd bad, because it had been done to deliver the People of God; which according to the Gospel was a good Work. The Pope who was out of Patience to hear himself accus'd of Heresie, caus'd Silence to be made, and then with a loud Voice expressed himself thus. 'Hark ye, my Lords and Brethren;

\* This is a bold Assertion, and fit only for a Pope, an infallible Pope to make; but how true it is, we wish him appeal to the Determination of the whole World.

\* let the whole World know that the Church of *Rome* has never been guilty of Heresie, and that it has extirpated them all: That the *Arian* Heresie which lasted for 300

Years together was last condemn'd at *Rome*: That the Heresies of *Eutychius* and *Sabellius* were there likewise condemn'd: That *Photinus* and the other Hereticks receiv'd their Condemnation at *Rome*: That lastly, 'tis for this Church the Son of God pray'd just before his Passion, when he said, *Peter, I have pray'd for thee that thy Faith fail not*. And thus ended the third Session. At the fourth, which was held on *Thursday*, the Pope was not present, because he was taken up in giving Audience about the Emperor's Affairs to the Abbot of *Cluny*, to *John Cajetan*, and to *Peter Leo*, Prefect of the City of *Rome*, and to the other Favourers of *Henry*.

Of the Church of Rome, &c.

The fifth Session on *Friday*, began with the Disputes between *John Cajetan* and the other Defenders of the Emperor *Henry*, and *Conon* of *Palestrina*, who was absolutely for excommunicating him. The Pope to pacifie them said, that the Church in the primitive Times flourish'd by its Martyrs, and by the Piety of its Professors; that afterwards, when Emperors and Kings were converted to the Faith, they honour'd the Church by granting it Demeans, Revenues, and temporal Rights and Dignities: That it was reasonable she should enjoy the Benevolence of Princes, and bestow those Goods on her Sons as she judg'd most convenient. He afterwards repealed the Privilege of Investitures, and renew'd the Decrees of *Gregory VII.* but would pronounce nothing in particular against *Henry's* Person. However, he confirm'd what Cardinal *Conon* of *Palestrina* had done against that Prince in *Syria*, in *Greece*, in *Hungary*, in *Saxony*, in *Lorrain*, and in *France*. This was pass'd by the majority of Voices.

The next Day the Pope discuss'd in the Council the Contest between *Grosolanus*, or *Chrysolanus* and *Jordanes*, Pretenders to the Archbishoprick of *Milan*; and after he had observ'd that the Translations of Bishops were never allow'd, but in Case of Necessity, or for the Churches greater Benefit, he declar'd that of *Grosolanus* null, which had been more prejudicial than advantageous to the Church. Afterwards he granted Indulgences of forty Days, to those who would visit the Sepulchres of the Apostles, and dissolv'd the Council by giving his Blessing to the Prelates.

Henry enters Rome, Paschal withdraws.

The Emperor *Henry* having heard of the Proceedings of this Council, thought it requisite that he himself should appear personally at *Rome*, to prevent the Consequences of the Excommunication, and maintain the Privilege which the Pope had granted him. He thereupon order'd his Army to advance towards that City. The Pope not venturing to stay his coming, retir'd to Mount *Cassin*, and from thence for the greater Security went into *Apulia*. The Emperor came to *Rome*, and enter'd it without any Opposition, and caus'd himself to be crown'd a second Time, by *Maurice Burdin* Archbishop of *Brague*. This Archbishop was *Limosin*, who went into *Spain* to wait upon *Bernard* Archbishop of *Toledo*, who made him Archdeacon of his Church, from whence he was prefer'd to the Bishoprick of *Conimbra*, and afterwards to the Archbishoprick of *Brague*. He was come to *Rome* to defend the Rights of his Church against the Archbishop of *Toledo*, and stay'd there two Years. The Emperor spent the *Easter* Holy-days at *Rome*, but was forc'd by the excessive Hotness of the Season to draw off towards *Tuscany*, from whence he sent Ambassadors to the Pope to promise him all Manner of Satisfaction, provided, he would but absolve him from the Excommunication. The Pope return'd him this Answer, That for his Part he had not excommunicated him, because he had engag'd himself upon Oath to do no such Thing; but that he could not take off the Excommunication which others had denounc'd against him, till he had heard what they and he had to say for themselves in a Synod. In the mean time, the Pope return'd towards *Rome* with the *Norman* Troops of *Apulia*, and fell sick at *Anagnia*. Being recover'd of his Illness, he went and spent the *Christmasts* Holy-days at *Palestrina*, and from thence advanc'd towards *Rome* and enter'd it; and as he was studying to bring his Enemies to submit, he died *Rome*. two Days after his Return, in *January* 1118.

Henry comes to Rome, and causes Maurice Burdin to be proclaim'd Pope.

After his Death, the Cardinals met in a Monastery of the *Benedictines* of *Rome*, call'd the *Palladium*, near to the Palace of *Franchipani*, and six Days after elected *John Cajetan* the Chancellor, who was call'd *Gelasus II.* and proclaim'd Pope. *Cincius* of *Franchipani* being offended that they had not made choice of a Cardinal whom he had propos'd, enter'd the Monastery in a forcible Manner, with armed Men, fell upon the Pope, abus'd him, and carry'd him away Prisoner to his Palace. The *Romans* could not endure this Affront; the Chief among them met, and sent to demand the Pope from *Cincius*, and the Common-people rose up in Arms to set him at Liberty. Upon this, *Cincius* was forc'd to deliver him. He was put in Possession of the Papal Chair, which he enjoy'd very peaceably till the Arrival of the Emperor, who being inform'd that *Gelasus* would not confirm the Privilege of Investitures, march'd directly with his Army to *Rome*. The Pope made his Escape by Sea to *Cajeta*, where he was consecrated by the Bishop of *Ostia*, in the Presence of *William* Duke of *Apulia*, and *Robert* Prince of *Capua*. After his Consecration he came to *Capua*, where he heard that the Emperor had caus'd *Maurice Burdin* Archbishop of *Brague* to be proclaim'd Pope, under the Name of *Gregory VIII.* In the mean time *Gelasus* rais'd Forces, *William* of *Apulia* came in to his Assistance; they march'd towards the Territories of *Rome*, where the Emperor invest'd a Place of some Strength, who hearing that Forces were coming to its Relief, rais'd the Siege immediately, and retir'd into *Germany*. The Pope retook several Places in the Country, and enter'd privately into *Rome*; but his Enemies there being more powerful than himself, after he had settled his Affairs in a good Posture, he



he went into France, and retir'd to Cluny, the usual Sanctuary of the Popes, where he dy'd of a Pleurisie on the 29th. of January, in the Year 1119. after he had nominated Cardinal Guy Archbishop of Vienna for his Successor, upon the Refusal of Conon Bishop of Palestrina.

This Choice was approv'd of by all the Cardinals then present at Cluny when the Pope dy'd: They unanimously elected Guy who was nam'd Calixtus II. and their Election being confirmed by the Cardinals who were at Rome, he was consecrated by the Bishop of Ostia.

The Emperor Henry, who had been excommunicated afresh by Conon in two Councils held in Germany, to screen himself from these Proceedings, and to restore Peace to Germany, held a Convention at Tribur, wherein it was propos'd to put an End to the Difference between him and the Pope, by Way of Accommodation. He promis'd to do it, and to go to the Council which the Pope had appointed to be held at Rheims on the 18th. of October. In the mean time to prepare Matters for the Peace, William of Champeaux Bishop of Chalons, and Pontius Abbot of Cluny, went to Strasburg to begin the Treaty. The Emperor demanded how he might put an End to this Affair, without losing any Thing of his Prerogative; to which the Bishop of Chalons reply'd, That if he were sincere in his Desires of the Peace, it was requisite he should remit the Investitures, but that he would not thereby diminish the least of his Prerogative; because then the Case would be the same as it was in France, where, though the Bishops neither before nor after Consecration receiv'd their Investiture from the King, yet they were not thereby dispens'd from discharging their Duties to him, whether in paying Taxes, or contributing towards the Soldiery, or any other Dues whatsoever. The Emperor said, That he desired nothing more, provided the Pope would do him Justice, and restore to his Subjects the Lands which they had lost during the War, These two Deputies having gain'd this Concession from the Emperor, went to wait upon the Pope who was hard by Paris, and propos'd the Business to him. He immediately sent the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, and another Cardinal to finish the Treaty with him. They met the Emperor between Metz and Verdun, and agreed with him in Writing about the same Things; and for a compleat Consumation of this Affair, the Emperor promis'd to meet the Pope at Mouzon on the 24th. of October.

The Council of Rheims open'd on the 21st. of October. The Pope and Lewis King of France were personally present at it, and it consisted of fifteen Archbishops, above 200 Bishops of France, Spain, Germany, and England, and a great many Abbots and other Ecclesiasticks. The Pope made a Discourse on the Gospel for the Day, and Conon made another upon the Pastoral Care. In this Council, King Lewis prefer'd several Complaints against Henry King of England. Geoffrey Archbishop of Roan undertook to answer him, but was forc'd to be silent by the Noise that arose in the Assembly. Afterwards Hildegarda Countess of Poitiers appear'd in the Council, and complain'd that her Husband had left her and marry'd another Woman. The Bishop of Saintes, and other Prelates of Aquitain undertook the Defence of their Prince, and excus'd him for not appearing because he was sick. The Pope accepted of this Excuse, and put off the Trial of this Cause till another Time. The contest which afterwards was started between Audin Bishop of Eureux, and Amaury who had turn'd him out of that Bishoprick, rais'd a great Heat between the French and the Normans. The Pope to lay it, made a Discourse on the Advantages of Peace and Unity, and declar'd that the Emperor had propos'd an Accommodation, and that he was to meet him at Mouzon to put an End to it; that he desir'd the Prelates to stay till his Return, which should be very speedy. The Cardinals who had waited upon the Emperor, the Bishop of Chalons, and the Abbot of Cluny, gave an Account of their Negotiation to the Council.

On the Morrow the Pope took his Leave of the Assembly, recommended them to put up their Prayers and Wishes for the Peace, and the next Day set out for Mouzon. He arriv'd there on the Thursday, and after he had conferr'd with the Prelates whom he had brought along with him, and read over again the Projects of the Accommodation, he sent the Deputies who had already commenc'd this Negotiation to the Emperor. That Prince at first deny'd that he had made any such Promise; afterwards they debated how the Pope should receive him, in giving him Absolution, but could come to no Agreement. On the Morrow the Emperor desir'd farther Time, and the Pope perceiving that he sought to procrastinate the Business, retir'd to a Castle belonging to the Count of Troyes, with an Intention of returning back again. The Emperor desir'd Time till Monday, but the Pope would not grant it; and after he had order'd him to be told, that if he were sincerely intent upon Peace, he was ready to grant it him, either in or after the Council. He set out on Sunday Morning, and return'd with all Expedition to Rheims. The next Day being fatigued by his Journey, he could not stay long in the Coun-

cil, he only gave them an Account of his Proceedings at Mouzon. On Tuesday, he was not there at all, but on Wednesday he appear'd. At first they debated of a great many private Matters, and afterwards the Pope publish'd five Canons.

The first was against the Simoniackal, who either bought or sold any Ecclesiastical Goods.

The second was against Investitures.

The third against those who either seiz'd, or detain'd the Revenues of Churches.

The fourth against those who left them to their Heirs by Way of Succession, and against the Priests who exacted Money for the Administration of the Sacraments or for Burial.

And the fifth against the Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons who had Wives or Concubines.

The Canon concerning Investitures made a great Noise in the Council. It was drawn up in these Terms: *We absolutely forbid the receiving the Investiture of Churches, or any other Ecclesiastical Things from the Hands of Laicks.* Several were of Opinion, that this Canon thus express'd, took away from the Ecclesiasticks the Tenth and Benefices which they held or receiv'd from Laicks, so that the Contest arising upon this Article, hinder'd the Council from determining any Thing about it that Day. On the Morrow the Pope remov'd this Difficulty by mending the Canon and drawing it up in these Terms: *We absolutely forbid the receiving the Investiture of Bishopricks and Abbies from the Hands of Laicks.* Afterwards they brought in 427 Candles, which were given to the Assistants, who rose up and held them lighted whilst the Pope solemnly excommunicated the Emperor Henry, the Antipope Burdin, and all their Adherents: He likewise declar'd all the Emperor's Subjects dissolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance to him, and forbad them to obey him, till he return'd to his Duty, and had made the Church Satisfaction. Thus the Council broke up.

The next Year Calixtus went into Italy, with a Design of going to Rome. He was joyfully receiv'd every where, II. is re- and enter'd Rome as in Triumph. The Antipope Burdin seiz'd into being drove out of that City, retir'd to Sutri, from whence Rome and he made several Excursions, to the very Gates of Rome. Burdin Calixtus to rid himself of this Enemy, went into Apulia to shamefully desire Assistance from Duke William, and having rais'd a considerable Army, he march'd to invest Sutri. The Inhabitants of this City perceiving they should be taken by Storm, seiz'd upon Burdin, and deliver'd him up to the Normans, who, by Way of Derision, cloath'd him with a Goat's-Skin, made in the Form of a Cope, set him on a white Camel, with his Face towards the Tail, which serv'd him for a Bridle, and in this Manner led him through the whole City, heaping Affronts upon him. Afterwards he was shut up in a Castle, and confin'd in a Monastery of Cava, where he spent the rest of his Days in a forc'd Penance.

After this Victory the Pope becoming absolute Master of Rome, where he caus'd the Forts of the Franchipani and of the other Favourers of the Emperor to be raz'd, sent an Ambassy to Adalbert Archbishop of Mentz, a profess'd Enemy to the Emperor, and sollicit'd him to stir up Saxony against that Prince. This Enterprize succeeded, and within a short Time all Saxony revolted, and rais'd an Army against Henry, who likewise for his Part rais'd some Forces: So that there would have been a bloody War in Germany, if the Lords on both Sides had not agreed upon a Treaty of Peace, by which they agreed to restore to the Emperor what belong'd to him; that he should likewise restore to Churches the Revenues which had been taken away from them; and send Deputies to Rome to make up an Accommodation with the Pope. This Treaty was concluded at Wirtzburg, in the Year 1121. Bruno Bishop of Spire and Arnulphus Abbot of Fulda, were chosen for this Deputation. They came to Rome, where they negotiated this Accommodation; and being agreed about it, the Pope sent Lambert Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, and two other Cardinals, who met with the Emperor Henry at Worms in September 1122. and there concluded the Treaty between the Pope and him. The Emperor remitted the Right of Investiture, which was given by the Ring and Crozier; and engag'd himself to leave to all the Churches within his Dominions, the Liberty of Elections and Consecrations; to restore to the Church of Rome all the Revenues which had been taken away from it since the Beginning of this Contest, whether under his Reign, or during the Reign of his Father; to restore likewise to other Churches, Princes and private Persons, as well Ecclesiasticks as Laicks all the Revenues which have been taken away from them; to live in Peace with the Church of Rome, and assist it, whenever it should have Occasion. The Pope on his part granted to the Emperor, that the Elections of Bishops and Abbots within the Kingdom of Germany should be made in his Presence, without Simony and Force; upon Condition that in Case of any Contest, he should favour him, who should be approv'd by the Metropolitan and the Bishops of the Province.



He consented that the Person who should be elected, should receive the Royalties from the Emperor by the Sceptre, except of such Things as belong'd to the Church of Rome, and should faithfully perform what he was bound to by Virtue of those Royalties: That the Prelates of the other States of the Empire, should likewise receive the Royalties at the Emperor's Hands, within six Months after their Consecration. He likewise oblig'd himself to assist the Emperor on all Occasions, and lastly, granted Absolution to him and all his Adherents. These Articles of Peace were solemnly publish'd in the Emperor's Camp, and within a short Time that Prince was receiv'd into the Communion of the Church by the Pope's Legates, who carry'd this Treaty to Rome, where it was confirm'd in the general Council of the *Lateran*, held in the Year 1123. and publish'd in Rome. Thus ended the Quarrel about Investitures, which lasted six and fifty Years, and which has caus'd so much Disturbance to the Church and Empire. We shall farther illustrate this by some Reflections on the Original and Use of Investitures.

The Original and Progress of Investitures.

The Word Investiture signifies the Grant of any Fief, Territory, Dignity, Place of Trust, or Privilege, made by a Lord to his Vassal or Client, or by a Prince to his Subject, upon Condition that he prove faithful to him, and do him all the Service and Duty requir'd of him. This Investiture was perform'd with certain Ceremonies, by putting into the Person's Hands, to whom it was granted, something as a Symbol or Sign of the Donation then made, such as a Piece of Turf, a Staff, green Boughs, the Ornaments or the Habits of the Dignity or Place of Trust, or other such like Tokens, which had Resemblance to, or denoted the Thing given. The Christian Church, which in the primitive Times had no other Goods than those of the voluntary Oblations of the Faithful, or the Revenues of such Estates as had been bestow'd upon it by private Persons, began in the Time of *Peter* and *Charlemagne* to be possess'd of a great many Fiefs, with which those Princes enrich'd it. This render'd the Bishops and Abbots more considerable in the State, and engag'd them to take an Oath of Fealty and Homage to their Prince for the Fiefs which they held of him, to supply him with a certain Number of Soldiers for the Wars, to go themselves thither in Person, to concern themselves with the Affairs of the State, and to discharge the other Duties to which they were bound by Virtue of the Fiefs and Dignities which they enjoy'd. According to ancient Custom, after the Death of those who had those Fiefs, the Lord of the Manour enter'd into the Possession of them, and held them, till such Time as the Heir or Successor were invest'd anew, and had taken the Oath of Fealty and Homage. Upon this Account, after the Death of a Bishop, the Princes and Lords enter'd into the Possession of his Fiefs, and held them till such Time as the Person elected in his Stead had receiv'd Investiture from them, and had taken the Oath of Homage and Fealty. In Process of Time this Prerogative extended to all the other Revenues left by the Bishop, and the Princes granted indifferently the Investiture of all the Revenues of the Bishoprick, to the Person who was elected canonically before he was consecrated, but they never pretended by this Ceremony to confer any Spiritual Power or Mission to the Bishops. Some are of Opinion, that this Right of Investiture was granted to *Charlemagne* by Pope *Adrian*, as 'tis related by *Gratian*, Distinct. 63. *Ch. Adrianus*, which is taken out of the *Chronicon* of *Sigebert of Gemblours*, wherein 'tis said that the Pope in a Council held at Rome, in the Year 774. granted to *Charlemagne* the Right of electing Popes, and order'd that all Archbishops and Bishops within his Dominions should receive Investiture at his Hands before they were consecrated. But most of the Learned are persuad'd, that this Matter of Fact is forged, because neither *Eginard*, who wrote the Life of *Charlemagne*, nor any other contemporary Author, make any Mention either of this Grant, or of *Charlemagne's* going to Rome this Year. This Constitution notwithstanding is cited by *Leo VIII.* who renew'd it in Favour of *Otho I.* both with Respect to the Election of the Pope, and to the Investiture of Bishops. But tho' we cannot find the Original of Investitures upon *Gratian's* Chapter intitled *Adrianus*, which is at least doubtful, yet we may be certain that this Custom commenc'd a long Time before *Otho*, and soon after *Charlemagne*, and that it was observ'd not only by the Emperors, but likewise by the Kings of France and England, and by most of the other Christian Princes.

The Ceremony us'd in the Investiture of Bishops and Abbots.

We are not certain what Ceremony was us'd at first in the Investiture of Bishops and Abbots; but 'tis very probable that they made use of the Crosier, or the Ring, the Marks and Tokens of their Dignity; as the Custom was with regard to secular Offices. We find in the Author of the Life of *St. Romanus* Archbishop of *Roan*, that when this Saint was elected, the great Men about Court unanimously advis'd the King to approve his Election, and that that Prince (twas *Chlovis 2.* or his Father *Dagobert*) having conven'd the Bishops and Abbots, gave him the Pastoral Rod,

in Consequence whereof he was consecrated. The Author of the Life of *Aldric* Bishop of *Mans*, tells us that after the Election of that Bishop, made in the Year 832. *Leuwis the Churchy Gentle* having taken the Pastoral Rod from the Hands of *Romegn Landramnus* Archbishop of *Tours*, the Metropolitan of *Mans*, gave it to *Aldric*, and in giving it to him, committed to him the Care and Management of that Bishoprick. *Glaber* in the Life of King *Robert*, relates that that Prince desiring to gratify an Abbot who had presented him with a fine Horse, demanded the Crosier of him, and that having put it into the Hand of our Saviour's Statue, bad the Abbot take it again, and by Virtue thereof to enjoy his Dignity, without any Manner of Dependence. We find that in the Tenth Century, this Custom was become common in Germany, and that those who were instituted into Bishopricks, carry'd the Pastoral Rod, and the other Ensigns of their Dignity, even before they were consecrated. *Leo of Chartres* takes Notice, that the King had inducted him into his Bishoprick, by giving him the Pastoral Rod. However this Ceremony was not so general nor so necessary, but it was sometimes omitted, or supply'd by some other. Investiture might be given by Writing, or by Word of Mouth, or even by a dumb Sign. Several Authors tell us, that the Emperor *Henry II.* conferr'd the Bishoprick of *Paderborne* on *Meinvercus*, by presenting him with one of his Gloves. Let this Account be how it will, 'tis certain that 'tis a Thing very indifferent with what Ceremony, or after what Manner the Investiture was conferr'd. Yet there can be no Question made, but that commonly in granting the Investitures of Bishopricks and Abbies, they made use of the Pastoral Staff, to which they afterwards join'd the Ring, because these were the Tokens and Ensigns of the Episcopal Dignity.

When this Quarrel about Investitures first began, it was not the Ceremony, but the Thing it self which rais'd the Heat; and *Gregory VII.* in prohibiting Investitures, not only oppos'd those which were perform'd by the Pastoral Rod and Ring, but in General all Manner of Investitures of Benefices granted by Laicks. The principal Reason that induced him to prohibit them was, that it very much hinder'd the Liberty of Elections, and render'd Princes the Masters and sole Disposers of all Benefices. For when a Person canonically elected could not enjoy his Benefice, nor be consecrated till he had receiv'd Investiture from his Prince, it was unavoidably requisite before they proceeded to an Election, to know whether the Person they had an Eye to were agreeable to the Prince or no; and in case they elected one who was not so, the Election would be invalid. By this Means it absolutely depended on the Will of the Prince to confer Bishopricks and Abbies on whomsoever he pleas'd. Oftentimes he granted them as a Reward for some Service done, or to the Man who was the highest Bidder. This was that Abuse which mov'd *Gregory VII.* absolutely to prohibit all Investitures of Benefices; and he carry'd it so high, as to forbid Bishops taking an Oath of Homage and Fealty to their Princes. *Victor III.* and *Urban II.* his immediate Successors prohibited likewise in general all Manner of Investitures. *Leo of Chartres* tells us, that *Urban* only forbid Princes the Corporal Investiture; but that he never prohibited them from concerning them with any Election to which they had a Right, as being Heads of the People, and that he had not taken away from them the Right of Consecration. However that Pope in the Council of *Clermont* absolutely prohibited all Investitures, and even the Bishop's Oath of Fealty to their Prince.

It was in the Time of Pope *Paschal II.* that they began to have a more particular Design upon the Ceremony of granting them by the Rod and Ring; and hence they rais'd a fresh Argument against Investitures, by looking upon those Ornaments as Tokens of the Ecclesiastical Power appertaining to the Altar; from whence 'twas concluded, that the Prince in making use of this Ceremony, seem'd to confer the Ecclesiastical Power. 'Tis thus that *Paschal* explain'd himself in the Conference which he held at *Chalon* with the Emperor's Deputies; and 'tis chiefly upon this Reason those Men argu'd, who look'd upon Investitures as an Heresy worse than Simony. The Princes on their side urg'd to no purpose, that they did not pretend by this Ceremony to bestow any Spiritual Power: That their Intention was only to invest the Bishops, as they did the other Lords, with the Temporalities which belong'd to the Church by the Grants of Princes. But the Enemies to this Right, to render it the more odious, would persuade us that this Ceremony had another Meaning. The Accommodation which was set on Foot between Pope *Paschal II.* and the Emperor *Henry V.* entirely remov'd the Difficulty: For it took away from the Bishops all the Fiefs and other Temporalities which they possess'd by the Donation of the Emperors since *Charlemagne*, which were the only ones for which the Princes could justly demand the Right of Investitures; but it divest'd the Churches of great, real and solid Goods, for a chimerical, fanciful Independance: The Bishops likewise did not resist this Accommodation, and so



it came to nothing. The forc'd Concession of Investitures made by Pope *Paschal* was resented by some as an Heresy, and consider'd by others as a dangerous Relaxation. There were some who would have it pass for a necessary Toleration, and others for a Thing reasonable and lawful.

*The State of the Question under Calixtus II.* In the Beginning of the Popedom of *Calixtus II.* the Difficulty seem'd to be reduc'd to the Ceremony of Investiture with the Ring and Rod: At least those who were concern'd in the Negotiation thought so. *Henry V.* was very ready to renounce this, provided it did not Prejudice his Prerogative; and if the Bishops and Abbots would hold their Fiefs and Royalties of him; take to him the Oaths of Allegiance, and Pay him all the Dues to which they were oblig'd by Virtue of the Estates which they possess'd. But the Pope always insist'd upon a general Prohibition of receiving any Manner of Investiture or Ecclesiastical Benefices at the Hands of Laicks; to which the Emperor would never consent. The *French* themselves would not admit this Prohibition to extend to Bishopricks and Abbies.

*Remarks upon the Treaty concluded between Calixtus II. and Henry V.* In short the last Accommodation made between Pope *Calixtus* and *Henry*, was a great deal more advantageous to the Princes than the Ecclesiasticks. For the Princes pretended to these three Things. (1.) That no Election of Bishops or Abbots ought to be made without their Consent. (2.) That the Person elected ought to receive Investiture with the Pastoral Rod and Ring before he was consecrated. (3.) That he was oblig'd to take an Oath of Fealty to them, and do them Homage for the Fiefs, and Royalties which were dependent on them. Now by this Treaty it was granted to them. (1.) That the Elections of Bishops and Abbots should be made in their Presence and consequently with their Consent. (2.) That in *Germany* the Bishop Elect shall be invested with the Royalties (that is all the Estates which he holds of the Crown, by the Sceptre, before his Consecration; and in the other States within six Months after his Consecration. (3.) It preserves to them all the Dues and Services to which the Bishops were oblig'd by Virtue of their Fiefs and Royalties. So that all the Alteration it made to the ancient Custom of the Emperors consisted. (1.) In that it took away the Ceremony of Investiture by the Pastoral Rod and Ring, and order'd that it should be done with the Sceptre. (2.) That it restrain'd this Ceremony precisely to the Royalties, that is, to such Fiefs and other Estates which the Bishops held of the Crown. (3.) In that it permitted the Consecration of Bishops out of *Germany* before they had receiv'd Investiture, yet upon Condition that they should receive it within six Months after.

*The Execution of the Treaty made with Henry.* The Treaty made between Pope *Calixtus II.* and the Emperor *Henry V.* was executed on both sides. But *Lotharius*, *Henry's* Successor, in the Time of the Schism which was between Pope *Innocent II.* and his Adversary *Peter de Lebn*, thought he had a favourable Opportunity of re-entering upon the Right of Investiture. He made this Proposal in the Conference which he had with Pope *Innocent* at *Liege*, letting him know that he would not acknowledge him but upon this Condition. This very much startled the *Roman* Prelates, but St. *Bernard* persuaded that Prince not to insist on this Pretension, and Things remain'd in the same State wherein they were before.

*The Custom of France with Respect to Investitures.* This is what relates to the Empire: As to *France* the Kings had never any Contest with the Pope's about Investitures: They enjoy'd them quietly, even in the Time of *Gregory VII.* who was not indeed pleas'd at it, but durst not fall out with *France* upon that Subject. Under the succeeding Popes the Kings of *France* left off giving Investiture by the Pastoral Rod and Ring, and were pleas'd to confer it by a Writing or by Word of Mouth; so that the Popes whose chief Design was to abolish that external Ceremony, left them in the quiet Enjoyment of their Prerogative.

*The Custom of England with Respect to the same.* This Affair made a greater Noise in *England* than in *France*: For St. *Anselm* willing to be conformable to the Decrees of the Popes against Investitures, refus'd to pay Homage and Fealty to the Kings. This Contest lasted a great many Years, and neither the Popes, nor the Kings of *England* would yield the Point: But at last they both conform'd themselves to the Regulation of *Calixtus II.*

*Investitures granted to petty Princes.* The Right of Investitures was not the Peculiar Prerogative of Emperors and Kings; but Dukes, Counts and other Lords who had Bishopricks or Abbies in their States, possessing Fiefs or Revenues in their Dominions, did likewise enjoy the same Right. Thus it appears by a Letter writte by *Gregory VII.* to *Rudolphus* Archbishop of *Toars*, that the Counts of *Bretagne* had been in Possession of the Right of granting Investitures to Bishops, since that Pope commends them for having receded from that Custom which they had so long enjoy'd, in compliance to the Holy See. St. *Anselm* tells us likewise that *Robert* Count of *Flanders* had been us'd to invest the Abbots after their Election. *Two* of *Chartrre* in several Places takes Notice, that *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* granted Investiture to the

Bishops and Abbots of that Province, The Counts of *Champagne*, *Anjou* and *Savoie* had the same Custom, and even the petty Lords assum'd this Privilege to themselves: *Chirch of Rome, &c.* As the Lord of *Rouen*, whom we find in the *Charzulary* of St. *Denys* of *Nogent*, to have granted to *Humbert* the Investiture of that Abby with the Crozier, so that when *Gregory VII.* and the other Popes condemn'd Investitures, this did not only extend to the Emperors and Kings, but likewise to Dukes, Marquisses, Counts, and in general to every Lay Person whether Man or Woman.

The *Lateran* Council which approv'd of the Treaty about Investitures, made between Pope *Calixtus* and the Emperor *Henry*, is that which is call'd the first general *Lateran Council*. It was held in *March* A. D. 1124. and compos'd of three hundred Prelates or thereabouts, according to the Testimony of *Sagerus* Abbot of St. *Denys*, who was present at the Council, a more creditable Witness than the Abbot of *Usserpe*, who reckons four hundred twenty six; and than *Pandulphus* who tells us of almost a thousand. There were two and twenty Canons made in this Council.

The 1<sup>st</sup>. renews the Canons made against the Simoniacal, and ordains that all those who shall have obtain'd any Ecclesiastical Dignity for Money, shall be turn'd out of it.

The 2<sup>d</sup>. forbids the bestowing the Dignities of a Provost, Arch-Priest or Dean on any but Priests, or that of Arch-Deacon on any other but Deacons.

The 3<sup>d</sup>. renews the Prohibitions made by the Laws of the Church against Clerks having Wives or Concubines, or to live with Women, excepting such as are exempted in the Canon of the Council of *Nice*.

The 4<sup>th</sup>. Imports that the Laicks, how Pious soever they may be, shall not have the Disposal of the Revenues of the Church, and that this shall be Peculiar to Bishops, and declares those Princes and Laicks who shall attribute it to themselves Sacrilegious.

The 5<sup>th</sup>. renews the Prohibition of Marriages among Relations.

The 6<sup>th</sup>. declares the Ordinations made by the Arch-Heretic *Burdin* after his Condemnation, and those that had been made by the false Bishops whom he had ordain'd, to be Null and Void.

The 7<sup>th</sup>. Prohibits Archdeacons, Arch-Priests, Provosts and Deans from giving any Benefices, having the Charge of Souls, or Prebends, without the Consent and Approbation of the Bishop.

The 8<sup>th</sup>. pronounces an *Anathema* against any Person whatsoever who shall Seize upon the Town of *Benevento*.

The 9<sup>th</sup>. renews the Prohibitions made in the Canons, against admitting those who had been excommunicated by their Bishop to the Communion.

The 10<sup>th</sup>. prohibits the Consecrating of a Bishop, who has not been elected canonically.

The 11<sup>th</sup>. grants remission of Sins to those who go to *Jerusalem* to aid the Christians against the Infidels, puts their Persons, their Families, and their Estates under the Protection of the Holy See; prohibits the offering any Violence to them under the Pain of Excommunication; and enjoins all those, who were cross'd to go into the Holy Land, or into *Spain*, and who having chang'd their Minds, had laid aside their Cross, to take it up again, and go that Expedition within a Year under the Pain of Excommunication.

The 12<sup>th</sup>. abolishes the Custom of Seizing on the Estates of those who dy'd without Heirs.

The 13<sup>th</sup>. Orders that they shall be declar'd excommunicated who shall violate the Truce enjoy'd for Certain Days.

The 14<sup>th</sup>. prohibits Laicks from seizing on any Oblations made to Churches, and from inclosing any Churches within the Bounds of Castles.

The 15<sup>th</sup>. is against counterfeit Coiners.

The 16<sup>th</sup>. excommunicates those who rob or exact any Tribute from the Pilgrims who go to *Rome* or to any other Places of Devotion.

The 17<sup>th</sup>. prohibits Abbots and Monks, from admitting Sinners to publick Penance, from visiting the Sick, from performing the Extream Unction, and from singing Solemn and publick Matins, and enjoins them to receive from their Bishop the Holy Chrism, the Holy Oyls, and Ordination.

The 18<sup>th</sup>. enjoins that the Curats shall be established by the Bishops, and that no Person shall receive a Church or Tenth from the Hand of Laicks without the Consent of the Bishop.

The 19<sup>th</sup>. imports that the Monasteries shall continue to pay the Bishops the Services and Duties which they have paid them since the Time of *Gregory VII.* and it takes away from Abbots and Monks the Right of claiming the Possession of thirty Years, in Order to hold those Churches which belong to the Bishops.

The 20<sup>th</sup>. provides for the Security of the Church Revenues.

The 21<sup>st</sup>. does again prohibit Priests, Deacons, Sub-Deacons and Monks from having Wives or Concubines, and



and declares the Marriages which they have contracted, null. This is the Canon which expressly pronounces the Nullity of the Marriages of such Persons as are in Holy Rome, &c. Orders.

The 22<sup>d</sup>. declares the Alienations of Church Revenues made by Bishops, Abbots, or any other Ecclesiasticks null, and void.

This is the Summary of what we have left of the general *Lateran* Council, held under Pope *Calixtus II.* who dy'd the Year after. To compleat the History of those three Popes already mention'd, we have nothing more to do, than to give you an Extract of the Letters which they wrote.

*Paschal II.* was he who wrote most; of which a Collection is made of an hundred and seven, without reckoning the Fragments of several others which are to be met with in *Gratian*, and in the other Collectors of Canons.

In the 1<sup>st</sup>. he congratulates those Persons of the *Croisade* in the Holy Land, for the Victories they had gain'd.

In the 2<sup>d</sup>. he confirms the Establishment of a new Monastery in the Diocess of *Chalons*, and the Treaty which had been between the Religious of that Monastery and those of *Moleme* by the Archbishop of *Lyons* according to the Order he had receiv'd from *Urban II.*

In the 3<sup>d</sup>. he commends *St. Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* for the Steadfastness he shew'd in standing up for the Rights of the Church.

In the 4<sup>th</sup>. directed to *Bernard* Archbishop of *Toledo*, he confirm'd the Primacy of that Church.

The 5<sup>th</sup>. and 6<sup>th</sup>. are not two distinct Letters. The former of the two is only a Fragment of the latter, whose Inscription has been chang'd: It is directed to an Archbishop of *Poland*, who scrupled to take an Oath to the Pope, in receiving the *Pall*. He therein magnifies the Dignity and Authority of the Church of *Rome*, and the Necessity of the *Pall*.

The 7<sup>th</sup>. is directed to *Robert* Count of *Flanders*, whom he commends for having executed his Orders touching the Church of *Cambray*; and whom he exhorts to persecute the Emperor *Henry IV.* and the Inhabitants of *Liege*, to whom that Prince was retir'd.

The Clergy of *Liege* having procur'd a Copy of this Letter return'd a very smart Reply to it: Wherein they made it appear how contrary that Order which the Pope gave in this Letter of making War against them, was to the Spirit of the Church, and to the Charity which the Pope, the common Father of all the Faithful, ought to bear towards all the Churches. They say that they could not tell how to believe that the Pope had approv'd of the Destruction of the Church of *Cambray*, and the Outrages which had been there committed, had they not learn'd from his own Mouth, that all this was done by his Order; without mentioning the dividing of that Bishoprick into two, and the Expulsion of *Gautier* who was Bishop thereof. They make mention of several Instances to prove that one ought not to make Use of the Sword, or engage in a War to put the Sentences of Excommunication in Execution: That moreover they have done nothing which deserv'd either Death or Excommunication: That they were excommunicated only because they had paid to their Lawful Sovereign the Respect which they ow'd him, according as they were oblig'd by the Law of God: That they are not Simoniackal, but, on the contrary avoid those who are so, and that they have no less Abhorrence to those who pretending to give Ecclesiastical Graces for nothing, sell them under a Pretence of Charity: That in Fact they had not been excommunicated by their Archbishop, and that they suppos'd they had not been excommunicated by the Pope, since he could not do it without hearing them first. That no one could say that they were excommunicated, because they communicated with their Bishop, who would not fail in his Duty towards his Prince, since therein that Prelate had done his Duty, and had greater Reason to fear the Curse which God had pronounc'd against those who obey'd not his Commandments, than that which some Popes have within a while invented against those who would not be Rebels to their Lawful Prince: That the Holy Fathers inform us that Kings ought not to be excommunicated, or at least but very rarely: That according to the ancient Custom they stand to the Decisions of their Metropolitan and of their Provincial Synod, and they did not recognize those Legates à *Latere*, who ran from place to place to enrich themselves, and who reform'd neither Manners nor Discipline, but were the Cause of rifling Churches and of the Wars: That they liv'd as Regular Clerks, according to the Rule of the Canon. Lastly, they inveigh'd against the Memory of *Gregory VII.* who was the first that stirr'd up the People against their Emperor, and was for extending the Spiritual Power of binding and unbinding even to Temporalities; which they prov'd to be contrary to the Maxims and Practice of the Popes his Predecessors.

The 8<sup>th</sup>. Letter of *Paschal* is directed to the Clergy and People of *Bamberg*, to whom he recommends *Otho* their Bishop Elect.

By the 9<sup>th</sup>. directed to *Henry* King of *England* he exhorts that Prince to renounce his Right of Investitures.

By the 10<sup>th</sup>. he advises *Didacus* Bishop of *Compostella*, to take care that his Clergy live regularly, to hinder forbidden Marriages, and not to suffer the Monks to live with the Nuns.

The 11<sup>th</sup>. is the Bull of Canonization of *Peter* Bishop of *Anagnia*, by which he orders that his Feast should be celebrated on the third of *August*.

In the 12<sup>th</sup>. directed to *Gebehard* Bishop of *Constance*, and to *Oderick* Bishop of *Passaw*, he determines that those who unwillingly converse with excommunicated Persons by Necessity or in Duty, are not liable to Excommunication.

By the 13<sup>th</sup>. he cites the Laity and Clergy of *Augsburgh*, who accus'd their Bishop; and by the 14<sup>th</sup>. congratulates their being reconcil'd to him.

By the 15<sup>th</sup>. he advises the Clergy and Laity of *Arles* to Elect another Archbishop in the place of *Gibbeline*, who had been made Patriarch of *Jerusalem*.

In the 16<sup>th</sup>. he congratulates *St. Anselm* for his being reconcil'd to the King of *England*, and grants him a Power of absolving those who had oppos'd the Decrees of the Holy See about the Investitures of Benefices granted by Laicks, or who had done Homage to the King for Ecclesiastical Preferments.

In the 17<sup>th</sup>. he advises *Gerard* Archbishop of *Tork* to submit to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

By the 18<sup>th</sup>. he writes to *Baldwin* King of *Jerusalem*, to subject all the Churches which shall be conquer'd by him to the Church of *Jerusalem* as their Metropolitan.

In the 19<sup>th</sup>. he grants this Privilege to *Gibbeline* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*.

In the 20<sup>th</sup>. he declares to *Bernard* Patriarch of *Antioch*, that he did not thereby intend to prejudice his Rights.

In the 21<sup>st</sup>. he orders *Uraca*, the Daughter of the King of *Castile*, to part from *Alphonso* King of *Arragon* her Kinsman in the third Degree.

The 22<sup>d</sup>. is the Draught of a Bull which he had thought of making, according to the first Agreement which he had made with the Emperor *Henry V.* whereby he enjoyns the Bishops and Abbots of *Germany* to abandon all the Fiefs and other Estates which they held of the Empire, upon Condition that the Emperor should make no Preteusion to the Estates which had not been bestow'd on the Church by the Emperor.

The 23<sup>d</sup>. is written to *John* Cardinal Bishop of *Frescati*, to *Leo* of *Vercell*, and to other cardinals, who were met at *Rome* to cancel the Decree of Pope *Paschal*, whereby he had granted the Right of Investiture to the Emperor *Henry*.

In the 24<sup>th</sup>. directed to *Guy* Archbishop of *Vienna*, he himself cancels this Decree, and declares the Concession null and void.

In the 25<sup>th</sup>. he advertises the Clergy of *Augsburgh*, that he had interdicted their Bishop five Years ago, upon the Complaints that had been preferr'd against him; and that since that Bishop never appear'd to clear himself of the Crimes laid to his Charge, he thought it not convenient to take off the Interdiction pronounc'd against him.

In the 26<sup>th</sup>. he refers this Affair to the Determination of *Arnulphus* Archbishop of *Mentz*.

The 27<sup>th</sup>. directed to the Chapter of *Augsburgh* does not at all agree with the two former: For he therein excuses the Bishop of *Augsburgh*, and refers his Affair to *Guy* Bishop of *Coire*; which has made *Baronius* suppose that it was surreptitious.

In the 29<sup>th</sup>. written to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, he renews the Declaration which he had formerly made; that by the Letter which he had written in favour of the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, he did not pretend to prejudice the Rights of the Church of *Antioch*. He wrote the same Thing to *Baldwin* King of *Jerusalem* by the twenty ninth.

In the 30<sup>th</sup>. he wrote word to *Henry* King of *England* that he would not meddle with the Rights and Privileges of the Church of *Canterbury*.

In the 31<sup>st</sup>. directed to the same Prince he complains of their having turn'd *Turstin* Archbishop of *Tork* out of his Church, without having observ'd any Forms of Justice.

In the 32<sup>d</sup>. written to *Pontius* Abbot of *Cluny*, he orders that in the Communion they should give the Bread and Wine apart, which was contrary to the Custom of *Cluny*, where sometimes they dip'd the Host in the Wine. However he excepts Infants and Infirm Persons.

In the 33<sup>d</sup>. he sent word to *Daimbert* Archbishop of *Sens*, that he had consecrated him who had been elected Bishop of *Paris* without prejudicing the Rights of the Church of *Sens*.

By the 34<sup>th</sup>. directed to *Lambert* Bishop of *Arras*, he confirms the Disunion which had been made by his Predecessor *Urban II.* of the Bishoprick of *Arras*, from that of *Cambray*; gives two Arch-Deaconries to the Former, and orders it should enjoy all the Territories which depended on it formerly.



By the 35th. he wrote word to the Bishops of the Provinces of *Rheims, Sens, and Tours*, that he had commission'd them with *Lambert Bishop of Arras*, to give King *Philip* Absolution, in case he would sincerely part with *Bertrada*. To this Letter is annex'd the Oath which that Prince and *Bertrada* took at *Paris* in the Year 1104. in the Presence of those Bishops, to have nothing more to do with each other.

In the 36th. he Commissions *Daimbert* Archbishop of *Sens* to try the Difference which was between the Abbot of *Vezelay* and the Abbot of *Flavigny*.

The 37th. is the Bull of the Legation of *Gerard* Bishop of *Angoulême*, in the Provinces of *Bouges, Bourdeaux, Auch, Tours* and *Bretagne*.

In the 38th. directed to *Norigand* Bishop of *Autun*, he confirms his Election, and orders that he shall freely enjoy all the Revenues of his Church.

The next written to *Stephen* Bishop of *Autun* contains some thing like the former.

The six next Letters are directed to *St. Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. In the 42d. he answers to several Questions which that Archbishop had proposed, especially about the Investitures of Churches, and he therein determines that a Bishop may receive Ecclesiastical Revenues from the Hands of Laicks, who bestow them on the Church, provided it were within his own Diocess, but that he ought not to receive those which are in another Diocess, and that Abbots ought not to receive them but from the Hands of Bishops: That one might not receive a Church from the King, as a Recompence of those Ecclesiastical Revenues which he had seiz'd upon: That an Ecclesiastick ought not to pay Homage to a lay Prince: That the Sons of Priests may be admitted into Holy Orders: That it was better in case of Extremity one should receive the *Viaticum* from the Hands of a married Priest, rather than not receive it at all.

In the 46th. he wrote word to the Clergy of *Terronane*, that they ought not to suffer any marry'd Clergy amongst them.

The 47th. is a Privilege granted to the Monastery of *St. Sophia* near *Benevento*.

The 48th. directed to *Richard* Archbishop of *Narbonne*, is a Confirmation of the Revenues and Privileges appertaining to that Archbishoprick, with Prohibitions against making any Attempts on them.

In the 49th. he prohibits two Abbots from admitting into Communion two Persons excommunicated by the Archbishop of *Narbonne*.

In the 50th. directed to *Rhotard* Archbishop of *Mentz*, he wrote against the Investitures of Churches, which Princes made with the Pastoral Rod and Ring. He therein renews the Decree of the Council of *Placenza* under *Urban II.* against the Clerks ordain'd during the Schism, and refers to a Council to determine how they ought to proceed against excommunicate and schismatical Persons who had procur'd themselves to be ordain'd Bishops.

The 51st. is a Privilege granted to the Abby of *Vezelay*.

The five next Letters are written in favour of that Abby.

The 57th. and 8th. confirm the Re-establishment of the Bishop of *Arras*.

In the two next he nominates Umpires to decide the Difference between the Clergy of *Arras* and the Monks of *St. Vast*.

The next Letters to the 76th. are particularly in favour of the Abby of *Cluny*. He grants that Abbot a Power of wearing the Mitre and the Crosier, and the Pontifical Habits: But forbids him to cause the Holy Chrism to be consecrated in his Abby.

In the 76th. he commends *Otho* Bishop of *Bamberg*, for not accepting of that Bishoprick from the Hands of the Emperor.

In the 77th. he recommends to the Clergy of *Paris*, *Gaulon* their Bishop, and exhorts them to joya with him in the Recovery and Preservation of the Revenues of their Church. He therein prohibits the great Prebendaries from exacting Homage from the Demi-Prebendaries.

The four next are directed to *Guy* Archbishop of *Vienna*, Legate of the Holy See: In the first he confirms to him his Privileges: In the second and third he orders him to determine the Difference which was between the Canons of *Besançon* and those of *St. Stephen* in the same City: And in the last he confirms what that Archbishop had done in the Council of *Vienna*. The Contest between the Canons of *St. John* and *St. Stephen* of *Besançon* was about the Right of the Cathedral. The Pope had referr'd the Determination thereof to *William* the Predecessor of *Guy*; afterwards the Cause was heard at *Rome*: The Pope there order'd that in case the Canons of *St. Stephen* could prove that they had been in quiet Possession of the right of the Cathedral for thirty Years past, they should enjoy it without any more Dispute. It was upon this and several other Differences that their Cause was referr'd to the Archbishop of *Besançon*, who having call'd a Council at *Tornus*, in the Year 1115. found that the Canons of *St. Stephen* produc'd very sorry Witnesses to prove their Possession, and thereupon adjudg'd the Right to the Chapter of *St. John*.

V O L. II.

Pope *Paschal* was not satisfied with this Sentence; as appears by his third Letter written to *Guy*; but *Calixtus II.* confirm'd the Judgment of the Council of *Tornus*. But this did not put an End to the Dispute; till Cardinal *Hugh* united those two Churches by a Treaty concluded between them, *An. Dom. 1253*.

In the 84th. he confirms the Limits granted to the Citadel of *Velitra* by *Gregory VII.*

In the 85th. he wrote word to *William* Archbishop of *Melpbi*, that he put down the Bishoprick established in the Burrough of *Lavella*, and confirms the Privileges of the Church of *Melpbi*.

In the 86th. directed to *Guy* Bishop of *Pavia*, he confirm'd the Rights and Privileges of the Church of *Pavia*.

Most of the following Letters are confirmations of Privileges.

The 96th. 97th. 99th. the 100th. 100th. and 1st. and 2d. are written to *Henry* King of *England*, and to *St. Anselm* about Investitures, and about the Prohibition made against admitting the Sons of Priests into Orders.

The next Letters are likewise directed to the same Persons, and have regard to the Affairs of *England*; such as the Institution of the Bishoprick of *Ely*, and the Translation of *Radulphus* from the Bishoprick of *Rochester* to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*. In the 98th directed to *Osborn* Bishop of *Exon*, he determines that he ought to allow the Monks to have a Church-Yard within their Monastery to bury their Dead.

These Letters are followed by several Fragments of other Letters attributed to this Pope, in the Collection of *Gratian*, several of which are against the Laicks who were for conferring the Investiture of Churches, or seiz'd on their Revenues; others about Tenths; some whereby the Monks were prohibited from claiming the Rights which belong'd to Bishops, or from exempting themselves from their Jurisdiction; and others against Marriages between Relations.

Pope *Gelasius II.* being but a short Time on the Chair, wrote but a very few Letters.

In the 1st. directed to all the Prelates of the Kingdom of *France*, he gives them to understand that the Emperor being unexpectedly come to *Rome* had drove him thence, and that afterwards he threatned to do him all the Mischief he could, if he would not grant him what he desir'd. That he had return'd this Answer to him, that he was ready to determine the Difference which was between the Church and the Empire, at *Milan* or at *Cremona*, about *St. Luke's-day*, by those whom God had appointed to be Judges in the Church: That notwithstanding this Proposal, he had set on the Chair *Maurice* Archbishop of *Brague*, excommunicated by his Predecessor Pope *Paschal*: That thanks be to God the Emperor had not been favour'd by any of the Romans in this his proceeding; but only by those of the Faction of *Guibert*. He exhorts the Prelates of that Kingdom to find out Ways of vindicating the Honour of the Church.

The 2d. directed to *Bernard* of *Toledo*, is upon the same Subject.

In the 3d. he exhorts the Clergy and Laity of *Rome* to have no Correspondence with *Maurice* the Intruder, who was both perjur'd and excommunicated.

In the 4th. he congratulates *Gautier* Archbishop of *Ravenna*, his being advanc'd to that Archbishoprick, and the Re-union which he had procur'd between that Church and the Holy See; in pursuance whereof, he restores to the Archbishoprick of *Ravenna* all the Bishopricks of *Æmilia*, which had been taken away from it during the Schism, and granted him the Pall.

In the 5th. he recommends to the Christians who were at the Siege of *Saragossa* to receive him whom he had consecrated Archbishop of that City, and grants Indulgences to all who should die in that Expedition.

The 6th. and 7th. are Privileges granted to the Abby of *Cluny*.

*Calixtus II.* wrote more Letters.

By the first he informs *Adalbert* Archbishop of *Mentz* of his Election to the Popedom.

The 2d. is a confirmation of the Constitutions of the Order of *Cisteaux*.

The 3d. is a Confirmation of the Privileges, Rights, and Revenues of the Church of *Vienna*.

The 4th. is written to the Bishops of *France*, about the taking of *Maurice Burdin*.

The 5th. is a congratulatory Letter to the Emperor *Henry V.* upon the Conclusion of the Treaty which he had made with the Holy See about Investitures.

By the 6th. he confirms the Privileges of the Church of *Brague*.

By the 7th. and 8th. those of the Church of *Bamberg*.

By the 9th. and 10th. those of the Abby of *Vendome*.

In the 11th. he refers to the Bishop of *Langres* a Difference which was between the Monastery of *St. Peter* the Lively of *Sens*, and the Abbots of *Molesme*, and of *St. Rheims*.



The next are written in favour of the Chapter of *St. John of Besançon*, to whom he adjudg'd the Right of the Cathedral. The four next are Privileges granted to the Abby of *Tornus*.

The 21<sup>st</sup>. and 22<sup>d</sup>. are other Privileges granted to the Abby of *Cluny*.

The 23<sup>d</sup>. is a Letter of Compliment to King *Lewis the Gros*, to whom he recommends his Legate.

The 24<sup>th</sup>. is directed to *Gerbert* Bishop of *Paris*: He therein orders that all the Churches and Abbies of his Diocess shall be Subject to him, and that the Canon of his Church who had been made a Bishop, shall no longer hold his Prebend.

In the 25<sup>th</sup>. he permits a certain Lord of *Germany* to found a Monastery; upon Condition, that the Revenues which he bestow'd should be under the Protection of the Holy See, to which that Monastery should give every fourth Year an *Albe* and some white Vestments; and that neither he nor his Successors should have any Thing to do with what related to the Monastery.

In the 26<sup>th</sup>. and 27<sup>th</sup>. he approves the Institution of the Regular Canons in the Churches of *Benriad* and *Berchgesgaden*.

By the 28<sup>th</sup>. he establishes *Gerard* Bishop of *Angouleme*, his Legate in the Provinces of *Bourges*, *Bourdeaux*, *Auche*, *Tours*, and *Bretagne*.

In the 29<sup>th</sup>. directed to the Bishops of *Orleans* and *Paris*, he confirms the Prohibitions made by his Legate against celebrating Divine Service, where ever *William* the Son of Count *Robert*, who had marry'd the Daughter of the Count *Angers* his Kinsman, should be.

In the 30<sup>th</sup>. directed to *Pontius* Abbot of *Aniana*, he

adjudg'd to that Abbot a Priory, which was contested between him and the Archbishop of *Arles*, and the Monks of the Abby *de la Chaise-Dieu*.

In the 31<sup>st</sup>. and 32<sup>d</sup>. he order'd that those who pillag'd the Revenues of the Village of *Mongodin*, belonging to the Chapter of *Mascon*, shall be excommunicated.

In the four next, he confirms the Primacy of the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*.

To these Letters is annex'd a Letter of *Lewis the Gros*, directed to that Pope, as an Answer to that which he had sent into *France* upon the taking of *Burdin*; wherein, after he had declar'd to him the Joy he conceiv'd at this Success, he returns him Thanks for having superseded for a while the Sentence pass'd against the Archbishop of *Sens*, in favour of the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and desires he would be pleas'd wholly to revoke it, observing to him that he had laid this Business very much to Heart, and would expose himself and his Kingdom to the utmost Dangers, rather than put up such an Affront. He puts his Holiness in mind of the great Services which the Kings of *France* had always done to the Holy See, and of those which in a particular Manner he had done for him by being present at the Council of *Rheims*, wherein he had more regard to the Honour of the Holy See than to his own Interest. He conjur'd him as an Acknowledgement of those good Turns, that he would be pleas'd to preserve the Church of *Sens* in its ancient Liberty, which could not be taken away from it by a Privilege granted by Stealth, and without his Knowledge, to the Archbishop of *Lyons*.

The four Sermons upon *St. James* attributed to *Calixtus II.* publish'd by *Mariana*, and inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, are supposititious Pieces, and unworthy of that Pope.

## C H A P. III.

### The History and Letters of the Popes, Honorius II. Innocent II. Celestine II. Lucius II. and Eugenius III.

The History and Letters of the Popes, &c. Honorius II.

Pope *Calixtus* being Dead, *Leo Franchipani* forbade the Cardinals to proceed to a new Election till three Days after, under Pretence, that they might have Time sufficient to deliberate on the Choice they were to make, and to consult the Canons, relating to Elections thereupon. *Franchipani's* Design was to get *Lambert* Bishop of *Osia* elected; the People were for the Cardinal of *St. Stephen*, whom *Franchipani* seem'd also to favour: But, the Cardinals casting an Eye upon *Tibaud*, Priest and Cardinal of *St. Anastasius*, gave their Votes for him, and would have proclaim'd him Pope under the Name of *Celestine II.* When in the mean time *Leo Franchipani*, observing the People were against this Election, propos'd to them the afore said *Lambert*; who was soon after proclaim'd by the common Suffrage of the Clergy and People, was clothed in his Pontifical Habit, and nam'd *Honorius II.* Nevertheless, the better to gain the Cardinal's Approbation, in few Days after he threw off his Papal Ornaments in their Presence; which won so extremely upon them, that they were soon brought to acknowledge him and confirm his Election. He govern'd peaceably and prudently the Holy See for five Years and two Months. In the Year 1125. he excommunicated *Frederick* and *Conrade*, Nephews to the Emperor *Henry V.* who would have seiz'd upon the Empire, and who made War upon *Lotharius*. In 1127 he declar'd War himself against *Roger* Count of *Sicily*, who pretended to have a right to the Duchies of *Calabria* and *Apulia* Independant from the Pope. The Year after he excommunicated this Prince, and dy'd the 14<sup>th</sup>. of February, in the Year 1130.

Innocent II.

After the Death of *Honorius II.* the Cardinals that were then Present, on the same Day elected *Gregory* Cardinal of *St. Angelo*, who was then nam'd *Innocent II.* At the same time Cardinal *Peter* of *Leon*, formerly a Monk of the Abby of *Cluny*, caus'd himself to be elected, under the Name of *Anacletus*, by another Faction of Cardinals. The Party of Cardinal *Peter* was by much the stronger, which oblig'd those that were for *Innocent* to retire to strong Holds, and afterwards to fly with that Pope to the City of *Pisa*. This occasion'd *Innocent* to come into *France*, where an Assembly of Prelates was held on his account at *Etampes*, in the Year 1130. to which *St. Bernard* was sent. He spoke very notably in favour of *Innocent*, and his Opinion was follow'd by the whole Council. This Pope being thus acknowledg'd by *France* went immediately thither, and was splendidly receiv'd at *Orleans* by King *Lewis the Gros*, and several Bishops that came to wait on that Prince. From thence he set forwards to *Chartres*, where *Henry I.* King of *England* acknowledg'd him likewise. He had not long after the Approbation and Con-

sent of the Emperor *Lotharius*, whom he went to meet at *Liege* in the Beginning of the following Year. This Prince receiv'd him very honourably, but however he would needs make Use of this Occasion to get the Investitures restor'd. This very much surpriz'd the Romans, and *St. Bernard* labour'd all he could to dissuade the Emperor from insisting on such a Demand.

At the breaking up of this Conference, the Pope held a Council at *Rheims*, at which he crown'd King *Lewis the Younger*, in the Room of his Brother *Philip*, then lately dead. After this Council was over he made some short Stay at *Auxerre* and thence return'd into *Italy*, having first comply'd with *Lotharius*, who thereupon promis'd to march to *Rome* and Re-establish him in the Papal Chair. Upon this *Lotharius* kept punctually to his word; came to *Rome*; put *Innocent* in possession of the Palace of *Lateran*, and in Recompence was crown'd Emperor by this Pope in the Year 1133. But, notwithstanding, all this; *Peter* of *Leon* and his Party, being become Masters of all the strong Holds in and about *Rome*, and *Lotharius* likewise being oblig'd to return Home, *Innocent* was constrain'd to retire a second Time to *Pisa*, where he call'd a Council in the Year 1134. The Church of *Milan* soon came under the Obedience of *Innocent II.* thro' the Persuasion of *St. Bernard* and the Legates which this Pope had sent thither. But the Province of *Guienne* declar'd for *Peter* of *Leon* thro' the Subtily of *Gerard* Bishop of *Angouleme*, who had persuaded *William* Duke of this Province that this was the rightful Pope, and who for Recompence was made Legate in conjunction with *Giles* Cardinal Bishop of *Frescati*: These condemn'd *William* Bishop of *Poitiers*, caus'd him to be driven out of his Diocess and placed another in his Room. They likewise dispossest the Bishop of *Limoges* and instated *Ranulphus* of *Duras* in his See. Hereupon *St. Bernard* and *Geofrey* Bishop of *Chartres*, went to *Guienne* and conferring with the Duke at *Pontigni*, easily enclin'd him to own *Innocent* for Pope. But whereas he would by no means consent to the Re-establishment of the Bishops that had been suspended, *St. Bernard* to surmount his Obstinacy, took the Blessed Sacrament and carrying it to the Place where the Duke was, conjur'd him in the Name of *Jesus*, and with such terrible Words that the frighten'd Duke fell flat upon the Ground and was forc'd to be reconcil'd to the Bishop of *Poitiers*.

The Bishop of *Angouleme*, who had also possess'd himself of the Archbishoprick of *Bourdeaux*, dy'd some small Time after, whereby the Schism was intirely suppress'd in *Guienne*. *Roger* Duke of *Sicily* was now the only Prince that continu'd in the Interest of *Peter* of *Leon*, and this by Reason that he had receiv'd the Title of King from him, and



and moreover was in Possession of that Part of the Patri-  
mony of St. Peter which lay in the Province of Benevento,  
which he had no Mind to restore to the Holy See. Yet  
Duke *Ranulphus* having defeated him in a signal Battle,  
prevented his attempting any Thing against Pope *Innocent*.  
*Peter* of *Leon* dy'd in the Year 1138. A little while after  
his Death, those of his Party plac'd in his Stead the Car-  
dinal *Gregory*, to whom they gave the Name of *Victor*, but  
this *Perk* n finding his Side too weak to hold out against *In-*  
*nocent*, came and publicly surrender'd his Pretensions to  
him, in the Year 1139. Afterwards *Innocent* held a Coun-  
cil at *Lateran*, in which the Favourers of *Peter* of *Leon*  
were solemnly condemn'd, and the Ordinations made by  
this Pope declar'd null and void. Some Time after *Inno-*  
*cent* was taken by Duke *Roger*, which occasion'd the Agree-  
ment afterwards made between them. This Pope dy'd the  
24th. of September, in the Year 1143. The same Day *Guy*-  
a Priest and Cardinal of St. Mark was chosen Pope by the  
Cardinals, and proclaim'd under the Name of *Celestine* II.  
He had no Competitors in his Election, but his Pontifi-  
cate was of no long Continuance, for he dy'd 5 Months  
and a few Days after, on the 8th. of March, in the Year  
1144. He was succeeded by *Gerard* Cardinal of the Holy-  
Cross, who took the Name of *Lucius* II. whose Pontifi-  
cate was very much molested by the War with *Roger* Duke  
of *Sicily*, with whom nevertheless he at length made a Truce,  
and by the Revolt of some *Italians* who had a Mind to as-  
sert the Authority of their Senators that were assembled in  
the Capitol. This Pope dy'd of Grief as some will have it,  
but as others say, he was kill'd by the Fall of a Stone a-  
bout the End of the first Year of his Pontificate, the 26th.  
of February, in the Year 1145.

*Bernard*, Native of *Pisa*, Abbot of St. *Anastasi*, and  
Disciple of St. *Bernard*, was chosen in his Place by the  
Cardinals, under the Name of *Eugenius* III. This Pope the  
People would have oblig'd before his Consecration to have  
confirm'd the Sovereignty of the Senators, to avoid doing  
which he retir'd to the Monastery of *Forfu* where he was  
proclaim'd and consecrated Pope. Some time after his  
Consecration he retir'd to *Rome*, where he liv'd for a while  
in a strong Hold; but at length, not thinking himself in  
sufficient Security, he retir'd to *Viterbe*. He was no sooner  
gone, but *Jordanes*, who had taken upon him the Quality  
of a Patrician, made himself Master of *Rome*, pillag'd all  
the Cardinals and great Mens Houses, that would not sub-  
mit to his Government, built divers Citadels in the City,  
and also made one of the Church of St. Peter. Against

him, *Eugenius* pronounc'd the severest Anathema's, and by  
the Assistance of the Militia of *Tivoli* forc'd the *Italians* to  
make Peace, to abolish the Dignity of *Patricius*, and to re-  
ceive a Praefect and Senators which he should depute to go-  
vern them in his Absence. This Agreement being conclu-  
ded, he return'd to *Rome*, and kept the Feast of *Christmas*  
there, but the *Romans* being unmindful of the Articles of  
the Peace, and given to rebel, *Eugenius* was forc'd to get  
away secretly to *Tivoli*, whence he retir'd to *Pisa*, and from  
thence into *France*, in the Year 1147. He was there kindly  
receiv'd by King *Lewis*, and had several Councils in Fa-  
vour of the Croisade, and continu'd above a Year in that  
Country. He return'd into *Italy* towards the End of the  
Year 1148. where after having undergone divers Fatigues of  
War, he at length became Master of the Church of St. Pe-  
ter, in the Year 1150. He dy'd at *Tivoli* the ninth of July,  
in the Year 1153. His Body was carry'd to *Rome* and in-  
terr'd in St. Peter's Church.

The Letters of these Popes contain nothing very remark-  
able.

*Honorius* II. has writ but very few.

His first was upon Occasion of the Death of *Pontius*, a  
Monk of *Cluny*, who dy'd out of his Abby. He gives *Peter*,  
the venerable Abbot of *Cluny*, to understand that he had  
bury'd him in holy Ground, out of Respect to that Abby  
whereof he had formerly been Monk.

The second and third are writ concerning the Pall, which  
he grants to *William* elected Archbishop of *Tyr*, and con-  
secrated by the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*.

In the fourth he recomends to the King of *Denmark*, the  
Legate which he had sent into his Kingdom.

By the fifth he receives *Henry*, Son of *Lewis* VI. of *France*,  
being design'd for the Church, under the Protection of the  
Holy See.

In the sixth, directed to the Clergy of *Tours*, he confirms  
the Excommunication pronounc'd by his Legate against  
*Fulcus* Earl of *Angers*, by reason that he did not break the  
Marriage between his Daughter and *William*, Son of Lord  
*Robert*.

The seventh is a Confirmation of the Privileges granted  
the Abby of *Cluny* by his Predecessors.

The three following relate to the Legateship of Cardinal  
*John de Creme* into *England*.

The last is address'd to the Bishops of the Province of  
*Tours*, to exhort them to observe the Decrees of the Coun-  
cil of *Nantes*.

## The Letters of Innocent II. are very many.

IN the first he confirms the Judgment of the Council of  
*Jouare*, against the Associates of *Thomas* Prior of St.  
*Victor*, as likewise against those of *Archembaud* Sub-  
dean of *Orleans*, adding several Punishments which  
were before omitted.

By the second he gives all the Lands, which the Princess  
*Matildis* enjoy'd in *Italy*, and which she had left to the Holy  
See, to the Emperor *Lotharius* and *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*  
his Son-in-Law, on Condition that they swear Fealty and  
do Homage to the Church of *Rome*, and moreover to pay  
yearly a hundred Pound in Gold.

The third is a Confirmation of the Immunities and Re-  
venues belonging to the Church of *Pistoia* in *Tuscany*, ad-  
dress'd to the Bishop of that City.

The five Letters following are written to the Patriarch  
of *Jerusalem* and *Antioch*, and the other Bishops of the East  
for Conservation of the Dignity and Rights of *Fulcus* Arch-  
bishop of *Tyr*.

In the ninth he confirms the Grant made by Pope *Hono-*  
*rius* II. to *Roger*, of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, Dutchy of  
*Apulia* and Principality of *Capua*, together with the Title  
of King.

The next following contain the Condemnation of *Peter*  
*Abaelard* and *Arnold de Bresse*.

The twelfth is a Privilege granted to the Abby of St.  
*Memme*.

In the three next he confirms the Power of the Archbi-  
shop of *Hambourg* over the Bishopricks of *Denmark*, *Sweden*,  
and *Norway*.

In the sixteenth he admonishes *Hugh*, Archbishop of *Roan*,  
to comply with the King of *England* his Master, and to  
permit the Abbots of *Normandy* to pay Fealty and Homage  
to him.

In the seventeenth, he acquaints King *Lewis* that he is  
arriv'd in perfect Health at *Cluny*.

By the eighteenth he commands *Geofrey* Bishop of *Char-*  
*tres*, and *Stephen* Bishop of *Paris*, to restore to *Archem-*  
*baud* Subdean of *Orleans*; and his Fraternity, the Benefices  
and Goods that had been taken from them.

In the nineteenth, he orders the same Bishop of *Paris* to  
take off the Suspension which he had awarded against the  
Church of St. *Genieveve*.

The four next relate to the Abby of *Vezelay*, to which  
he orders an Abbot, and whose Privileges he confirms.

In the twenty fourth, he commands *Aloisus* Abbot of  
*Anchin* to take Care of the Church of *Arras*, of which he was  
elected Bishop.

In the twenty fifth, he confirms the Rights and Privile-  
ges of the Bishop of *Bamberg*.

In the twenty sixth, he receives *Hugh* Archdeacon of *Ar-*  
*ras*, under Protection of the See of *Rome*.

The fourteen Letters which follow, concern the Privi-  
leges and Revenues of the Abby of *Cluny*: and in the fif-  
teenth, he recommends himself to the Prayers of this Mo-  
nastery.

The forty second is a Piece of a Letter wrote to *Otho*  
Bishop of *Lucca*, concerning those Witnesses who are re-  
lated to either Party.

In the forty third, he acquaints *Guigue* Prior of the great  
Charter-House, that he has canoniz'd *Hugh* Bishop of *Gre-*  
*noble*, and farther commands him to write what he knows  
of his Life or Miracles.

There are also five more Letters which belong to *Inno-*  
*cent* II. and relate to the Affairs of *Germany*, and two con-  
cerning the Church of *Angers*. The first are at the End of  
the 10th. Tome of the Councils, and the two last in the  
2d. Tome of the Miscellanies of Monsieur de *Baluze*.

## We have but three Letters of Celestine II.

IN the first he acquaints *Peter*, the venerable Abbot of  
*Cluny*, with his Accession to the Pontificate.

In the second, he confirms the Donation of the  
Church of St. *Vincent*, to the Order of *Cluny*, by the  
Bishop of *Salamanca*.

In the last, he orders the Archbishop of *Toledo*, to restore  
to the Bishop of *Orense*, some Parishes which the late Bi-  
shop of *Astorgas* had seiz'd upon.



*The Letters of Pope Lucius II. are about ten.*

**B**Y the first he gives *Peter of Cluny* to understand, that he has made a Truce with *Roger King of Sicily*.

By the second he demands Aid of King *Conrade* against the *Italians*, who were revolted, and who had chosen *Jordanes* for a *Patrician*.

In the third and fourth, he confirms the Primacy of the Church of *Toledo* over all the Churches of *Spain*.

The fifth contains a Privilege granted to the Abby of *Cluny*.

In the sixth he submits the Monastery of *St. Sabas* to the Abby of *Cluny*.

By the seventh, he commands the Abbot of *St. Germain's of Auxerre* to discharge the Servants of the Abbot of *Vezelay*, who were Bail for him, and he moreover removes the Suit before *Godfrey Bishop of Langres*.

In the eighth, he confirms the Judgment given by Pope *Paschal* against those that had kill'd *Arnaud* Abbot of *Vezelay*, and forbids their being receiv'd any more into any Monastery.

By the ninth he orders the Count of *Nevers* to restore to the Abby of *Vezelay* whatever he had taken from it.

And by the tenth, he enjoyns *St. Bernard* to warn the said Count from exacting any Thing from the aforesaid Abby.

*The Letters of Eugenius III. are in a far greater Number.*

**T**HE first address'd to *Lewis King of France*, is an Exhortation to the *Croisade*, to encourage the retaking the City of *Edesse*, with all others that had been conquer'd, and in a Word, to defend the Holy-Land from Invasion. He therein confirms all the Privileges granted to the Knights of the *Cross* by his Predecessor *Urban*, and moreover puts their Wives, Children and Estates under Protection of the Churches and Bishops; then he prohibits any Process being issu'd out in Prejudice of the said Knights, till they were either dead or return'd from their Voyage. Next, his Will is, that they be paid Interest for the Money they had; permits them to mortgage their Estates to the Churches without Equity of Redemption; warns them not to be at a needless Charge about unprofitable Equipage, but to lay the most Part out in Arms, Horses, and other Instruments of War. And lastly, he grants them Remission and Absolution of all their Sins, which they shall have confessed with an humble and contrite Heart.

By the second directed to *Thibaud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he commands and provides that the Bishop of *St. David's* shall be subject to the See of *Canterbury*, and likewise requires the two said Bishops Attendance at *Rome* the Year following, on *St. Luke's Day*, that he may judge farther of the Matter.

The third is address'd to *Hildegarda* Abbess of *Mont St. Rupert*, commending her Spirit of Prophecy, and advising her to preserve by her Humility God's Grace granted to her, and moreover, always to make use of Prudence in the unfolding of those Mysteries which God had reveal'd to her.

The fourth and fifth are against some Ecclesiasticks of *Rome*, who follow'd the Doctrine of *Arnaud de Bresse*.

By the sixth he comforts King *Conrade* on his ill Success in his Expedition to the *East*.

The seventh comprehends the Ceremonies of the Canonization of the Emperor *Henry II*.

The eighth is an Answer to the Bishops of *Germany*, wherein he signifies his Dislike of the intended Translation of *Gueman* Bishop of *Naumbourg*, to the Archbishoprick of *Magdebourg*.

The ninth contains a Grant of the fourth Part of all the Offerings made in the Church of *St. Peter*, to the Canons of that Church. This is signed by the Pope and several Cardinals.

The tenth is another Act to confirm the Rights and Privileges of the Church of *Colen*. This is likewise signed by divers Cardinals.

The eleventh is a consolatory Epistle written to *Sugerus* Abbot of *St. Denys*, upon the Death of his Nephew.

In the twelfth written to the same Abbot, he demands the Names of those *French* Bishops who had refus'd to assist him in the Defence of the Kingdom, and likewise thanks him for his kind Offer of the Place which he desir'd to hold a Council in. He therein also speaks of the Excommunication of the Duke of *Lorraine*, and of a Favour which this Abbot had requested of him for a certain Church.

The thirteenth is likewise written to *Sugerus*: He therein exhorts him to place the Monks of *St. Martins* in the Fields, in the Church of *St. Genevieve*; and accordingly gives the Canons of the said Church Notice thereof in the Letter following. But however, having afterwards alter'd his Mind, he orders in the fifteenth, the Regular Canons to be receiv'd in Stead of the Monks, which was speedily obey'd by *Sugerus*, as he gives his Holiness to understand, and which the Pope approves of by the sixteenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth Letters, all written to *Sugerus*.

The seventeenth is writ to the same, relating to him that had been chosen Bishop of *Arras*, notwithstanding an Appeal made to the Holy See.

In the twenty first, he gives this Abbot to understand, that *Lewis King of France* is return'd from the *Holy-land*, and arrived in *Sicily*.

In the twenty second, he exhorts the said Abbot to govern the Kingdom of *France* with Fidelity during the King's Absence. And moreover, acquaints him that he has written a Letter to the Archbishops and Bishops of that Kingdom, by which, he commands them to excommunicate all those that disturb the publick Tranquility, and likewise commands the said Abbot to convene the Prelates of the Kingdom to provide whatever shall be necessary for the Good of the State.

The twenty third is the same mention'd before, written to the Archbishops and Bishops of *France*.

The twenty fourth relates to a particular Affair of two Priests of *Meaux*, accus'd by *Goslin*, whose Cause he refers to *Sugerus*.

By the twenty fifth, twenty sixth, and thirtieth, he also refers to *Sugerus* the Judgment pronounc'd against a Priest of the Diocess of *Sens*, who had been depriv'd of his Benefice by the Archdeacon, for having refus'd to give him such Sums as he demanded.

By the twenty seventh, he also refers to the said Abbot the Difference between *Joscelin* Canon of *Meaux* and another Ecclesiastick.

By the twenty eighth, he exhorts the same Abbots, to redeem the Treasure of *St. Genevieve* which had been pawn'd.

In the twenty ninth, he speaks to him concerning the *Croisade* of King *Lewis*.

In the thirty first, he desires him to relieve the Church of *St. Medard of Soissons*, from which *Ives* Count of *Soissons* demanded a great Sum.

In the thirty second, he thanks him for his Care of the Churches of the *East*, and moreover recommends to him the Re-establishment of Religion in the Church of *Campiegne*.

The thirty third is address'd to *Stephen King of England*, whom he desires not to use the Bishop of *London* ill, though he had refus'd to take the Oath of Fidelity to him. He recommends the same Matter to *Maud Queen of England* by the thirty fourth Letter.

The following Letters to the sixtieth, concern the Differences which *Pontius* Abbot of *Vezelay* had with Count *Nevers*, and the Bishop of *Autun*, concerning the Immunities and Privileges of his Abby. *Eugenius III.* takes this Abbot's Part very strongly, and writes in Favour of him, to several Princes and Bishops.

The sixty first is written to *Eberhard* Bishop of *Bamberg*, whom he commands to retain the Regular Canons, establish'd in the Church of *Hildesheim* by *Gebehard* Bishop of *Eichstat*, and to drive out the Secular Canons which the Archbishop of *Mayence* had introduc'd there. He writes about this Matter to said Archbishop in the following Letter.

The sixty third is the Title of the Re-establishment of the Bishoprick of *Tournay*, written to the Clergy and People of that City, by which he gives them to understand, that he has ordain'd for their Bishop, *Anselm* Abbot of *St. Vincent of Laon*, enjoining them to receive him, and consequently promises to dispense with their Oath of Fidelity which they should have taken to the Bishop of *Noyon*. By the following Letter he acquaints *Lewis VII. King of France*, with the Re-establishing of this Bishoprick, and recommends to him the Person that he had ordain'd Bishop of *Tournay*.

The three following Letters are written to *Moses* Archbishop of *Ravenna*, concerning him that had been elected Bishop of *Placenza*, and who ought to have been consecrated by this Archbishop his Metropolitan.

In the sixty eighth he severely reprimands *Samson* Archbishop of *Rheims*, for having crown'd the King of *France* in the City of *Bourges*, to the Prejudice of the Archbishop of that City, whereupon he orders him to restore to the Church of *Bourges* the Offerings and Gifts which he had receiv'd upon that Occasion, interdicts him the *Pallium*, and



*Eugenius III.* and moreover cites him to *Rome*, together with the other Bishops who had assisted at that Coronation. The sixty ninth contains his Grant and Confirmation of the Archbishop of *Bourges's* Primacy over the Provinces of *Bourges* and *Bordeaux*.

By the following Letter he commands the Bishop of *Saintes* to permit a new Church to be built at *Rochelle*.

The seventy first is a Confirmation of the Constitutions and Privileges, and of the Order of White Friars.

The seventy second, with the following, till you come to the 83. and last, are address'd to the Bishops of *Spain*, relating to the Primacy of *Toledo*.

There are also three Letters of *Eugenius III.* wherein he commands the Abbots of *St. Pons*, and *de Grace* to present to the Archbishop of *Narbonne* the Priests which they have a Mind to place in Curacies belonging to them, to the End that they might receive their Orders from him, and pay him accordingly their First-fruits and Oblations.

Montieur *Baluze* in his 2d. Tome of Miscellanies, has given us a Letter of this Pope's, written to the Bishops of *Reggio* and *Fero-Julio*, whereby he forbids the said Bishops to exact any Thing from the Church of *Barjole*, since it

was under Protection of the Holy See. He also excommunicates the Bishops of these Diocesses for having interr'd excommunicated Persons in consecrated Ground. *Eugenius III.*

There is also a Privilege in Favour of the Bishops of the Province of *Bourges*, whereby *Eugenius* confirm'd the Liberty granted them by the Kings of *France*, and which had been approv'd by the Popes, *Innocent* and *Lucius*, which was that they might be elected without being oblig'd to do Fealty or Homage to the Papal-Chair.

To the Letters of these Popes we may here add those of *Anacletus II.* the Antipope, which have been lately publish'd by *Christiannus Lupus*, at the End of his Collection of Letters printed at *Louvain* in the Year 1682. They are in all 83. whereof the most considerable have been written about his Election, which he maintains to have been perform'd according to Custom; and with the unanimous Consent of the Clergy of *Rome*. He there accuses *Aimeric* Chancellor of the Church of *Rome*, to have been the Cause of his Adversaries being elected, and of the Troubles which ensu'd. These Letters are writ in a good Stile, and with some sort of Elegance and Force.

## CHAP. IV.

### The Life of St. Bernard together with his Works.

*St. Bernard.* **S**aint Bernard was born in the Year 1091. at *Fontaine*, a Village of *Burgundy*, whereof his Father call'd *Jeschelin*, was Lord. His Mother, nam'd *Alethe*, Daughter to Count *Montbart*, had 7 Children, six Boys and one Girl, all which she educated very discretely and piously. *St. Bernard* was very much inclin'd to Virtue from his Infancy, and took betimes a Resolution to retire from the World. He also engag'd all his Brothers and several Friends in the same Resolutions, who, after they had liv'd for some Time retir'd in their own Houses, in the Year 1113. met together and went to *Cisteaux*, there to enter into a Monastical Life. This Monastery is situated in the Diocess of *Chalons* about five Leagues from *Dijon*. It had been built about 15 Years before, in 1098. by *Robert* Abbot of *Molesme*, who retreated thither with about one and twenty Monks, who all imbrac'd an austere and rigid Life. But in the Year following, *Robert* being oblig'd by the Pope's Order, to return to *Molesme*, *Alberic* Prior of *Cisteaux*, was made Abbot, who dying in 1109. *Stephen Hardingue* became the third Abbot. He govern'd this Monastery, reduc'd to a small Number of Monks, by Reason of the Austerity of their Lives, when *St. Bernard* and 30 of his Companions came into it. This extremely augmented the Zeal of this Order, which then began to encrease; for the first Year after, the Abby of *la Telle*, first Daughter of *Cisteaux*, was founded near *la Grone*, in the Diocess of *Chalons*. The Year following there was another establish'd at *Pontigni* four Leagues from *Auxerre*, and in the Year 1115. those of *Clairvaux* and *Morimond* were founded in the Diocess of *Langres*. Abbot *Stephen* sent *St. Bernard* and his Brothers to that of *Clairvaux*. He chose, although he was very young, to govern this Monastery. He was consecrated Abbot by *William de Champcaux* Bishop of *Chalons*, by reason of the Vacancy of the Episcopal See of *Langres*. The Reputation of *St. Bernard's* singular Piety, and the strict Manner of living in his Monastery, drew People from all Parts to be admitted of it. Insomuch that in a little Time several Monks went out thence to establish themselves in other Monasteries where they liv'd according to the same Rule. That of the *Three Fountains* was first founded in the Diocess of *Chalons*, in the Year 1118. That of *Fontenay* a little while after in the Diocess of *Autun*, in the Year 1121. Next there was one establish'd at *Foigny* in the Diocess of *Laon*, and that of *Igny* in the Diocess of *Rheims*, and lastly, the fourth Off-spring of *Clairvaux* was founded in the Year 1127. All these Monasteries had for their first Founders the Monks of *Clairvaux* who were all Abbots successively. But *St. Bernard* had a general supervisorship over all the rest. The Learning and Virtues of this Saint were too bright to continue long hid within the Walls of a Cloyster, for they quickly render'd him so famous in the Church that nothing of Moment pass'd there wherein he was not employ'd. He was call'd to the Councils of *Troyes* and *Chalons*, held by *Matthew* Cardinal Bishop of *Albany*: The first in the Year 1128. and the second in 1129. The Schism and Factions which hapned in the Church of *Rome* after the Death of Pope *Honorius II.* between *Innocent* and *Peter* of *Leon*, gave a great deal of Trouble to *St. Bernard*, who was the principal Defender of *Innocent* for eight Years together. The King of *France*, before he would declare for either of these Competitors, assembled a Convocation of his Prelates at *Etampes*, to examine which of the two had the greater Right. To this Assembly *St. Bernard* was call'd,

and the sole Decision of so important a Matter refer'd to his Judgment. Whereupon he gave his Opinion for *Innocent II.* and all the Assembly acquiesced in it. This Pope being thus acknowledg'd by *France*, posted thither with all imaginable Diligence, and *St. Bernard* waited on him all along during his Stay there. He carry'd him from *Orleans* to *Chartres*, where he persuaded *Henry* King of *England* to acknowledge him: From thence he follow'd this Pope into *Germany*, and was present at the Conference his Holiness had with the Emperor at *Liege*. He there spoke with a great deal of Freedom to this Prince, persuading him to alter his Resolutions of requiring the Pope to re-establish Investitures. At his Return from *Liege*, his Holiness held a Council at *Rheims* in the Year 1131. which when ended he retir'd to *Auxerre*, after having visited *Cluny* and *Clairvaux*, which did not go in Procession before him clad in splendid Ornaments, but cloath'd in course Cloath, carrying a homely Crucifix, and singing leisurely and modestly Hymns and Anthems. The Year following *St. Bernard* accompany'd the Pope into *Italy*, and brought over to him both the *Pisantines* and *Genoeses*. At length he came with him to *Rome*, whence he was not long after sent into *Germany*, to make Peace between *Conrade* and *Lotharius*. Having happily negotiated this Affair, he was recall'd to *Pisa*, whither the Pope was forc'd to retire a second Time. *St. Bernard* assisted at the Council which his Holiness held in this City, in the Year 1134. after the Conclusion of which the Pope sent him to *Milan*, to reconcile the *Milaneze* to the Church of *Rome*. He sent also along with him two Cardinals in Quality of Legates, *Guy* Bishop of *Pisa*, and *Matthew* Bishop of *Albany*, and this, to the End that they might purge the City of *Milan* of the Schism which *Anselm* a Favourer of *Peter* of *Leon* had spread there, and bring back all that were stray'd from the Church of *Rome*. *St. Bernard* took also along with him *Geoffrey* Bishop of *Chartres*, to advise with upon Occasion. The *Milaneze*, who had long desir'd *St. Bernard* should come among them, met him before he came to the City, and receiv'd him with all imaginable Respect and Honour, so that by his Means the Church of *Milan* was soon brought over to the Obedience of the See of *Rome*. After this *St. Bernard* return'd into *France*, but he was no sooner got there, but he was forc'd to leave his Monastery to go to *Guienne* with the Pope's Legate, to reduce the Duke of that Province to the Obedience of the Holy See, and to re-establish the Bishops of *Poitiers* and *Limoges* who had been expuls'd. He overcame the Obstinacy of this Prince by an Action of surprising Boldness, for when he saw the Duke's Resolution, not to restore the Bishop of *Poitiers*, was inflexible, he went to perform the Divine Office, and as soon as the Consecration was over, he plac'd the Wafer upon the Chalice, walk'd out of the Church, and with Eyes full of Fury and a terrible Mein, he accosted the Duke after this Manner: 'Hitherto, quoth he, we have pray'd and pray'd, and you have still slighted us: Several Servants of God who were present at the Assembly, have joyn'd their Prayers with ours, yet you have never minded them. Now therefore the Son of God, who is the Lord and Head of that Church which you persecute, is come in Person to see if you will repent. Here is your Judge, at whose Name every Knee bends, both in Heaven, Earth, and Hell. Here is the just Revenger of your Crimes, into whose Hands this obstinate Spirit of yours shall one Day fall. Will you despise



and flout at him? Will you be able, think you, to slight him as you have done us his Servants? Will you.' Here the Duke not being able to hear any more, fell down in a Swoun; whereupon St. Bernard took him up, and commanded him forthwith to be reconcil'd to the Bishop of Poitiers, which the poor astonish'd Prince immediately condescended to; so that the Bishop was quickly after restor'd, and all Schism abolish'd in that Province. In the Year 1137. he was recall'd into Italy by the Pope, to quell the remaining Party of Peter of Leon. He went thither, and after having brought over several to Pope Innocent's Side, he was deputed to Roger Duke of Sicily, who was then the only Prince that continu'd to support Peter of Leon, there to defend his Master Innocent against Cardinal Peter of Pisa, who was to oppose him. He enter'd into a Conference with this Cardinal, and soon made him change his Opinion and Party. After Peter of Leon's Death, the Person that was intended to succeed him in his Attempt, came to beg of St. Bernard that he would intercede to Pope Innocent for his Pardon. Peace by these Means being restor'd to the Church of Rome, and Schism entirely extirpated, St. Bernard return'd to his Monastery of Clairvaux, and after his Arrival sent the Pope some of his Monks to inhabit the Monastery of St. Anastasius newly re-built. One of these call'd Bernard, formerly Official of the Church of Pisa, was chosen for their Abbot, who afterwards came to be Pope under the Name of Eugenius III. after the Death of Celestine and Lucius, Successors to Innocent II. both who liv'd no long Time. It was about this Time that St. Bernard disputed with Abaelard, a famous Philosopher of the University of Paris, at the Council of Sens, in the Year 1140. He had often sent to him privately to correct his Errors, maintain'd in his Books, but this obstinate Author neglecting so to do, and appealing to the Archbishop of Sens, St. Bernard was sent to the Council held there, whither he went, though against his Will. Abaelard not daring to support his Errors, appeal'd to the Pope, but his Doctrine being condemn'd by this Council, he retir'd to Cluny; where after having renounc'd his Sentiments, he dy'd in the Communion of the Church of Rome. Under the Pontificate of Eugenius III. St. Bernard was desir'd to preach up the Croisade, at the Request of Lewis the Younger, who had thoughts in his Head to undertake a Voyage into the Holy-land. St. Bernard acquitted himself in his Duty with so much Zeal, that great Numbers of People resolv'd to accompany Lewis in that Expedition. He was present at three Councils, held in the Year 1147. at Etampes, Auxerre, and Paris. The same Year he was sent into Aquitaine, by Alberic, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, to combat the Heresies which Henry had promulg'd there. He quickly confounded them, as well by his Preaching as a great many Miracles which he perform'd. In the Year 1148. Gillebert of la Porree, Bishop of Poitiers, being convinced by St. Bernard at the Council held at Rheims, retracted his Errors, and came over to the Church. At length, St. Bernard having been chosen towards the End of his Days, to be Mediator between the People of Mentz and some neighbouring Princes, after having happily and prudently concluded all Differences between them, on his Return, he fell sick of a Weakness in his Stomach, and dy'd the 20th. of August, in the Year 1153. He left near 160 Monasteries of his Order, founded by his Care. Divers Churches desir'd to have him for their Bishop: Those of Langres and Chalons courted him excessively; and those of Genoa and Milan offered him their Archbishopricks. And lastly, Rheims earnestly requested him for its Pastor, but notwithstanding all these Sollicitations, he persevered in his Resolutions never to be advanc'd to the Episcopacy.

St. Bernard, did not only render himself worthy of Esteem by the Piety of his Life, and his many illustrious Actions. His Works also speak high in his Behalf; in which, he discovers as much Wit and Elegancy, as Knowledge and Piety. We shall proceed to give an exact History and Abridgment of them, as we find them rank'd in the last Edition, publish'd not long since by Father Mabillon. The first Volume contains all his true Works, and begins with the Letters which compose the first Tome.

The Letters  
of St. Bernard.

The first Letter was written to his Son Robert, to exhort him to return to the Monastery of Clairvaux, which he had left for that of Cluny. The Author of St. Bernard's Life says, that this Letter was dictated to William, who was afterwards Abbot of Rievaulx, in the middle of a Field while it rain'd hard, yet the Paper was never wet. This Letter is full of Professions of Love and Charity towards his Son, which shews, how extremely St. Bernard was griev'd at his Absence. 'I have long and impatiently expected, says he, my dear Son Robert, That God in his Mercy would please to touch thy Heart, and mine at the same Time, inspiring thee with a hearty Compunction, and giving me the Pleasure of seeing thy Conversion: But having hitherto been all along frustrated in my Hopes, I can no longer conceal my Grief, contain my Sorrow, nor dissemble my Sadness. 'Tis that which obliges me,

contrary to the Order that ought to be observed, to call home him who has offended me; to court one that has slighted me; to give Satisfaction to one that has affronted me; and in a Word, to beg of him that ought to petition me. For when a Man is once touch'd with extrem Con- cern, he deliberates not, has no Shame, consults not his Reason, thinks not of abating himself, observes no Measure, and his Soul is intirely imploy'd in the Search or Recovery of what he has lost or desires. You will tell me perhaps that you have never offended nor slighted me, but that it was I only that have abus'd you, and that you left me but to avoid the ill Usage which I made you undergo. I grant it: You had Reason, but let us talk no more of what is past, nor inquire into the Cause of it; the present Time only demands our Consideration. Let me consider then what makes me unhappy, what so discomposes me? Is it not because I have thee no more, because I see thee no more, and because I live altogether without thee, who art only able to give me Life? I ask not why you went away, but I heartily grieve that you are not return'd. Come but a little and I shall be at quiet. I own it was my Fault that you left me; I was perhaps too rigid towards a young tender Youth, and dealt perhaps too hardly by thee, yet still it may be I could excuse my self, and say, that the Follies of unexperienc'd Youth ought to be suppress'd by a severe Discipline, and our first Years should be corrected by the severest Test of Reason: But I will not insist upon this; I will as I said before, take all upon my self; I only am in the Wrong; pardon me, for I confess it; I will never do the like again; you shall find me quite another Man; return only and have no more Fear of any Thing. Others now might lay your Crime home to you; fright you into Thoughts of Guilt; Lay the Contents of your Vow before you; threaten you with God's Judgments; condemn your Disobedience, and accuse you of Apostacy; but I had rather bring you over by fair Means, and reclaim you with kind Words.' St. Bernard next describes after what Manner Robert had been seduc'd to Cluny, and how he had been led away by the Conversation which a Prior, who was sent by the Abbot of Cluny, had with him, 'This Preacher of the new Gospel, says he, I suppose, cry'd up good Cheer, and condemn'd Self-denial and Parsimony; and told him, I imagine, that voluntary Poverty was a real Misery, and Fasts, Watchings, Prayer, and Labour a meer Folly. To Idleness, it may be, he gave the Title of Contemplation, and that of Discretion to Gormandizing, Babbling, and Niceness. Perhaps he demanded of him, if God could ever be pleas'd with tormenting us; or, if the Scripture commanded us any where to murder our selves? What Religion there could be in digging of Ground, cutting of Wood, carrying of Dung, or the like? Who was the wise Man, he that hated his own Flesh, or he that cherish'd it? This poor Youth might easily be seduc'd by such insinuating Discourse, and consequently is led to Cluny, where they shave his Head, wash his Body, tear off his course and homely Habits, and put on such as were new and more costly. Next is he led in Triumph about the Monastery; every Body commends him, and congratulates his coming among them; and, in a Word, he is soon placed above those of a longer standing. But however, they think fit to send to Rome to have what they do authorized by the Holy See, and that the Pope may the better yield to their Request, they pretend, that being a Child, he was offer'd by his Parents to their Monastery. No Body was then at Rome that could refute this Reason, and therefore his Holiness has pass'd his Judgment in Favour of the Present, to the Prejudice of the absent; by a Privilege too severe, he has confirm'd an Absolution too easy; and in a Word, has forc'd my Son to take up a new Profession and make new Vows.' From this Allowance of the Pope's, St. Bernard appeals to the Determination of God, and the Tribunal of Christ, and demands which ought to prevail most, the Vows of a Father for his Son, or those of a Son made for himself, principally when he has enter'd into a Vow of any great Importance. For it is certain, that Robert had never been any otherwise than promis'd, and never had been given to the Monastery of Cluny, since his Parents had not requir'd them to receive him, and he had not been offer'd in the Presence of Witnesses, neither had his Head been cover'd with the Pallium of the Altar. They likewise gave out, that there was a Portion given with him to their Monastery. 'But, Quoth St. Bernard, if they had a Portion with him, why do they not think themselves oblig'd to keep him as well as the Portion? Is it because they have greater Regard to the Money than the Person, and love the Pence better than the Soul? If he has been offer'd to the Monastery, why do they suffer him to live at large in the World, for it is from the World and not from Cluny that you came, Robert, to Cisteaux? You have earnestly entreated and beg'd to be receiv'd into that Brotherhood; but notwithstanding, they delay'd two years before they would admit you,

St.  
Bernard.



St. Bernard. you, yet at length you got in, and after having been a Year Probationer, you became profess'd, and quitted the Secular Habit for the Regular. It is here that St. Bernard severely reproaches him for the Breach of his Vows, and for his Ingratitude, and that in making him sensible of the Care and Pains he had been at in his Education. Afterwards in Terms the most moving imaginable, he expresses the Agonies he has endur'd by his Absence. He gives him moreover to understand, that a lazy and luxurious Life, which they all lead in the Order of Cluny, is very dangerous to his Salvation, and likewise exhorts him to do his best Endeavours to be in a Condition to observe Abstinence, Watching, Fasts, Silence, Labour and other Austerities, practis'd in *Clairvaux*, and all which the Life he leads in *Cluny*, will very much disuse him from. This Letter was writ in the Year, 1119.

In the 2d. he reproves *Fulcus*, a regular Canon, inasmuch that having accepted of the Deanry of *Langres* at his Uncle's Request, he thereupon quitted his Cloyster for a secular Life. Altho' St. Bernard had no positive Authority over this young Man, yet his Zeal oblig'd him to rally him severely, and openly to blame the Conduct of his Uncle. He endeavours to convince him, that to converse with the World is dangerous, and therefore the best way to be sav'd were to avoid that. At length he admonishes him to return to his Cell, and promises he will put up his Petitions to God on his behalf. In this Letter there is an elegant Passage relating to the Use of Church-Goods. *You may imagine* (says he) *that what belongs to the Church belongs to you while you officiate there. But you are mistaken, for tho' it be reasonable that one that labours at the Altar should live by the Altar, yet must it not be either to promote his Luxury or Pride. In a word whatever extends beyond bare Nourishing, and simple, plain Cloathing is Sacrilege and Rapine.* This Letter was writ in the Year, 1120.

In the 3d. directed to the Canons of *Audicour*, in the Diocese of *Chalons*, after having rejected, with a great deal of Humility, the Commendations which they gave him, he acquaints them that he has receiv'd, with Permission of the Bishop of *Chalons*, some Regular Canons into his Monastery who had a mind to embrace a Monastick Life.

The 4th. was written about the Year, 1125. to *Arnold* Abbot of *Morimond* about his having quitted his Monastery with six of his Brothers without leave, first obtain'd from the Abbot of *Cîteaux*. He had acquainted St. Bernard with what he had done, and beg'd of him not so much as to mention his Return to his Monastery. This Letter St. Bernard answers, and tells him that it is not in his Power to forbear Advising him to return, and moreover acquaints him that if he had known where to have met him, he would have run into his Arms, thrown himself at his Feet, beg'd, conjur'd and endeavour'd both by Tears and Words to have reclaim'd him: But since he had thought fit to deprive him of that Pleasure, he earnestly entreats him to hearken to an absent Friend, that is sorry for his Crime, and cordially concern'd at his Peril. He likewise shews him that it is to be fear'd that his Fall may draw others into the same Snare, and therefore tho' he has little Regard to himself yet ought he to take Care of those he has the Charge of. He conjures him to think how much he exposes both them and himself, and lastly he Adds, that for his Part he cannot think he did well to leave his Convent even on a worldly Account, because he did it without the Consent of his Brothers; the Monks, the rest of the Abbots, and without the Permission of his Superior.

That which follows is address'd to *Adam* one of the Monks that went away with Abbot *Arnold*. He reproaches him for his Inconstancy and Fickleness.

In the 6th. he entreats *Bruno*, who was afterwards Archbishop of *Colen*, to do all in his power to cause some of these stragling Monks of *Morimond* that lurked about in his Diocese, to return to their Cloyster.

*Arnold* being dead, St. Bernard reinforc'd his Request to *Adam*, that since his Abbot was dead, and he consequently discharg'd of his Obedience, he might make no Difficulty to return. And farther upon this *Abbots* having commanded his Monks to follow him, St. Bernard examines into these Cases how far Superiors are to be obey'd. He lays down for an unquestionable Maxim, that they are not to be obey'd when they command any Thing that is ill, because in that Case they cannot be comply'd with without displeasing God. Afterwards he proceeds to reckon up three sorts of Things that may be commanded: 1. Absolutely good, 2. Absolutely bad, and 3. Indifferent, which may be either good or bad according to the several Circumstances and Persons. He observes that the Law of Obedience which relates to Men, has regard only to the last of the three; for the first may not be omitted tho' any body commands it. Nor the second permitted tho' a Superior would have it so, but in the third and last a Superiors pleasure is to be preferr'd to our own will, and we are to obey equally what they command or forbid. Moreover he urges that what had been commanded him by his Abbot

to quit his Monastery and go along with him, was among the Number of those Things which are forbidden by God, and that even the Pope himself could not have given him Permission to have done it, for that the Dispensation which he had obtain'd was a frivolous Remedy that serv'd rather to palliate a diseas'd Conscience than cure it. *We have* (say they) *ask'd Leave of the Holy See, and we have obtain'd it; but would to God* (says St. Bernard) *that you had not ask'd Leave but rather demanded Counsel; that would have been more for your Good and my Satisfaction. But again, why did you ask this Leave? Was it not because you had a mind to do what you ought not? Now what you ought not to do is ill when done, and you it seems have got a Permission to do so. You will say perhaps that what you ask'd was only ill where Leave had not been obtain'd, but being once permitted it ceased any longer to be so. But I have already shewn that your Petition was not of this kind, but a publick Scandal forbidden by the Law of God; so that this Action of yours was not less blameable by being allow'd of by the Pope, who I'm confident would never have consented to your Demands, had he not been either deceiv'd or forc'd by Importunity: After having shewn farther by several Arguments, that it was in vain for this Monk to pretend to excuse himself on pretence of Obedience to, and Command of his Abbot, he remarks that two Things are principally to be observ'd in Monasteries; which are Obedience to their Abbot, and Continuance in the same Place. Here you may ask me perhaps (says he) how I can reconcile that with the continuance which I vow'd to *Cîteaux*? I answer that in truth I was profess'd at *Cîteaux*, but that I was sent by my Abbot to the Place where I now reside, without Discord and Scandal, pursuant both to Order and Custom. There is also another Objection rais'd against me. If I condemn (say they) those that have left their Monasteries by the Command of the Abbot, how comes it to pass that I have receiv'd and retain'd such as have done so? The answer to this is easy tho' I do not know whether it will please every Body. I receive them (continu'd he) because I cannot think it a Crime to assist them to observe their Vows in one Place which they could not do in another, and so to recompence the Omission of Residence by a strict Performance of all the other Precepts of a Monastick Life. But why, says one to me, do you condemn all those that do not live in every particular like yourself? No; I do not do so, I know there are many Holy Men that do not live after the same Manner with me; I only give a Reason why I receive those that desire it of me without blaming those that don't desire it. Excuse the one without accusing the Other. The Envious only I cannot nor will Excuse. In respect to others, if there be any that design to practise a Monastick Life in its Purity, but dare not for fear of Scandal, or cannot by Reason of some Infirmary, I do not believe they commit any Sin, providing they live Soberly, Justly, and Devoutly in the Place where they are; and if they are sometimes oblig'd to live a little more loosely than our Rules prescribe, they may be excus'd either by Charity that covers a Multitude of Faults; or Humility, which makes them sensible of their own Weakness and Imperfection.*

The 8th. Letter of St. Bernard is written to *Bruno* Archbishop of *Colen*, who had demanded of him, if he might accept that Archbishoprick. To which he answers, That no mortal Man ought to resolve that Question; because if God calls one to it no Body ought to dissuade one from it, and if God does not call one to it, no Body ought to advise one to accept it, for the Holy Ghost alone is able to determine who is call'd and who not; that what troubles him more than this is that he made a Confession of his Sins to him, but he Fears, has not sufficiently repented of them; so that when he considers that he has been call'd from the State of a Sinner to that of a most Reverend Minister without Repenting, he hopes he will beg of God a speedy Commiseration and Forgiveness; but yet there is a great deal of Difference between meriting Pardon for Sins, and being advanc'd all of a sudden to so great a Dignity, that it is true St. *Matthew* was call'd to the Apostleship even in the very Act of his Profession, but nevertheless he thought it Advisable to repent heartily before he accepted of his Mission. St. *Ambrose* also was rais'd from a Profession of the Law to that of the Gospel; but he had all along led an innocent and inoffensive Life. That the Conversion of St. *Paul* likewise is a Miracle which cannot be parallel'd. But in fine he says that in Case he can give no other Answer than that he will pray God to Manifest his Pleasure; and that if he doubts of any Thing more, he may consult *Norbert* who being a great Scholar, and always with him may be able to give him due Satisfaction.

*Bruno* at last resolves to Accept the Archbishoprick of *Colen*; which St. Bernard having understood, he writ him the two following Letters by which he exhorts him to do his Duty, and acquit himself in all Things as he ought to do. These Letters were writ about the Year 1132.

The 11th. Letter is written to *Guigue*, Prior of the great Charter-House and to his Monks. He therein discourses upon Charity and its Effects with its several kinds; and Lastly asserts, that it can have no Profession in this Life.



St. Bernard. In the 12th. writ to the same, he desires their Prayers. By the 13th. he requests of Pope Honorius II. a Confirmation of the Election of Alberic to the Bishoprick of Chalon. This Alberic was Native of Rheims; a Fellow-Disciple with Abaelard, and a learned Divine. He was elected Bishop of Chalon in the Year 1126. after the Death of Ebalus, but he was never ordain'd nor inducted into this Bishoprick. He was translated in the Year 1139. to the Archbishoprick of Bourges. This Letter of St. Bernard's was written soon after the Election of Alberic to the Bishoprick of Chalon. This is the first which he wrote to Pope Honorius II. and yet he did not put his Name to it, but subscrib'd himself a Poor Monk and great Sinner.

In the 14th. he recommends to the same Pope an Affair of the Church of Dijon.

He recommends also the same Thing in the two following Letters, to the Cardinals Haimeric and Peter.

In the 17th. he excuses himself to the last of these Cardinals, that he did not come to wait on him, because he had made a Resolution never to stir out of his Monastery. He moreover writ to him, that he knew not what his Eminence meant by the Books he speaks off, and that he knows not what he had ever writ, which could in the least be worthy of his judicious Perusal. That some of his Monks indeed might probably have copy'd what they heard him speak, and that he believ'd Gebuin the Chanter and Archdeacon of Troyes might likely have a Copy by him; but for his own Part, he had none to his Knowledge; yet if he ever found any, or writ any thing for the future, which he thought might be agreeable to him, he would certainly send it.

In the following Letter address'd to the same, he enlarges upon the Vanity of Humane Praise, and the Esteem which Men have of us. *I am proud, (says he) of the good Character you have honoured me with, but my Pride is extremely diminished, when I consider that it is not my Actions, but the Opinion which others have of me, that has procur'd me this Esteem. I am ashamed to be so puff'd up, when I perceive that I am not so much lov'd and honour'd for what I am, but for what I am thought to be; for it is not I that am so well belov'd, but a certain Je ne scay quoy which is supposed to be in me, and perhaps is not.* He shews afterwards that there is nothing in any Creature which deserves perfectly to be lov'd, and commended, nevertheless (says he) there is an universal Vanity scatter'd amongst the Generation of Men, which makes all loves to be prais'd, although they are never so blame-worthy. All Commendation bestowed on us is Flattery, and the Joy we conceive thereupon a fruitless vanity. They that let themselves be commended are most commonly vain Fools, and such as commend themselves for the most part are impudent Lyars. Towards the End of this Letter, he promises to send him some of his Works. These Letters are thought to have been written about the Year 1127.

The two next Letters, are likewise writ to the same Cardinals. He recommends to them an Affair of the Church of Rheims.

The 21st. is directed to Matthew, the Pope's Legate in France. In it he excuses himself for not being able to wait on him, by Reason of his Illness; as also complains of being solicited to come out of his Cloyster to embroil himself with the Affairs of the World. This Letter was written some short Time before the Council of Troyes, which was held in the Year 1128.

In the 22d. he recommends to Humbaud Archbishop of Lyons, an Affair belonging to the Bishop of Meaux.

In the 23d. he commends Aston Bishop of Troyes, for having distributed all he had among the Poor, when he once lay Sick. *Most commonly, (says he,) Wills are not wont to be executed till after our Deaths, and consequently we then give what we are no longer able to enjoy, but this Person being between the hopes of Life and fear of Death, gave away all his Goods to the Poor, to the end that his Charity might subsist eternally, even in despite of his Fate.* He afterwards rejoices that this Bishop recover'd from his Disease. These two last Letters were written about the Year, 1128.

In the 24th. he Commends Gilbert Bishop of London, for living Poor whilst he enjoy'd so considerable a Benefice. *It is no great Wonder (says he,) that Gilbert is a Bishop, but it is somewhat extraordinary that a Bishop of London should live so meanly.* The exalted Dignity of his Episcopacy could not augment the Glory of so great a Man, when his humble Poverty has not a little advanc'd him. To undergo want patiently is the Effect of an ordinary Virtue, but to court it voluntarily is the Sign of a great Soul.

In the 25th. he exhorts Hugh, Archbishop of Roan, to Patience, and to temper his Zeal by Charity. *A Bishop (says he,) must not only be Patient, that he may not be overcome by Evil, but he must be also a Peace-maker, to surmount the Evil with Good, insomuch, that he ought to support even the Wicked, and reform them that he supports. Be you therefore Patient, because you are*

*amongst wicked Men, and a Peace-maker, that you may be able to govern Ill-doers. Let your Charity be full of Zeal, but let your Severity be tempered with Reason.*

The 26th. is a Letter to Guy Bishop of Lausanne, which comprehends in a few Words, the necessary Qualifications and Virtues requir'd in a Bishop. *You have (says he to him,) undertaken a difficult Task, you need therefore to have Force to go through it: You have took upon you to watch over Israel, you ought to have a great deal of Prudence. You expose your self both to Fools and wise Men, therefore Justice is likewise necessary, and, in a word, you will have Occasion for Temperance to moderate your Passion upon the greatest Provocations.*

The 27th. and 28th. contain much the like Instructions to Arduition Bishop of Geneva.

In the 29th. he congratulates Stephen, Bishop of Metz, upon the Peace restored to his Church.

In the 30th. he exhorts Alberon of Metz to wait patiently for the Execution of an Affair which he was treating about with his Bishop. These two Letters were written after the Year 1126.

In the 31st. he congratulates Hugh Count of Champagne, on his being made a Knight of Jerusalem (of the Cross.) This Count was the first Founder of the Abby of Clairvaux, which occasions St. Bernard to say that he can never forget the great Friendship he has for him, on Account of his noble Beneficence to his Monastery.

The 32d. is address'd to Joran Abbot of St. Nicaise of Rheims, who complained that the Order of Cisterciens had received into their Fraternity, one of his Monks call'd Dreux. St. Bernard gives him to understand, that he does not approve of such a Proceeding, and that if that Monk had asked his Advice, he should not have counsell'd him to such an Action, and that he would not have receiv'd him himself, had he been Abbot of that Monastery. He likewise acquaints Joran that he partakes of his Concern, and would assist him to his Power; but that he was able to do nothing more, than to write to the Abbot of Cisterciens to restore the said Monk. He moreover counsels him not to take that Matter so much to Heart, but to submit freely to the good Pleasure of God, and suppress his just Indignation by the Example of a certain Saint, who being solicited to look after a stray'd Monk, answer'd, *I shall not do it; for if he be a good Christian, where ever he be he is still mine.* St. Bernard adds further, that he himself had made Use of the Counsel which he gave; for that having had a near Relation receiv'd by the Monastery of Cluny against his Will, though he is sensibly griev'd for his Loss, yet is he resolv'd to rest satisfy'd, praying both for the Monks, that they would restore him, and for the Person himself, that God would give him Grace to return. This shews plainly, that this Letter was written before Robert's Return, about the Year, 1120.

Although St. Bernard had thus written to the Abbot of St. Nicaise, nevertheless, his Opinion was not that this Monk was oblig'd to return to his Cloyster, therefore having written before to Hugh, Abbot of Pontigni, that had receiv'd this Monk, that he thought him oblig'd to restore him, he was forc'd to write a second Letter to undeceive him, whereby he signified that it was never his Intention to advise him to give up this Monk, but that on the contrary, he commended what he had done, and likewise congratulated him in it. But having been powerfully solicited by the Archbishop of Rheims, and be an Abbot, who was one of that Monks Friends, he could not prevent writing that Letter and requesting what he feared should come to pass. He believed at the same Time that he had given some Umbrage of his Meaning by writing at the End of his Letter, that if he chose rather to suffer Displeasure, than to release this Monk, he might do as he pleas'd, but that for his Part, he would have no Manner of Hand in it. In fine, he tells him, that he did him a great deal of Wrong, to suspect that he had a Mind to seduce this Monk to his own Monastery.

In the 34th. he congratulates this Monk on the Resolution he had taken, and exhorts him to persevere in it.

The 35th. is address'd to Hugh Farsite, Abbot of St. John of Chartres, whom he desires to recommend the cause of Humbert, to the Count of Chartres. He withal assures him, that he has not burnt the Letter which he sent him, although there were strange Notions in it concerning the Sacraments.

Hereupon this Abbot wrote him an Answer to this Effect, That he had forgot that he had given him any Cause of Concern, but having sent him a right Orthodox Confession of Faith, St. Bernard makes known to him by the thirty sixth Letter, that he esteem'd him a very good Catholic, and that he verily believes he gave wrong Sentiments of his Mind. He counsels him moreover, not to injure the Memory of a Holy Bishop, with whom he never had any Difference whilst he liv'd.

In the 37th. 38th. 39th. 40th. and 41st. St. Bernard recommends several things to Thibaud Count of Champagne.



The 42d. written to *Henry* Archbishop of *Sens*, is to be found among *St. Bernard's Opuscula*.

In the 43th. and 44th. he desires that Archbishop to do Justice to the Abby of *Moleme*, concerning what he claim'd from the Church of *Sevan*, which belong'd to that Abby.

The 45th. Letter is written in the Name of the Abbot, and the whole Order of *Cisteaux* to *Lewis the Gros*, King of *France*, concerning his persecuting of *Stephen*, Bishop of *Paris*. He makes them speak to this King with a great deal of Freedom, and declare that if His Majesty did not think fit to do Justice to this Bishop, they would assuredly write to the Pope about it.

This King not having made Satisfaction to the Bishop of *Paris*, the Archbishop pronounc'd a Suspension against him, but the King having afterwards humbled himself to Pope *Honorius II.* procur'd it to be taken off, which oblig'd *Hugh* Abbot of *Pontigni*, and *St. Bernard*, to write the forty sixth Letter to this Pope, signifying to him, that they were surpriz'd that his Holiness would suffer that Suspension to be taken off, when if it had been continu'd, the King would certainly have done that Bishop Justice, and this because the Constancy and Courage of the Prelates of that Nation had considerably wrought upon the Temper of that Prince.

*St. Bernard*, caus'd also the same Thing to be written to the Pope, by *Geofrey* Bishop of *Chartres*, in whose Name the forty seventh Letter was writ. He Acquaints his Holiness that the King having been frightened with the Interdict, had promis'd to restore to the said Bishop of *Paris*, all that he had taken from him, but that since he had obtain'd Absolution, he refus'd to perform his Promise.

In the 48th. he justifies himself to *Haimeric*, Chancellor of the Holy See, concerning the Accusations which had been made against him. He desires to know if they are grounded on the Bishoprick of *Verdun*, being taken from a Person that was unworthy to enjoy it, or upon *Fulbert* Abbot of the Holy Sepulchre, at *Cambray's* being forc'd to yield his Place to *Porvin*, or by Reason that at *Laon* a place of Debauchery was become one of Devotion, by driving out of the Monastery of *St. John*, Monks which led an Irregular lewd Life, and by putting those of *St. Nicaise* in their Room. He says, if these Things are laid to his Charge, he takes it for an Honour, but that to his great Grief he was not the Author of them, and by consequence could neither deserve the Merit nor the Blame. He adds, That the Bishop of *Albany* was the Occasion of the First, the Archbishop of *Rheims* of the Second, and the Third ought to be attributed to the same Archbishop, in Conjunction with the Bishop of *Laon*. All that is to be found fault with in him, he says, is, that he was Present when these Matters were transacted, when he ought to have been shut up in his Cloyster, and not to have meddled in the Affairs of the World. He owns he was there Present. 'But (says he,) 'It was because I was summon'd and forc'd thither, which 'if it be displeasing to my Friends, it is less pleasant to 'me, and would to God I had never gone to any of these 'Sorts of Assemblies. He then earnestly entreats the Chancellor, That since his Endeavours have been esteem'd unacceptable, he might for the future never be order'd out of his Monastery. 'Let these clamorous and troublesome 'Frogs (says he,) for the future be confin'd to their Marshes; Let them no more be heard in Councils, nor 'seen any more at Court: And let neither Necessity nor 'Authority drag them out of their Solitude. It may be 'by these Means your Friend may avoid the Suspicions of 'being thought Bold. For my part I am resolv'd henceforward never to stir abroad unless it be about the Affairs of the Order, and that too only upon Command of 'the Pope's Legate or my Bishop.—If by your Means I 'can obtain the Favour to go no more out of my Cell upon 'any Account whatever, I shall be at rest, and envy 'no body. But although I am permitted to remain in 'Silence, yet I cannot believe that the Church will ever 'be at quiet as long as the Court of *Rome* persists to pre-judice the Absent, by obliging and humouring the Present. 'This Letter was writ in the Year, 1130.

The 49th. and 50th. are address'd to Pope *Honorius II.* in the Name of the Abbots of *Cisteaux*, *Pontigni*, and *Clairvaux*, in Favour of the Archbishop of *Sens*, persecuted by King *Lewis the Gros*. They beg of his Holiness to permit this Archbishop to have Recourse to the Holy See for Justice.

In the 51st. he recommends the same Affair to *Haimeric*, Chancellor of the Church of *Rome*.

In the 52d. address'd to the same, he says, That the Bishop of *Chartres* was in the right not to undertake the Voyage to the Holy-Land. He moreover begs of this Chancellor to use his Interest to the Pope that he may be employ'd no more abroad.

The two following are Letters of Recommendation, address'd to *Haimeric*. These six Letters were writ about the Year, 1127.

V O L. II.

In the 55th. directed to *Geofrey*, Bishop of *Chartres*, he prays that Bishop to receive again a Recluse Monk, who had repented of leaving his Cell.

In the 56th. he acquaints the same Bishop that he does not know whether *Norbert* will go to *Jerusalem* or no. He says, He is not of the Opinion of that Holy-Man, who affirm'd that Anti-Christ would certainly come before the Century he lived in was expir'd, and that he should not die before he had seen a general Persecution in the Church. He also recommends to the Bishop of *Chartres* the Affair of *Humbert*.

In the 57th. writ to the same Bishop, he says, That a Vow made to go to *Jerusalem* ought not to hinder a Man from being receiv'd to make a better Vow.

In the 58th. writ to *Ebalus*, Bishop of *Chalons*, he recommends to him to admit for Prior of the Regular Canons of his City, him whom the said Canons had chosen; being a good and Religious Person; or if they would not do so, he propos'd to them another of a regular and virtuous Life, and not such a one as they would have to favour their Libertinism.

In the 59th. he advises *Guilencus* Bishop of *Langres* to deliver up to the Church of *St. Stephen* of *Dijon*, some Goods which fell to them by the Death of the Archdeacon *Garnier*.

In the 60th. address'd to the same Bishop, he recommends to him the Care of the Church of *Moleme*.

By the 61st. he sends a Penitent that had address'd himself to him, to *Ricuin* Bishop of *Toul*, he being not us'd to enjoyn Penance to any but such as were under his Care. For (says he,) would it not be an unpardonable Rashness in us to intermeddle with the Affairs of Bishops, when we ourselves have Recourse to them in Matters of great Difficulty. *Ricuin* dy'd in 1128. so that this Letter must necessarily precede that Year.

In the 62d. he desires *Henry* Bishop of *Verdun*, to receive a Penitent that had address'd himself to him.

In the 63d. he assures this Bishop that he has never utter'd any Thing to his Prejudice. This *Henry* is he whom *St. Bernard* persuades to lay down his Bishoprick; and which is mention'd in the forty eight Letter.

The 64th. is written to *Alexander*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, whose Consent he asks to permit a certain Clerk of his nam'd *Philip*, who had left his Cloyster, with Design to travel to *Jerusalem*, to remain a Monk in his Monastery of *Clairvaux*, and he farther desires him to pay the said Monk's Debts out of the Revenues of his Prebend.

In the 65th. written to *Aloisus*, Abbot of *Anchin*, in *Flanders*, he commends him for being so much concern'd at the Death of a Monk of his call'd *Godwin*, who dy'd in his Monastery of *Clairvaux*. He also excuses himself for having receiv'd him.

In the 66th. he entreats *Geofrey* Abbot of *St. Medard* of *Soissons* to make Peace with *Aloisus*.

In the 67th. he excuses himself to the Monks of *St. Germer de Flay*, for having received one of their Fraternity into his Monastery. He tells them that he never heard any Thing of them but very lately; That this Monk came to him after he had been an Hermit above seven Months, and that he had several Times refus'd to admit him: Also having ask'd him why he would not return to his Cloyster, that he had answer'd; his Abbot would not have him only in Quality of a Monk; but also oblig'd him to serve as Physician. But at length being over-persuaded by his Importunities that he had receiv'd him; and as he had not forc'd him to come into his Monastery, so he would not oblige him to go out of it.

These Monks being not well satisfy'd with this Answer, and having writ again to *St. Bernard*, to this Effect; That he did not do well to receive one of their Monks whom they had excommunicated. He answers by the following Letter, that if they have excommunicated him, he understands it was since he admitted him, which was not likewise well done on their Part. And since they accus'd this Monk for a Vagabond that could never rest in a Place, and who was always disobedient to his Abbot, they ought to rejoice on Account of his Conversion, and in regard that he liv'd now in a Monastery where he should perform the strictest Vows. These two Letters are thought to have been written about the Year, 1125.

In the 69th. he comforts *Guy* Abbot of the *Three-Fountains*, who was extremely concern'd in that being about to celebrate Mass he happened to consecrate a Chalice, in which, there had been nothing but Water put, through Carelessness, because this Crime was rather the Effect of Inadvertency and Negligence than a Design. He nevertheless enjoyns him and the Person that serv'd them at the Altar the Penance of repeating till *Easter* the seven Penitential Psalms, as likewise to receive seven Lashes of a Scourge each Day. He approves of what he did when he saw there was no Wine in the Chalice, which was to pour a little Wine upon Part of the consecrated Host; because though

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St. Bernard. it was not transmuted by a proper and Solemn Consecration into the Blood of Christ, it was nevertheless become sacred by the bare Contact of his Body. He adds moreover, That there is a certain Writer who maintains that the Sacrifice cannot be Valid, unless there be both Wine, Bread, and Water, in a Manner, that if there be but one of these wanting the rest signifies nothing. He says likewise, That in this Case every one may do as he Pleases, but for his Part, if any such Accident should happen to him, he would do the same Thing with him to whom he writes, or would begin Mass with these Words. *Simili modo postquam consecratus est*, &c. and would finish the rest of the Sacrifice, not in the least doubting but that the Bread was consecrated Separately.

In the 70<sup>th</sup>. he counsels the same Abbot to treat one of his Monks more kindly, and to revoke the several rigorous Judgments he had pass'd against him.

In the 71<sup>st</sup>. address'd to the Monks of this Abby, he acquaints them that he has not yet had an Opportunity to make them a Visit, and moreover condoles them upon the Death of the Abbot Roger.

The 72<sup>d</sup>. is written to Rainaud Abbot of Faigni. He writes to him concerning the Title of Father, which this Abbot had given him, and refuses to accept of any other but Brother.

In the 73<sup>d</sup>. and 74<sup>th</sup>. he comforts and fortifies this Abbot who had been Melancholy and seem'd dissatisfy'd with his having been elevated to this Dignity.

In the 75<sup>th</sup>. he dissuades Ariand Abbot of Prully from sending any of his Monks to found a Monastery in Spain.

In the 76<sup>th</sup>. he counsels the Abbot of the Regular Canons of St. Pierre-Mont, in the Diocese of Toul, to exert all their Force in reclaiming one of their Monks who had stray'd into the World, and was there marry'd.

The 77<sup>th</sup>. is the 14<sup>th</sup>. of the *Opuscula*.

In the 78<sup>th</sup>. he congratulates Sagerus Abbot of St. Denys, for having made a Reformation in his Monastery, and quitted the exterior Pride which was in it before. He likewise commends him for having taken so Pious a Resolution. Towards the End of this Letter, he exclaims against Stephen de Guarlande Deacon, who was then Steward of the King's Household, bore Arms, and enjoy'd divers Benefices. This Letter was writ in the Year, 1127.

The 79<sup>th</sup>. was written to Luke Abbot of Cousy of the Order of Austin-Friars, in the Diocese of Laon. Whom he advises to send a certain Friar of his who had committed the Sin of the Flesh, to some Place far distant from his Cloyster, where he might do Penance.

In the 80<sup>th</sup>. he comforts Guy, Abbot of Molein, upon a certain Injury done him; and moreover, exhorts him not to think of Revenge upon that Occasion, but to Pardon freely him that did him the Wrong.

By the 81<sup>st</sup>. he assures Gerard, Abbot of Poitiers, in the Diocese of Langres, that he never writ any thing to the Count of Nevers in his Prejudice, but only for his Churches Benefit, that it might continue in Peace.

In the 82<sup>d</sup>. he dissuades Stephen Abbot of St. John of Chartres, from quitting his Monastery to go on Pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

In the 83<sup>d</sup>. he comforts Simon Abbot of St. Nicholas of the Woods in the Diocese of Laon, about the Persecution which he suffer'd on Account of his Monks. We understand by the Letters of Sampson Archbishop of Rheims, and Josselin Bishop of Soissons, to Pope Innocent II. that these Monks were dissatisfy'd with their Abbot by Reason that he had restored to the Church of Arras some Curacy which they were in Possession of.

By the following Letter written to the same Abbot, he entreats him to receive and use kindly a certain Monk which he sends him.

The 85<sup>th</sup>. address'd to William Abbot of St. Thierry, is a Christian and Spiritual Compliment to serve for Answer to an obliging Complaint which this Abbot had made him, who did not believe himself so well lov'd by St. Bernard as he lov'd him.

In the 86<sup>th</sup>. he writes to the same Abbot that he sends him a Monk who had stray'd out of his Monastery. He acquaints him that he has reprimanded him severely and desires of him to do as much, and then to send him back to his Abbot with a Letter of Recommendation. He dissuades this Abbot from quitting his Cloyster to turn Hermit.

In the 87<sup>th</sup>. he blames the Conduct of Oger, a Regular Canon, who after having laid down a Curacy by the Consent of his Bishop, which he had as 'twere extorted from him, on Condition that he should remain in his Bishoprick, he address'd himself to the Metropolitan to obtain Leave to return to his Abby. Being return'd he entreated St. Bernard to instruct him how he should live. Whereupon this Saint disapproved altogether of his Conduct, yet would not have him nevertheless charge himself anew with the Care of his Curacy. He advises him to be thoroughly Sensible of his Fault, for that he considers his Retreat as an Action of no great Virtue. He afterwards gives him a great deal of good Advice in this Letter, and in the three which follow,

being all likewise writ to him. He excuses himself in the eighty ninth for not writing him long Letters, because he is oblig'd to Silence, which is interrupted as well as the Tranquility of Mind by Dictating and Composing, and moreover forasmuch as his Profession is not to instruct others but bewail his own Sins.

The 91<sup>st</sup>. is address'd to a general Chapter of Benedictine Abbots, assembled at Soissons for Reformation of their Monasteries. St. Bernard exhorts them earnestly to labour about it, for fear (says he) 'That the World should say, 'you were met together to no Purpose. Do all in your power to render your Actions and Occupations perfect. 'They cannot be so too much, because a Man cannot be 'too Just, too Wise nor too Virtuous. Harken not to 'such as will say: We will not be better than our Fathers, 'owning thereby that they are the Off-spring of luke-warm 'and loose People: Or if they pretend to be Children of 'Saints, let them imitate their Sanctity and not their Indulgence and Depravity. There is no living in this World 'without either Advancing or Retreating, Rising or Descending: If a Man has a mind to continue in the same 'State, he shall presently fall. He that desires not to be 'better was never really good; and whoever ceases endeavouring to be good ceases to have any Worth.

The four following Letters are Letters of Compliment, the first is address'd to Henry King of England, and the others to the Prelates of his Realm.

In the 96<sup>th</sup>. he commends Richard Abbot of Fontaine in the Diocese of York, for having embrac'd the Order of Cisteraux with twelve of his Monks in the Year, 1132.

In the 97<sup>th</sup>. he dissuades Duke Conrad from making War upon the Count of Savoy.

In the 98<sup>th</sup>. he answers a Question which had been put to him. Why of all the Saints that are in the Old Testament, the Church observes Feasts for none but the Maccabees? The Answer is that the Church takes Notice of them, because they are not unlike our Christian Martyrs, having suffer'd Death for not Abjuring the Law of God.

In the 99<sup>th</sup>. he writes to a Monk whose going out of the Monastery he was jealous of; but having by a Letter understood the Occasion of it, his Suspicions soon vanish.

In the 100<sup>th</sup>. he commends the great Charity of a certain Bishop towards the Poor. *It is (says he) a Thing is well becoming a Bishop; It is a great Ornament to his Function in that not being able to be Poor by Reason of his Revenues, he nevertheless has regard to the Poor and Indigent; for it is not Poverty that is a Virtue, but the Love of the Poor, and the Poor in Goods are not pronounc'd happy by the Gospel, but the Poor in Spirit.*

In the 101<sup>st</sup>. he begs of a Monastery to receive a Monk again that had left them without Permission.

In the 102<sup>d</sup>. he counsels an Abbot to try all Means to bring a certain Monk to his Duty, and to expell him if he found him Irreclaimable.

In the 103<sup>d</sup>. he exhorts a Person to forego the inordinate Love that he had for Riches.

In the 104<sup>th</sup>. he advises another to quit the World.

The Letters following to the 115<sup>th</sup>. are Exhortations to several Persons to embrace a Monastick Life which he greatly commends.

In the 115<sup>th</sup>. he dissuades a Monk from turning Hermit.

The six following Letters contain only Compliments and Thanks.

The 122<sup>d</sup>. is a Letter of Hildebert, at that time Archbishop of Tours address'd to St. Bernard, in which he greatly commends him and begs his Friendship, which Letter St. Bernard answers after a very obliging Manner in the 123. and in the 124. he admonishes him to embrace the Interest of Pope Innocent II.

By the 125<sup>th</sup>. he sends to Geoffrey of Loroux to engage in the Defence of this Pope against Peter of Leon.

In the 126<sup>th</sup>. address'd to the Bishops of Limoges, Poitiers, Perigueux and Saintes, he vigorously defends the Cause of Innocent II. against Gerard Bishop of Angouleme whom he accuses to have engag'd in the Interest of Peter of Leon thro' Ambition.

The 127<sup>th</sup>. is written in the Name of Hugh Count of Burgundy; to William Count of Poitiers, whom he admonishes to quit the Party of Peter of Leon, and to acknowledge Pope Innocent.

In the 128<sup>th</sup>. St. Bernard reproaches Count William, in that having once procur'd Peace to the Church of Poitiers, he had afterwards drove the Clergy of Itharins out of the City. He advises him to cease that Persecution.

In the 129<sup>th</sup>. he counsels the Genoese to live peaceably with the Citizens of Pisa, and to continue faithful both to the Pope and Emperor.

In the 130<sup>th</sup>. he advises likewise the Pisantines by Reason of the great Affection they had to the Pope.

By the 131<sup>st</sup>. he puts the Milanese in mind of their Reconciliation with the Church of Rome, and Pope Innocent, and earnestly exhorts them to continue their Obedience and Submission accordingly.



St. Bernard. The three following are written to the Clergy and People of Milan upon the same Account.

In the 135th. he rejects, with a great Deal of Humility, the Praises which Peter Bishop of Pavia had given him; and moreover commends that Person for his Charity.

In the 136th. he desires Pope Innocent to pardon a Man that was dispos'd to make Satisfaction.

In the 137th. he implores the Clemency of the Empress upon the Milanese, whom the Pope had not receiv'd into Favour till after they had acknowledg'd Lotharius for their King and Matter.

In the 138th. he requires Henry King of England to assist Pope Innocent.

In the 139th. he excites the Emperor Lotharius to revenge the Church upon Schismatics.

In the 140th. he recommends the Pisantines to this Prince.

In the 141st. he sharply reproaches Humbert Abbot of Igny for having quitted his Abby.

In the 142d. he condoles the Monks of the Abby of the Alps for the Loss of their Abbot of Guarin, who had been advanced to the Bishoprick of Sion in Switzerland.

In the 143d. he excuses his long Absence to the Monks of Clairvaux, assuring them that he has been no less concern'd than they about it, and exhorting them to persevere in their Duty.

The two following Letters are written upon the same Account, with the same Tokens of Tenderness and Affection.

All these Letters were written under the Pontificate of Innocent II. from the Year 1132. to the Year 1137.

In the 146th. he congratulates Burchard Abbot of Balere, inasmuch that the Care he has taken to reform his Abby has not been fruitless, and says the Glory of it is due only to God.

The 147th. is a Letter of Thanks to Peter, Abbot of Cluny, for having comforted him in the Pains he had been at in procuring Peace to the Church. He therein expresses his Satisfaction in that the Schism was at length extirpated thence.

The following is a Letter of Compliment written to the same.

In the 149th. he admonishes this Abbot not to take so much Pains to bring the Monastery of St. Berthin to Subjection.

In the 150th. he commends Pope Innocent for having made a Reformation in the Monastery of Vezelay, St. Bennet on the Po, and those of St. Meme, and St. Satyre. As likewise for the Resolution he had shewn at Liege in refusing to grant Investitures at the Request of the Emperor Lotharius, and for excommunicating the Clerks that disturb'd the Church of Orleans. He exhorts him to imploy the like Zeal in opposing Philip, Nephew to Gislebert Archbishop of Tours, who had seiz'd upon the See of that Church.

The 151st. is address'd to this Philip, whom he acquaints with his Concern to see him engag'd in so pernicious an Undertaking. These two Letters were writ in the Year 1133.

In the 152d. he writes to Pope Innocent in Favour of the Bishop of Troyes, who was molested by his Clergy. He there says, that the Insolence of the inferior Clergy occasioned by the Bishop's Neglect, has every where disturb'd the Peace of the Church: That Bishops give holy Things to Dogs, and throw Pearls to Swine, who afterwards turn upon them and trample them under their Feet: That such as they prefer, such are they oblig'd to bear with; that they first enrich them with the Spoils of the Church without correcting them, and afterwards they are forc'd to submit to their Insolencies, for Priests that enjoy the Fruits of others Labours, live without Gratitude to their Benefactors, inasmuch, that their Iniquity most commonly proceeds from their Abundance. Towards the End of this Letter, St. Bernard excuses himself for not having gone to wait on the Pope as he had been desir'd.

In the 153d. address'd to Bernard, Prior of the Charter-house of Portes, near the Town of Bollay, which had desir'd of him the Exposition of the Canticle, after having spoken of this Work in a very humble Manner, he promises to transcribe and send his Exposition at the Beginning of that Book.

In the following address'd to the same, having sent him this Discourse, he expresses his Sorrow that he had not Leisure to go visit that Charter-house.

In the 155th. he acquaints Pope Innocent, who had given this Prior a Bishoprick in Lombardy, that he is very worthy of that Honour, but that he is not a proper Person for the Place, inasmuch, that the Lombards being a headstrong wicked People, a young Man that has always liv'd in a Cloyster, would find it a difficult Matter to govern them, so that he desires this Pope to bestow on him another Place.

In the 156th. he recommends to this Pope the Church of Orleans, whose See was vacant.

In the 157th. he recommends to Haimeric, Chancellor of the Church of Rome, the Provost and Canons of the Church of Meun, in the Diocese of Orleans. These two Letters

with the foregoing, from the 151st. were written in the Year 1135.

The 158th. is written to Pope Innocent, concerning the Murder of Thomas Prior of St. Victor in Paris, who had been kill'd near Gournay, by the Relations of Thibaud Archdeacon of Paris, in his Return with Stephen Bishop of Paris, to the Abby of Chelles, whither they went to make a Reformation in that Abby. The Bishop of Paris was so concern'd with this Assassination, that he after pronounc'd Excommunication against the Murderers and all their Adherents, reserving to himself only their Absolution, he retir'd to Clairvaux, whence he wrote to the Pope, and to Geoffrey Bishop of Chartres, his Legate, to incline them to do Justice upon the Assassines. This Letter St. Bernard writ to the Pope in his Name, to excite his Zeal against so detestable an Action, and to beg of him to punish the Archdeacon of Paris, as being accessory to this Murder.

The following Letter is that which was writ to the Pope in the Name of the Bishop of Paris, upon the same Account.

About the same Time there was another Murder committed on the Body of Archenband, Subdean of the Church of Orleans, at the Instigation of a Canon of that Church. St. Bernard writes also concerning this Murder to the Pope, by his 161st. Letter, to the End, that so barbarous a Crime might meet with an exemplary Punishment, not only in the Person of those who had committed the Crime, but also in those who were the Cause of it.

There are moreover, three other Letters which follow those, which are the 160th. the 162d. and 163d. by which, he recommends this Affair to Haimeric, Chancellor of the Church of Rome, and to another Cardinal.

Geoffrey Bishop of Chartres, the Pope's Legate, upon Occasion of these Murders, commanded the Bishops of the Provinces of Rheims, Roan, Tours, and Sens, to meet at the Council of Joaze to condemn the Authors thereof, pursuant to the utmost Rigor of the Canons. We have not the Transactions of this Council of Joaze, but we are assur'd by a Letter of Pope Innocent II. address'd to the aforesaid Bishops, that they excommunicated all that were in the least concern'd in these Murders. The Pope confirms their Decree by this Letter, and because it seem'd to him that this Judgment was not severe enough, he order'd farther, That no Mass should be celebrated in any of those Places where these Murderers were found, and that Thibaud, Noterius, and all others concern'd in the said Murders should for ever be depriv'd either of enjoying or acquiring any Benefice. He pronounc'd also Anathemas against any that receiv'd or conceal'd these Assassines. All this hapned in the Year 1133. as Father Mabillon testifies in his Notes.

The 164th. Letter of St. Bernard is writ to Pope Innocent, concerning the Difference which arose in the Church of Langres, about the Election of a Bishop, in the Room of William, who dy'd in 1138. Peter Archbishop of Lyons, and Hugh Duke of Burgundy, would have chosen a Monk of Cluny, yet Robert Dean of the said Church, Pontius the Archdeacon, Oric, and the other Canons would not acquiesce in this Election, but demanded an accustomed Liberty of choosing whom they pleas'd. The Pope writ to them not to make Choice of any without the Advice of some pious Men, whereupon, they had Recourse to St. Bernard, and promis'd to do nothing but with his Consent. The Archbishop of Lyons agreed to, and the Pope likewise approv'd of the Choice they had made of St. Bernard, who was then at Rome. In his Return, St. Bernard understanding that they were about to consecrate a Bishop of Langres at Lyons, which he thought not worthy, and whom the Dean and Canons would not receive, he went immediately to the Archbishop, and represented to him, that having agreed to be determined by him, they ought to do nothing without him. The Archbishop laid all the Blame on Hugh, Son to the Duke of Burgundy, but promis'd, that for the Future there should be nothing done without his Knowledge. St. Bernard propos'd to leave the Matter to a Debate in a general Convocation of the Bishops and Clergy. That Monk of Cluny who was about to have been elected, dar'd not appear, but being arriv'd on Friday went away on Saturday. The Archbishop of Lyons at the same Time wrote two Letters to the Chapter of Langres, quite contrary to each other, for by one, he order'd them to proceed to an Election, and by the other, told them that he had not altogether reject'd, but only put off to another Time the Ordination of this Monk of Cluny. Whereupon, this Monk observing his Ordination to be stopp'd, went to the King, and obtain'd from him an Investiture, and afterwards assign'd a Day for his Ordination. Soon after Falcon Dean of Lyons, Pontius Archdeacon of Langres, Bonami Canon of the same, with two Monks of Clairvaux, appeal'd to the Holy See, and cited thither as well the Person that would have been consecrated, as the Persons that would have consecrated him. St. Bernard inform'd the Pope of all Matters that related thereto by this Letter.

In the following Letter written to Dean Falcon, and Guy

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Treasurer



St. Bernard. Treasurer of the Church of Lyons, he commends them for the Zeal they had shown in this Affair.

Notwithstanding the Appeal to the Court of Rome, yet the Archbishop of Lyons, and the Bishops of Autun, and Mâcon, installed and consecrated the Monk of Cluny, which extremely nettled St. Bernard, for he wrote very earnestly about it to the Pope and Cardinals, in the 166th, 167th, and 168th Letters. At length he wrought so much upon his Holiness as to cause him to disapprove of this Election, and to give the Chapter Leave to proceed to a new Election, after having taken Advice of St. Bernard. Whereupon they immediately went to wait upon him accordingly, and he after having made them all Friends, sent them back to make their Election, as he acquaints his Holiness by the 169th Letter. Hereupon they elected Godfrey Prior of Clairvaux, a Relation to St. Bernard, who having met with some Difficulty on the Court-side, St. Bernard wrote the 170th Letter to Lewis the Younger, in which, he protests that no Body had a greater Veneration for his Majesty than himself, and afterwards assures him, that the Election of his Prior to the Bishoprick of Langres was altogether against his Intention and good liking, since it depriv'd him of the principal Comfort of his Age and Infirmary, yet that he must nevertheless submit to the Will of God: That it was neither in the Power of himself nor the King to oppose it; and that he was persuaded his Majesty would not attempt it, but leave the Church of Langres to remedy its Affliction, having been long vacant together with that of Rheims: That he humbly thank'd his Majesty for what he wrote him thereupon, and would have been conformable, had not he seen the Danger of Delays, as likewise that the Revenues of that Church were in Hucklester's Hands: That this was that which gave him the greatest Trouble, and procur'd no small Dishonour to his Majesty, it being his Duty to preserve the Goods of the Church: That the Election had been made altogether according to Form; that the Person elect was faithful, for that he would not have been for him, had he not first consented to do Homage to his Majesty for the Lands held of the Crown; that he had all along this Precaution given him; that he was not yet put into Possession, nor yet enter'd into the City; that for his Part he had meddled but little with the Matter, tho' he had been invited to do it by the Clergy and People, and that the Oppression of several, and Prayers of good Men, might well have engag'd him deeper in it: That as the Case now stands, it was for his Majesty's Honour and the Publick Good to defer the Confirmation no longer, and that if he did not return an Answer by those that gave him this Letter, he would peradventure raise the Spirits of divers religious Men against him, and moreover prejudice the Revenues of the Crown annex'd to this Bishoprick. There is great likelihood that the King comply'd with St. Bernard's Request, for the Year following, Falcon Dean of the Church of Lyons, having been elected Archbishop thereof, Godfrey and St. Bernard wrote in his Favour to Pope Innocent, which are the 171st and 172d Letters.

In the 173d St. Bernard recommends to Falcon the Monks of the Monastery of Benisson-Dieu.

The 174th is the famous Letter which he writ to the Canons of Lyons, concerning the Feast of the Conception which they had newly introduc'd. This Letter he begins with commending of the Church of Lyons, which, says he, has always been preferable to all the rest of France, not only on Account of the Dignity of its See, but also by the strict Order there kept. For is there any where a better Discipline to be found, a greater Authority establish'd and of a more venerable Antiquity, principally in Regard of Ecclesiastical Duties, it having never hitherto introduc'd any Novelty, nor suffer'd its self to be debauch'd by any Change? This has been the Occasion (continues he) that we can never enough wonder that some of you could have the Boldness to introduce a Feast, which the Church has not the least Knowledge of, which neither is supported by Reason, nor back'd by any Tradition: Are we to think our selves more knowing or devout than our Fore-fathers? and is it not a dangerous Presumption to pretend to do what they thought not proper? But, say you, we ought to honour the Mother of our Saviour: Why so we ought in all Reason, but still the Honour paid to a Queen demands Discretion. This Royal Virgin has no Need of false Honour, having several true Titles, and being of a Quality truly honourable. Honour then the Purity and Piety of her Life, admire her supernatural Fecundity, and adore her divine Off-spring; commend her in that she conceiv'd without Concupiscence, and brought forth without Trouble: Affirm that Angels respected her, all Nations have desir'd her, that the Patriarchs and Prophets have been acquainted with her, and that she was chosen above all Women, and prefer'd to all her Sex. The Church teaches me to have an uncommon Veneration for the Day when she dy'd, and when she was receiv'd with an unexpressible Joy into Heaven. The same Church learns me to honour the Day of her Birth, being

St. Bernard. verily persuaded, that like Jeremiah and St. John Baptist, she was sanctified in her Mother's Womb. Yes, the Mother of our Lord was holy before she was born, and therefore the Church cannot err in believing that the Day of her Birth was also holy, nor in keeping it solemnly as such: I am also thoroughly persuaded, that she was endu'd with so many Graces, that not only her Birth was sanctify'd, but also all the rest of her Life, which was exempt from all Sin; a Favour that never yet was granted to any other of the Off-spring of Man.—What then are we able to contribute to these Honours? Let her Conception also have Honours, (say they) since it preceded her Birth, because had not this Conception preceded, her Birth could not have been extant to be honour'd. Very well! for the same Reason any one might celebrate the Feasts of their Father and Mother, and mount upwards even to their remotest Ancestors. Then we should have a prodigious Number of Feasts indeed, and which would be more proper for the Eternity of the other Life, than the poor circumscrib'd Limits of this. But there is a Book produc'd where this Feast is authoriz'd, as they pretend by Divine Revelation. Why this might very well be, and I my self could sooner compose one in Favour of any of my Ancestors. For my Part, I am not willing to credit any of these Books which have neither Reason nor Authority on their Side: For what Consequence is there, that a Conception must be holy because the Birth was so? was it made holy by its Precedence? Whence had it this Sanctity to communicate to the Birth? and on the contrary is it not because this Conception was not holy, that it was thought necessary to sanctifie the Virgin afterwards? Whence proceeds the pretended Sanctity of this Conception? Will any one say, that it was occasion'd by Grace, to the End that she might be conceiv'd holy? But then she could not receive the Appanage of her Divinity before she was Divine, and that she could not possibly be before her Conception. Some will say perhaps, that she was conceiv'd and sanctify'd in the same Moment, but that is what they cannot reasonably make out, for how can Holiness be where Sin is? and how can any one deny, that Sin is not to meet where Concupiscence is to be found. If they will not affirm she was conceiv'd by the Holy Ghost, which I presume no Body will offer to assert, so that not having been sanctify'd before her Conception, because she then was nothing, nor at her Conception, because she was then in the State of Sin, she must have been sanctify'd in the Womb of her Mother after her Conception, and that tho' her Birth was holy, her Conception was not. In a Word her good Fortune of being conceiv'd in Sanctity, is owing only to Jesus Christ, for all the other Children of Adam have been conceiv'd in Sin. This being thus, what Reason can there be for introducing a Feast of the Conception? How can it be maintain'd that a Conception which proceeds not from the Holy Ghost, but rather from Sin, can be holy? Or how could they conjure up a Holy-day on Account of a Thing that is not holy in it self? The Church may have Reason to boast indeed of a Feast which honours Sin, or authorizes a false Holiness; Yet whatever People may think, she will never be brought to approve of an Innovation contrary to her usual Custom, that being the Mother of Rashness, Sister of Superstition, and Daughter of Levity. Moreover if they had proceeded rightly in introducing this Feast, they should first have consulted the Holy See, and not follow'd blindly and without Deliberation, the Suggestions of some hair-brain'd Ideots. St. Bernard adds, that he has understood this Error was in other Places; That he had hitherto forbore taking Notice of it, out of a Veneration he had for the Holy Virgin, which proceeded to spread it self over the whole Church, of which he was a Member, he could no longer dissemble his Resentments without offending all. He concludes with saying, that he submits his Judgment to the more sage and experienc'd, and chiefly the Authority of the Church of Rome, to whom he reserves the Decision of this Matter, being ready to alter his Opinion if the Holy See shall be of another Mind.

Some Authors have undertaken the Defence of the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin, and among others, a certain Person has written a Treatise on this Subject, commonly attributed to St. Anselm, wherein he attacks St. Bernard without naming him. This Monk has been refuted by Peter Abbot of Celles; and at the same Time Poron Priest and Monk of Prom blam'd those that had receiv'd three new Feasts, which were that of the most Holy Trinity, of the Transfiguration, and of the Conception of the Virgin, all which he esteem'd very extravagant. In the Century following, John Belet and William Durand Bishop of Mande, disapprove also of this Feast, but notwithstanding it was authoriz'd in the fifteenth Century, by the Council of Basil. It must here be understood with Father Mabillon, that St. Bernard means by Conception that same Instant, in which the Body of the Virgin was conceiv'd, and not with the School-Divines, the Moment of the Union of the Soul



St. Bernard. Soul with the Body, for he could not have overthrown those that say that she was sanctify'd this Instant, but only such as maintain she was sanctify'd before she was animated, if he should have compar'd her Sanctification with that of *Jeremias* and *St. John Baptist*, but he plainly insinuates that she was not sanctify'd before her Soul was united to her Body. Thus it may be observ'd, that *St. Bernard* had no very favourable Thoughts of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin *Mary*.

The 175th. Letter of *St. Bernard*, is an Answer to one writ to him by the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, wherein he recommends to him the Knights of the Cross. This Patriarch was *William of Flanders*, who had been formerly a Hermit at *Tours*.

The 176th. is written in the Name of *Alberon*, Archbishop of *Treves*, to his Holiness Pope *Innocent*. This Archbishop not being able to go in Person to wait on the Pope, writes him this Letter, to assure his Holiness of the unfeigned Obedience of the Churches on this Side the Mountains; and moreover exhorts him not to concern himself at the Loss of *Benevento* and *Capua*, which *Roger of Sicily* had taken from him, and likewise assures him, that the Emperor *Lotharius* was preparing to march to his Relief. This Letter was written in the Year 1135.

The 177th. is also written to the Pope, in the Name of the same Archbishop, who complains of the Fatigue and Care he is like to undergo in his Archbishoprick. He says, he accepted it not without regret; that he is plagu'd by his Suffragans who are young Persons of Quality, and who rather oppose than assist him; that Right, good Manners, and Religion, are extinct in their Suffraganships; that he thinks himself oblig'd to acquaint his Holiness with what he will not give him Leave to reform; that notwithstanding, he undergoes patiently all these Affronts rather than act any Thing contrary to the Obedience he owes to the Papal Chair. But that he begs of his Holiness to consider that these Injuries fall on the Papal See, and that the Contempt had of him renders also the Holy See despis'd: That in a Word, he has several more Complaints to make to him, of which his Holiness may be better inform'd by the Deputy he has sent.

In the following Letter written also in the Name of the former Person, and address'd to Pope *Innocent*. *St. Bernard* lays open all the Causes of Complaint which the Archbishop of *Treves* had against the Pope, grounded upon the frequent Usage of Appeals, which brought all Matters before the Holy See, and quite destroy'd the Authority of the Archbishops and Bishops. Observe how *St. Bernard* represents this Matter to the Pope. 'I speak to you, says he, with a great deal of Freedom, because I have a more than ordinary Affection for you, which could not be, should I use Dissimulation. The Archbishop of *Treves*'s Complaint is not his alone, but proceeds from the Sentiments of several others, and chiefly those that love you best. They complain that Justice is no more to be found in the Church, that the Keys thereof become of no Use, and the Episcopal Authority is rendred despicable, by reason that the Bishops have now no more Power to revenge the Injuries done to God, nor to punish the Offences committed in their Diocesses. The Fault of all which is laid upon you and the Court of *Rome*. It is affirm'd that you abolish what they have well establish'd, and that you have establish'd what they abolish'd with Reason: That all Criminals and disobedient Persons, whether they be of the Clergy or Laity, have immediately Recourse to you, and boast when they return, that they have not met with Protectors who ought rather to have been Punishers of their Crimes. What a Shame is this! What Occasion for Laughter to the Enemies of the Church! Friends find themselves confounded, the Faithful affronted, Bishops become the Subjects of Scorn and Contempt, and your Authority much lessen'd by the Weakness of your Decisions. 'Tis those only have a true Value for the Holy See, who labour heartily to procure the Peace, and advance the Grandeur of the Church of *Rome*. Why therefore will you your self weaken your own Strength?' He afterwards proceeds to represent to the Pope the Mischiefs occasion'd in the Churches of *Toul*, *Verdun*, and *Metz*, by the Protection which the Holy See has unadvisedly bestow'd. He accuses the Bishops of *Metz*, and *Toul*, of Tyranny and Misgovernment, and complains that the Holy See has upheld them in it, and particularly that the Bishop of *Metz* had quash'd a free Election made with all Form, in his Chapter, and plac'd by his Authority, a Probationer in the Church. At length he gives the Pope an extraordinary Character of the Archbishop of *Treves*, assuring him, that he is a much more faithful Person both to the Church and the Holy See.

In the 179th. and 180th. Letters, he recommends to this Pope the Affair which this Archbishop had with the Abbot and Monks of *St. Maximine*, and desires his Holiness to revoke the Brief which these last had obtain'd. 'One of the greatest Advantages of the Holy See, says he, is, that it can revoke whatever it finds it has been overseen in granting.

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It is certainly very just and commendable, that a Person should not get any Advantage by his Crime, and above all with the Holy See and Sovereign Bishop. This is what engages me in a Boldness to request your Favour, in Behalf of the Archbishop of *Treves*, and to lay before you such Instances of his Integrity as I am pretty well assur'd will succeed. All his Crime is having wrested a Monastery out of the Hands of Laicks, and endeavouring to purge it of its Errors. — May God always fortifie your Holiness with his Divine Grace, that the Monks may at no Time over-reach you: These Monks that hunt not after Liberty more than they fly Order and Discipline.

The 181st. is a Letter of Thanks to *Haimeric*, Chancellor of the Holy See.

In the 182d. he writes very earnestly to *Henry*, Archbishop of *Sens*, concerning his Inflexibility, which, he says, has procur'd him a great many Enemies.

In the 183d. he exhorts *Conrade* King of the *Romans*, to be obedient to the Pope.

In the 184th. he excuses himself to Pope *Innocent*, for not being able to send him some religious Persons, as he promis'd, by reason of three late Foundations he had made.

In the 185th. he exhorts *Eustace* who had possess'd himself of the Church of *Valence*, not to persist in his Design thro' a false Glory, and by being advis'd by Flatterers who play'd upon him.

In the 186th. he recommends to *Simon*, Son of the *Chastelain* of *Cambray*, the Monks of the Monastery of *Vaucelles*, and desires him to confirm the Donation which his Father had made them.

The following Letters were writ in the Year 1140. against *Peter Abaelard*.

The 187th. is address'd to those Bishops that were to assemble at the Council of *Sens*, all whom he exhorts to promote zealously the Interest of Religion.

In the 188th. he makes the same Intreaty to the Bishops and Cardinals of the Court of *Rome*. He in general accuses *Peter Abaelard* of contemning the Fathers; raising trifling Questions upon elevate Subjects, and in a Word, for confiding too much in his Wit, and not contenting himself with the Plainness of Faith, and afterwards descending to particulars, 'Read, (says he, to those to whom he writes) *Peter Abaelard*'s Book, which he calls his *Theology*. It is easy to be found, because it is to be sold, and there are a great many Persons at the Court of *Rome* who read it. See there how he advances upon the Holy Trinity, the Generation of the Son of God, the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and several other Matters which both the Ears and Minds of Catholics are but little accustomed to. Read likewise another which is said to be his Book of Proverbs, but which is intitled, *Nosce Teipsum*: There you may observe how full his Works are of Sacrilege and Errors. What strange Opinions has he concerning the Soul and the Person of Jesus Christ, of his Descent into Hell, and the Sacrament of the Altar; of the Power of binding and of loosing, Original Sin, Concupiscence, the Sin of Pleasure, the Sin of Weakness, the Sin of Ignorance, of the Action of Sinning, and the Will of Sinning. If you find hereby that I have Reason to be mov'd, be you also the like, but that you may not be so to no Purpose, be sure to besirr your self suitable to the Rank, Dignity, and Authority of your Power. Lay these Works of Darkness open, reprehend and condemn them publickly, and stop the Mouths of those that speak Evil.

In the following Letter to Pope *Innocent*, he expresses his Concern in that Schism had not been sooner extinguish'd, and that the Errors of *Peter Abaelard*, and *Arnaud of Bresse* had not sooner been abolish'd. He acquaints his Holiness, that he has been invited by the Archbishop of *Sens*, to enter the Lists with *Abaelard*. That he came at the Time appointed, and in the Presence of the King, Bishops, Abbots and several learn'd Men, he produc'd divers Articles against him, but as they were going to be read, this Heroe all of a sudden went out of the Assembly, and appeal'd to the Judges that he had chosen, which I hope (says *St. Bernard*) will not be approv'd of. In his Absence, the Articles propos'd were examin'd into, and found repugnant both to Faith and Truth. He concludes this Letter by earnestly exhorting the Pope not to grant Protection or Encouragement to a Person that was at Variance with the establish'd Sentiments of *St. Peter*.

The 190th. is a Treatise against the Errors of *Peter Abaelard*, which is also inserted amongst his *Opuscula*.

The 191st. is written to Pope *Innocent*, in the several Names of *Sanson*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, *Josselin* Bishop of *Soissons*, *Geofrey* of *Chalons*, and of *Aloisus* of *Arras*, against *Peter Abaelard*. They are made to accuse him of Presumption, Error, and Heresie, and also observe, that his Book of the Trinity has already been condemn'd to be burnt by a Legate of the Holy See; and moreover, that having been lately accus'd by the Abbot of *Clairvaux*, to avoid his Condemnation, he had appeal'd to the Holy See, without Cause



St. Bernard. or Reason, against the Judges which he himself had made Choice of; and that the Bishops who were assembled about that Affair would not decree any Thing against him out of Respect to the Holy See, but only condemn'd some few Articles drawn out of his Books. In a Word, that it was necessary that his Holiness should apply some speedy Remedy to a Mischief which daily increased.

In the 192<sup>d</sup>. he counsels Guy, Cardinal of the Church of Rome, not to favour the Errors of *Abaelard*, on Account of Friendship for his Person, and to frighten him the more from it, he tells him, that he treats of the Trinity like *Arius*, like *Pelagius* of Grace, and like *Nestorius* concerning the Person of Jesus Christ.

In the 193<sup>d</sup>. he writes to another Cardinal nam'd *Ives*, acquainting him that he is surpriz'd that *Abaelard* should find so many Friends and Protectors at Rome.

By the 194<sup>th</sup>. Letter, Pope *Innocent* answers *Henry* Archbishop of Sens, *Sampson* Archbishop of Rheims, the Bishops their Suffragans, and St. Bernard Abbot of *Clairvaux*, that he has been as much concern'd for the Novelties advanc'd by *Abaelard*, as joyful at the Zeal they have shewn to oppose him in his Innovations, and declares, that by the Advice of the Bishops and Cardinals of the Church of Rome, he had condemn'd the Articles which they had sent him, and all the false Doctrines of *Peter Abaelard*, together with their Author, on whom he has enjoyn'd perpetual Silence, as being a Heretick; and moreover, that he esteems all the Followers and Defenders of these Errors, to be worthy of being put out of the Communion of the Church.

In the 195<sup>th</sup>, he counsels the Bishop of Constance to expel *Arnand* of Bresse out of his Diocese, he having already been driven out of Italy and France for his Errors.

In the 196<sup>th</sup>. he gives the same Advice to Guy the Pope's Legate, to whom this *Arnand* was retir'd for Shelter.

In the 197<sup>th</sup>. he reproves *Peter* Dean of *Bezanson*, for disturbing the Abbot and Monks of *Cherlieu*.

In the Letter following, he earnestly recommends their Case to Pope *Innocent*, who refers it to *John* Abbot of *Bonnay*, then Bishop of *Valence*, and to the Bishop of *Grenoble*. These determin'd in Favour of the Abbot of *Cherlieu*. But *Peter* not being willing to acquiesce in their Determination, continu'd to importune the Holy See for Redress, which occasion'd St. Bernard to write the 199<sup>th</sup>. Letter to Pope *Innocent*, to beg of him to confirm the Judgment pronounc'd by the Bishops.

The 200<sup>th</sup>. is written to *Ulger* Bishop of *Angers*, concerning a Difference between this Bishop and the Abbess of *Fateventale*.

In the 201<sup>st</sup>. he admonishes *Bauduin* Abbot of the Monastery of *Reano*, and recommends to him in Particular three Things, 1<sup>st</sup>. To instruct others by his Discourse, 2<sup>dly</sup>. To give them good Example by his Works, and 3<sup>dly</sup>. To apply himself to Prayer.

In the 202<sup>d</sup>. he exhorts the Clergy of Sens not to proceed too rashly in the Election of an Archbishop, but to wait for the Opinion of the Suffragan Bishops, and Consent of the Persons of Rank in the Diocese, to prevent that befalling them which hapned before to the Churches of their Neighbourhood, *Orleans* and *Languedoc*. He recommends to them moreover, to proclaim a Fast, assemble the Bishops, summon the Monks, and in fine, to omit none of the requisite Ceremonies in this Election. This Letter was written after the Death of *Henry*, Archbishop of Sens, who was succeeded in the Year 1144. by *Hugh* Abbot of *Pontigni*.

In the 203<sup>d</sup>. Letter, he counsels the Bishop and Clergy of *Troyes* not to suffer the Subdeacon *Anfelle* to be marry'd and carry Arms.

The 204<sup>th</sup>. contains a Christian Compliment to the Abbot of St. *Aubin*.

The 205<sup>th</sup>. is an Answer to the Bishop of *Rochester*, who wrote to him somewhat severely about causing *Robert Pulis* to live at *Paris*, when he thought it necessary.

In the 206<sup>th</sup>. he recommends one of his Kindred to *Melenda* Queen of *Jerusalem*, and wishes her a long and happy Reign.

The three following Letters address'd to *Roger* King of *Sicily*, contain nothing remarkable.

The 210<sup>th</sup>. and the eight following, are Letters of Recommendation address'd to Pope *Innocent*. In the 213<sup>th</sup>. he complains that this Pope took little or no Notice of the Reconciliation made by his Means with *Peter* of *Pisa*. In the 216<sup>th</sup>. and 217<sup>th</sup>. he complains that *Radulphus* Count of *Vermandois*, having put away one Wife and marry'd another, was seemingly vindicated by the Court of Rome. He likewise commends *Thibaud* Count of *Burgundy*, for taking the Part of the first Wife which was his Niece. In the 218<sup>th</sup>. he justifies himself to the Pope against a Suspicion had of him concerning the Goods of the Cardinal *Ives*, assuring his Holiness that they had been imbezled contrary to his Knowledge.

The 219<sup>th</sup>. is address'd to *Alberic*, Bishop of *Ostia*, *Stephen* of *Palestine*, *Izmar* of *Frescati*, and *Gerard* Chancellor of the Church of Rome, concerning a Difference which

happened between the King of France and the Pope, on Account of the Archbishop of *Bourges*. This Archbishoprick being vacant, the King had given the Clergy of *Bourges* Leave to choose any other for their Archbishop than *Peter*, whom the Pope had cast a favourable Eye upon. He was nevertheless elected afterwards, and consecrated at Rome by the Pope. Whereupon the King having made an Oath, that he should never be Archbishop during his Life-time, would not receive him, but declar'd War against the Count of *Champagne*, to whom he was retir'd. This caus'd the Pope to interdict the Dominions of France, and it was upon this Occasion that St. Bernard writ this Letter, by which, he wills the Prelates of the Court of Rome, that they might have learnt by the Persecution of *Guibers*, and Undertakings of *Burdin* and *Peter* of *Leon*, how much Schism is to be dreaded, and how hazardous it is to raise any Difference between the Regal and sacerdotal Power. That therefore they must act with Prudence, and manage Matters with Lenity, not to incur the Danger of a new Schism: That he can by no Means excuse the King for having made an Oath, which it was both a Crime and Sin to keep; nay, though he was in a Manner forc'd to perform it, being a Custom among the French to observe any, though never so unjust, that his Intention was not to excuse the King of France, but ask Pardon for him; and lastly, that the Concern he was in, his Age and Majesty, do in some Measure deserve it, without being like to do any great Wrong to the Church.

In the 220<sup>th</sup>. Letter, he writes to King *Lewis*, that he cannot hinder the Anathema's being renew'd against *Radulphus*; and endeavours to persuade his Majesty, that that ought not to set him at Variance with Count *Thibaud*.

In the 221<sup>st</sup>. he speaks high to this Prince, and takes a great Deal of Liberty to reprove him, affirming that he is an Enemy to Peace; that he has violated the Treaties which he has made; that he has communicated with excommunicated Persons; that he has encourag'd Murthers, Theft, Robbery, and the Destruction of Churches; that not contented to assume an Authority over the Church of *Bourges*, which did not belong to him, he also hinders the Church of *Chalons* from having a Bishop, as likewise permits his Brother to seize upon the Revenues of the Bishopricks. He admonishes him to forbear speedily these Exactions, and prevent the Anger of God by Repentance after the Example of the King of the *Ninevites*.

In the 222<sup>d</sup>. he writes to *Josselin* Bishop of *Soissons*, and *Sugerus* Abbot of St. *Denys*, likewise the King's Minister, concerning the Occasions pretended at Court for making War upon Count *Thibaud*, as also touching the Wrong which the King did to the Churches.

These Letters written with all the Freedom imaginable, extremely incens'd the King and his Ministers against St. Bernard, who having understood as much by the Answer which *Josselin* sent him, he signifies again to him in the 223<sup>d</sup>. Letter, that perhaps he had been a little bold, but that his Presumption was meerly caus'd by Grief, and the Zeal he had for the Welfare of the Church, and moreover that it was to have been wish'd that they had made use of the same Liberty, and endeavour'd to reclaim the King by the like Admonitions.

In the 224<sup>th</sup>. he acquaints *Stephen* Bishop of *Palestine*, with the Damage which the King had done to the Churches of France, putting him in mind that he ought to repent, having written to Rome in Favour of this Prince.

In the 225<sup>th</sup>. he exhorts *Josselin* to endeavour a Peace.

The 226<sup>th</sup>. is written to the King, in the Name of *Hugh* Bishop of *Auxerre*, as likewise in his own, wherein he admonishes this Prince, who had just before frustrated a Negotiation begun at *Corbeil*, to renew the same, and to have more advantageous Thoughts for the Good of the Church.

In the 227<sup>th</sup>. he conjures *Josselin* to use his Interest that no Damage may come to him, especially from the King, who was not a little incens'd against him. All these Letters were writ in the Years 1142, and 1143.

The 228<sup>th</sup>. is a very civil Answer to a Letter of *Peter* Abbot of *Cluny*'s, lately written to him, whereby he gives him to understand, that he could heartily wish to renew the Friendship that had formerly been between them, and which was now interrupted by some Differences as well on Account of the Bishop of *Langres*, as by Reason that Pope *Innocent* had discharg'd the Order of *Cisteaux*, of the Tithes which they paid to *Cluny*.

The following is the Answer which *Peter* of *Cluny* gives to this Letter, in which after having heaped on St. Bernard a great many Complements, he searches into the Reasons, why the Orders of *Cluny* and *Cisteaux*, which ought to live in good Intelligence with each other, so continually jar and disagree; and he makes it plainly appear, that they have no reasonable Cause to be so divided: For in the first Place, if their Difference be about Lands or other temporal Goods, they have proper Judges who may regulate those Matters, and make Peace between them. 2<sup>dly</sup>. They ought not to disagree about their Monastical Observances, because if the different Customs of different Churches, hin-

St. Bernard.



St. Bernard. ders not the Union of the Spirit and Charity among Christians, no more ought the Diversity of Practices and Ceremonies to be a Cause of Division among Monks, who although they are all of one Order, yet may have different Usages and Customs, St. *Bernard* himself having been sensible that his Order might be subject to some Moderation or Explication. He then brings examples of these Differences, and shews that both Orders may observe their Customs separately, and with simplicity of Heart, without condemning each other in them. Thirdly, he affirms that the different Colours of Habits ought to be a less Subject of Division, since nothing is more ridiculous than for Men to fall out on such trifling Accoumts. And lastly, He lays the Blame on the Spirit of Pride, which (he says) had divided the Monks of *Cluny* and *Cîteaux*; the former being unwilling that the latter should be prefer'd to them, and the latter glorying that they had been Restorers of the Order, and of Monastick Discipline. He concludes by exhorting both Parties to live in Peace, and to preserve a mutual Esteem and Value for each other.

In the 230th. he writes to the Cardinals of *Ostia*, *Frescati* and *Palestrine*, to relieve the Church of *Metz*; which for some time had rather been in the Hands of a Wolf than a Shepherd. He speaks of *Stephen* Bishop of that City, and Nephew to Pope *Calixtus II.* who came to the Bishoprick whilst he was young, which occasions St. *Bernard* to say, that he began like a little Wolf, but now being become a great one, he ravaged the Herd of Christ by Rapines, Conflagrations and Murthers.

The 231st. is written to the same Cardinals, in Favour of the Abbot of *Lagny*, accus'd at *Rome* to have refus'd receiving the Pope's Nuncio, to have torn his Holiness's Letter, to have imprison'd certain Monks, and to have given divers Lands of his Monastery to his Relations. St. *Bernard* after having exceedingly commended this Abbot, proceeds to reply to his Acculations. First he says he did not entertain the Nuncio which his Holiness sent into *England*, by Reason that the Provost *Humbert* promis'd to do it for him; that the Letter which he was accus'd to have torn, was yet whole; that he never imprison'd any Monks, but only sent some that were of a very turbulent Spirit to other Monasteries, and as for giving away the Monastery Lands to his Relations, he never did without a Clause of Reversion, and a Rent reserv'd according to Custom, and which likewise was executed in Presence of the Bishops of *Soissons* and *Auxerre*, and of *Thibaud* Count of *Champagne*, Conservator of the Rights and Privileges of the Monastery. As to the rest, he said it was unaccountable that a proud, rebellious and ambitious Monk, should obtain his Liberty of the Holy See. Formerly (says he) you have been accus'd of domineering over the Clergy, and the Consciences of all the World, contrary to the Precept of the Apostle; and now you add something more to this Presumption, in shewing an Inclination to dispose absolutely of all Religious Persons; inasmuch, that I know not what remains for you to desire more, unless you would likewise command over the Angels. I do not impute this to my Lord Pope *Innocent*, who might easily have been overpersuaded, being but a Man, and I beg of God not to impute it to him, not in the least doubting, but when he shall come to a Knowledge of the Truth, he will abhor the favouring of so pernicious and dangerous a Person as that Monk was.

In the 232d. he writes to the same Cardinals, that if the Abbot of *St. Theofroy*, commonly called *St. Chaffre*, in the Diocess of *Puy in Vellay*, be guilty of those Things whereof he is accus'd, they ought not to favour, but speedily punish him.

In the 233d. he writes to *John* Abbot of *Busey*, in the Diocess of *Nantes*, persuading him to return to his Abby, which he had quitted for some Time before.

In the 234th. he desires *Herbert* Abbot of *St. Stephen* of *Dijon*, to pardon one of his regular Canons, though he had written injuriously against him.

In the 235th. written in the Year 1143. to Pope *Celestine II.* He writes very bitterly against *William*, who had got Possession of the Archbishoprick of *York*, being guilty of several Crimes which he was not clear'd from but by a false Oath. The Cause was removed to *Rome*, and he obtain'd of Pope *Innocent* a Bull in his Favour, whereupon St. *Bernard* begs of *Celestine* not to suffer so ill a Man to continue in Possession of the Archbishoprick of *York*.

In the following Letter he writes upon the same Subject, and after the same Manner, to the Prelates of the Court of *Rome*.

In the 237th. he writes to the same, concerning the Elevation of *Bernard*, Abbot of *St. Anastasius*, to the Sovereign Pontificate (*Eugenius III.* who succeeded *Lucius II.* in the Year 1145.) He admires how they could draw him out of his Cloyster where he was at quiet, to bring him into the World, and lay the whole Care of the Church upon him, which he says makes him very much doubt whether he will be able to sustain the Weight, and therefore recommends to them to support him therein.

The 238th. is addressed to Pope *Eugenius*, then but newly rais'd to the Holy See. St. *Bernard* acquaints him with

his Joy, intermixt with Grief and Fear for his Elevation to that Dignity. And afterwards he exhorts him to sustain with Apostolick Zeal, the sublime Ministry which was committed to him, and to endeavour to answer the Opinion People generally had of his Virtue. He writes to him particularly concerning the irregular Lives of the Archbishop of *York* and the Bishop of *Winchester*. At length he recommends to him to abolish the wicked Custom crept into the Court of *Rome*, of bestowing Favours for Money; and moreover admonishes him to remember at all Times that he is a Man, and to think often of Death by reflecting how little Time the Pontificates of several of his Predecessors have lasted.

In the 239th. and the 240th. he writes again to the Pope against the Archbishop of *York*, and presses his Holiness to suspend him.

The 241st. is written to *Hildefonsus*, Count of *Tholouse*, concerning the Errors of *Henry*, Disciple to *Peter de Bruys*, whom this Count favour'd. How many Disorders (says he) do we every Day hear that *Henry* commits in the Church of God? That ravenous Wolves within your Dominions cloathed in a Sheep's Skin; but we know him by his Works. The Churches are forsaken, the People are without Bishops, and the Bishops are no more respected. In a Word, the Christians are without Christ, the Churches are like Synagogues, the Sanctuary despoil'd of its Holiness, the Sacraments look'd upon as prophane Institutions, the Feast-days have lost their Solemnity, Men grow up in Sin, and every Day Souls are born away before the terrible Tribunal of Christ, without being first reconciled to and fortify'd with the Holy Communion. In refusing Christians Baptism, they are deny'd the Life of Jesus Christ. A Man that teaches and acts so contrary to the Will and Word of God, cannot be from God. And yet alas! he is hearkened to by many, and finds those that are ready to believe him. He would have People believe that the Church of God is at an End, and reduced only to that small Number that he imposes on: After having been driven out of *France*, he nevertheless finds an Asylum in your Dominions. Consider with your self, great Prince, if this Person does you any Honour; he is an Apostate; for after having quitted his Cloyster to live loosely, and not being willing to tarry in his own Country, or rather having been whipp'd out of it, he went about begging his Bread, and preaching for a wretched Sustenance, and whenever it happened that he got any Thing over and above, he did not fail to consume it at Play, or at other Means more shameful. This famous Preacher has been often found with Women of ill Lives. Inform your self therefore, I beseech you, how he has been driven out of *Lausanne*, *Mons*, *Poitiers* and *Bourdeaux*, and what Reputation he has left behind him in those Places. St. *Bernard* sends this Prince Word, that he is coming to reform the Disorders that this Prince has caused in the Churches of his Dominions; that he has Authority for that Purpose; that he shall do his utmost Endeavours to extirpate this pernicious Plant, with Assistance of the Bishops, and particularly by the Authority of the Cardinal of *Ostia*, who will be sent on Purpose by the Holy See. He takes notice to him, that it will be for his Interest to receive this Cardinal kindly, and to joyn his Authority with theirs, to the End, that the Pains they shall take for the Salvation of him, and his People may not prove of no Effect.

In the 242d. written by St. *Bernard* after his Return from this Country, he exhorts the People of *Tholouse* to shun Hereticks, obey their Bishop, exercise Hospitality, and not to suffer any Preachers among them, but such as have either Ordination from their Bishop or the Pope.

These Letters were writ in the Year 1147.

The 243d. is address'd to the Lords and People of *Rome*, after they had driven out Pope *Eugenius III.* He reproaches them severely for this Action, and conjures them to reconcile themselves speedily to him.

In the 244th. he exhorts *Conrade*, King of the *Romans*, to re-establish the Pope, and Punish the Rebels of *Rome*; giving him to understand, that it is as much for his Interest as for that of the Holy See, that the City of *Rome* which is Metropolis of the Empire, should be under his Subjection.

In the 245th. he commends the Zeal which Pope *Eugenius* shew'd in opposing King *Lewis* the Younger's obliging *Elias* Bishop of *Orleans* to quit his Bishoprick.

In the 246th. he recommends this Bishop to the Pope, being before but an humble Monk, and entreats his Holiness to take Pity on his Condition, and to provide for the Payment of his Debts, out of the Revenues of his Bishoprick.

In the 247th. he Prays the same Pope to permit *Sampson*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, to make use of the Pallium which he had been forbidden, on Account of his having crown'd King *Lewis* in the Church of *Bourges*, in Presence of the Archbishop of that City.

In the 248th. he advises this Pope not to suffer himself to be over-reach'd by the Bishop of *Seez*, who was coming to wait on him, to get himself re-establish'd.



- St. Bernard.** In the 249<sup>th</sup>. he recommends to the same *Oribert* the Prior of *Chaise-Dieu*, Bishop Elect of *Valence*, chosen in the Year 1145.
- In the 250<sup>th</sup>. he acquaints the Prior and Monks of *Portes*, that they ought not to take it amiss that the Pope would not allow one of their Fraternity to be Bishop, though he was Chosen. He says, that perhaps his Holiness would not admit of him, because he was too Young, and that he would have nothing to be said afterwards against the Election. And as for his own Part, he says, he never oppos'd it in the least. Afterwards, he tells them, that he is sorry that the Abbot of *Troyes* had written to them so very harshly, and he concludes his Letter with these Humble Words. *My Mournful Life and my afflicted Conscience cry towards you for Compassion, for I am a kind of Amphibious Creature, that neither live altogether as an Ecclesiastick nor a Recluse; and it is now a long while since I have quitted the Life of a Monk without forsaking the Habit. I esteem it needless to acquaint you with what you may easily bear from others, that is, what I do, what I employ myself about; what Hazards I expose myself to in the World, and through what Dangers I am compelled to go: If you are not acquainted with these I beseech you to inform yourselves of them, and when you have thoroughly learnt them, to favour me with your Advice and Prayers.*
- In the 251<sup>st</sup>. he intercedes to Pope *Eugenius* in behalf of the Monks of *Baume*, whom this Pope had punish'd by changing their Abby to a Priory, for their having slighted the Authority of the Holy See.
- In the 252<sup>d</sup>. he conjures the same Pope to put in execution the Sentence pronounc'd by *Innocent II.* against the Archbishop of *Tork*.
- The 253<sup>d</sup>. is an Answer to a Letter from *Hugh* Abbot of *Premontre*, who had made several Complaints against the Monks of *Clairvaux*. *St. Bernard* tells him, he did not do well to complain of him and his Order, since he has always had an Esteem for that of *Premontre*, and that he has done them several Services upon divers Occasions: He brings several Examples of what he asserts, and at length justifies himself against what that Abbot had alleged against his Order. Towards the End, he admonishes them not to break the Union betwixt them, acquainting them that for his part he shall never be wanting in the Duties of Charity and Friendship.
- In the 254<sup>th</sup>. he commends *Guarini*, Abbot of the *Alpes*, in endeavouring to reform his Monastery, and exhorts him, not to discontinue so good a Work out of fear of not being able to accomplish it while he lives, since the short Time we have to live is not sufficient Excuse for not endeavouring to make our selves perfect, and that such as do not labour after a Progress in Spiritual Affairs, go backwards instead of advancing.
- In the 255<sup>th</sup>. he exhorts *Lewis* the *Gross*, King of *France*, not to hinder the holding of a Council which he believes necessary for the good of the Church. It is of the Council of *Pisa* that he speaks, conven'd in the Year 1134. so that this Letter ought to precede the others by many Years.
- In the 256<sup>th</sup>. he exhorts Pope *Eugenius* not to be disheartened because of some Losses the Christians had sustain'd in the East, but to succour and assist them to his Power. He moreover tells him, that he was more than ordinarily surpriz'd when he heard that he was pitched upon for General of the Army, that was to go thither, being no ways qualify'd for that Employ.
- In the 257<sup>th</sup>. he writes to this Pope in Favour of *Philip*, who was become a Monk of *Clairvaux*, after he had been suspended from his Bishoprick of *Tarentum*, and desires his Holiness to be kind to him.
- The three following Letters were writ concerning *Rualenus*, who had been chosen Abbot of *St. Anastasius*. *St. Bernard* after having requested of his Holiness by the first of these Letters to discharge him from his Burthen. In the Second, consents that he shall continue it, since his Holiness desires it, and by the third, he admonishes this Abbot not to be uneasy under his Vocation.
- In the 261<sup>st</sup>. he desires *Eugenius* to take off the Excommunication pronounc'd against the Abbot of *St. Urban*, who had bestow'd the Habit of that Order on a Knight Templar.
- The 262<sup>d</sup>. is a Letter of Recommendation to the Pope, in Favour of the Monks of *Mouzon*.
- The 263<sup>d</sup>. is address'd to the Bishop of *Soissons*, in Favour of the Abbot of *Chesly*.
- The 264<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter from *Peter*, Abbot of *Cluny*, to *St. Bernard*, in which, he extreamly commends *St. Bernard*, and begs of him to send him his Secretary *Nicholas*.
- The 265<sup>th</sup>. is *St. Bernard's* Answer, in which, he rejects the Praises given him, and moreover informs him, that he cannot send the Person he desires, by reason, that he was with the Bishop of *Auxerre*, where he was so Sick that it was impossible he should come to *Clairvaux* without great inconvenience.
- The 266<sup>th</sup>. is written to *Sugerus*, Abbot of *St. Denys*, a little before his Death. He exhorts him to prepare courageously for Death, and professes a great deal of Friendship for him.
- By the 267<sup>th</sup>. he tells Pope *Eugenius* that he was grossly deceiv'd when he rais'd to the Ecclesiastical Dignity a Person convicted of Crimes and condemn'd for them, by *Lambert* Bishop of *Angoulesme*, and therefore begs of his Holiness to revoke what he had done.
- In the 269<sup>th</sup>. he sends him Word that he would not have him give Credit to a Letter he lately wrote him, about a Person who had over-reach'd him by a Recommendation from the Bishop of *Beauvais*.
- In the 270<sup>th</sup>. he writes again to the Pope, in Favour of *Anthelmus*, Prior of the great Charter-House, who having expell'd some of his Monks for Disobedience and Irregularity, they had gone to *Rome*, and obtain'd a Re-establishment from the Pope. *St. Bernard* says, that from the first Foundation of this Order, he had never heard that a *Carthusian* who forsook his Cloyster had ever been receiv'd again, without making ample Satisfaction; that these Monks who had thus forsaken their Order did yet worse in returning to it. 'And what good (says he to the Pope) does your Holiness believe, that these Monks could do, whose leaving their Monastery was an Effect of Disobedience, and their returning to it the Product of Pride? They rejoice for the Ill they have done, and insult over those whom they have offended; and, in a Word, they even triumph for having obtain'd the Victory. The Prior is no more Prior; he bears his Office with Regret, not being willing to see the Destruction of his Order, and he would have left his Monastery long since, could he have gone out alone.—Consider therefore most Holy Father, (continues he,) how you have been over-reach'd, and what Punishment he deserves, who has thus deceiv'd you!—Take Care then that the Prior be restor'd, to the End, that Iniquity may not triumph over Justice. He afterwards acquaints the Pope with the Death of *Raymond*, Abbot of *Cisteaux*, and that *Gozwin*, Abbot of *Benneval*, had succeeded him. This Abbot dy'd in the Year 1151. This Letter therefore belongs to that Year.
- The 271<sup>st</sup>. he excuses himself to *Thibaud*, Count of *Champagne*, for not caring to be concern'd in promoting his Son's having Benefices while he was but a Child, and this for Conscience sake, well knowing that Ecclesiastical Dignities ought only to be bestow'd upon such as are able to acquit themselves of their Functions, and moreover, it being not allowable for one Person to enjoy several Benefices at a time, unless by Dispensation or some other considerable Reason that the Church may have.
- In the 272<sup>d</sup>. he exhorts the Bishop of *Laon*, (*Gautier* Abbot of *St. Martin* who was made Bishop of that See in the Year 1151.) to be reconcil'd to the Bearer of that Letter.
- The 273<sup>d</sup>. is written to the Abbot and general Chapter of *Cisteaux*: He gives them to understand that he could heartily wish his Affairs would give him leave to Assist in their Chapter, and moreover admonishes them to labour in the Reformation of their Order.
- In the following, he thanks Pope *Eugenius* for the Letter full of Charity and Zeal which he had written to his Chapter, and moreover entreats him to continue always the same good will towards his Order. He acquaints him towards the End that he is Sorry that he had taken from them *Hugh* Abbot of the *Three Fountains*, to make him a Cardinal.
- In the 275<sup>th</sup>. he gives this Abbot of the *Three Fountains*, to understand, that he repents having writ to *Rome*, in Favour of the Nephew of *Hugh* Bishop of *Auxerre* then lately Dead.
- In the 275<sup>th</sup>. he acquaints the Pope with the Disturbances that had happened in the Election of a Bishop to the Church of *Auxerre*, and what he had been Inform'd by one of his Monks, sent thither concerning the double Election there made.
- In the 276<sup>th</sup>. he acquaints him likewise that the Will of the late Bishop of *Auxerre*, had been made by Suggestion of *Deacon Stephen*, at whose Request he had given his Nephew several Benefices and Church-Lands.
- In the 277<sup>th</sup>. written also to the Pope, he recommends to him *Peter* Abbot of *Cluny*, who was on his Journey towards *Rome*, and begs that his Holiness would not give him Leave to quit his Abby altho' he should desire it.
- The 278<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter of Recommendation to the Pope in Favour of *Henry* Bishop of *Beauvais*.
- In the 279<sup>th</sup>. address'd to *Henry* Son of *Thibaud*, Count of *Champagne*, he begs of him to do Justice in behalf of the Abbot of *Chatillon*, on the Lord of *Belfort*, whose Servants had taken several Cattle from him.
- The 280<sup>th</sup>. is written to the Pope concerning the Election of a Bishop of *Auxerre*. The Pope having Understood that there were two different Elections, deputed *St. Bernard*, with two other Persons to proceed to a New one, *St. Bernard* and one of the Electors pitched upon one Person who is thought to have been *Alain* who got the better, but the third gave his Vote for another. Hereupon *St. Bernard* prays the Pope to procure the Consent of the third Person, Assuring his



his Holiness, that he could not have thought of a more proper Person to serve the Church, and to prevent the Designs of the Count of Nevers upon the Church of Auxerre. The 281<sup>st</sup>. contains a reprimand which he gave the Abbot of Chervail, for the Liberty he had taken to talk injuriously of him.

In the 282<sup>d</sup>. he exhorts Lewis the Younger, King of France to give his Consent to the Election which had been made of a Bishop of Auxerre.

In the 283<sup>d</sup>. he writes to Pope Eugenius touching the Restitution demanded by the Monks of the Monastery of the *Mirrou*, of the Order of *Cisteaux*, upon the Monks of *Gigny* of the Order of *Cluny*, of 30000 *Sols*. Hereupon the Abbot of *Cluny* and St. Bernard had endeavour'd to accommodate the Difference; and the Monks of *Gigny*, having little to say for themselves, St. Bernard has Recourse to the Pope, that he would be pleas'd to do Justice in behalf of those of the *Mirrou*.

In the 284<sup>th</sup>. he recommends to this Pope the Archbishop of Rheims, the Bishop of Arras, the Abbot of Aucoart, and some others.

The three following Letters were written in Favour of Odon Successor of Sugerus in the Abby of St. Denys. The two first are address'd to the Pope, and the third to Hugh Cardinal Bishop of Ostia.

In the 288<sup>th</sup>. address'd to Andrew his Uncle, a Knight Templar, he acquaints him with his concern for the ill Success of the *Croisade* occasion'd by the ill Conduct of the Christian Princes, and says he hopes to see that Enterprize accomplish'd before he dies.

In the 289<sup>th</sup>. he gives wholesome Advice to Melisenda Queen of Jerusalem.

In the 290<sup>th</sup>. address'd to Hugh Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, he writes against the Conduct of Jordan des Ursini, Cardinal Legate of the Holy See in Germany. Your Legate (says he) has left behind him shameful Marks of his Expedition where-ever he has been, for he has fill'd all the Churches of Germany, France, and Normandy with Sacrileges. It is said that he has done a great many ill Things unworthy of his Character, Robb'd the Churches where-ever he came, and every where plac'd Young Men in Ecclesiastical Dignities; That several have paid him great Sums of Money to keep him out of their Country; That by his Emissaries he has extorted and exacted Money from those Places whither he could not go himself: In a word he is become the By word of the World: Every Body sighs and speaks ill of him: The Poor Monks and other Clergy complain of him: These of his Profession have the greatest Abhorrence of his Life and Conversation; and Lastly he has little Resemblance with John Paperans, who was Legate at that time in Ireland, and who was justly honour'd and rewarded for his Faithful and Prudent Ministry. St. Bernard desires his Letter may be read to the Pope, to assist him in his Proceedings against this loose Legate.

In the 291<sup>st</sup>. he prays the Pope to have Compassion on the Monastery of St. Eugende on Mount-Jura which was almost ruin'd.

In the 292<sup>d</sup>. he reproves a Man of the World, for having endeavour'd to dissuade one of his Relations from turning Monk.

In the 293<sup>d</sup>. he writes to Peter Abbot of Celles concerning a Monk of the Abby of Chesy whom he had receiv'd into his Monastery.

In the 294<sup>th</sup>. he recommends to the Pope, William de Passavant Bishop of Mans, accus'd by one of his Clergy.

In the two following Letters he recommends also the same Person to the Cardinals Henry, and Hugh Bishop of Ostia.

In the 297<sup>th</sup>. he sends back a Monk of the Abby of Montier-Ramey who had quitted his Monastery, and now was desirous to return to it.

In the 298<sup>th</sup>. he writes to the Pope, that Nicholas who came from the Abby of Montier-Ramey to his of Clairvaux, and who also had been his Secretary, was run from him, and had taken away several Books, a great Sum of Money and divers Seals of Value. That he had for some Time been jealous of him, but that he all along hop'd that God would convert him, or that that he would betray himself as he now had done. That he does not Question but he has written to several People in his Name. At length he desires his Holiness not to receive him.

In the 299<sup>th</sup>. he writes to the Count of Angoulesme in behalf of the Monks of the Monastery of St. Amand de Boisse.

In the 300<sup>th</sup>. he comforts Matildis Countess of Blois concerning the extravagant Courses of her Son, and that he hop'd Age would work an Alteration upon him, but however he Advises her to treat him with Mildness.

In the 301<sup>st</sup>. he prays Sancha, Sister to the King of Spain, to accommodate a Difference that had happened between the Monks of the Order which she had newly establish'd in Leon, and the other Monks of the Country.

The 302<sup>d</sup>. is written in Favour of the Archbishop of Mentz, to the Legates of the Holy See sent into Germany to de-

termine the Matter. This Archbishop was Henry, and the Legates were the Cardinals Bernard and Gregory who suspended this Archbishop, notwithstanding the Recommendation of St. Bernard, having as was suppos'd been corrupted by Money.

In the 303<sup>d</sup>. he writes to King Lewis the Younger, that he ought not to let a Lord of Britany, being excommunicated for Adultery, have the Estate that belongs to his Wife.

In the 304<sup>th</sup>. he thanks this King for his kind Enquiry after his Health, and moreover recommends to him Robert Cousin to this Prince.

In the 305<sup>th</sup>. he sends Pope Eugenius Word that he has hindered Henry Bishop of Beauvais from going to Rome; as likewise recommends to him the Affair of this Bishop, desiring him to delegate the Archbishop of Rheims for its Determination.

In the 306<sup>th</sup>. he acquaints the Cardinal of Ostia that he has not been able to encline the Monks of the Three Fountains, to elect Nicholas for their Abbot whom this Cardinal desir'd might succeed in this Abby, yet notwithstanding the Monks had chosen Turolde; that he knew nothing in that Person which could deserve that Dignity, and that if he had a mind to out him of it, for his Part he would not oppose it.

In the 307<sup>th</sup>. he excuses the Conduct of the Bishop of Beauvais to this Cardinal, altho' he says he does not deserve it. He promises him to recall as soon as possible Robert his Monk who was with that Bishop; and moreover sends him word, that Heraclius, Archbishop of Lyons, was on his Journey to Rome, but that falling Sick at Montpellier, he had spent all the Money he had laid apart for his Voyage. He gives him likewise to understand, that he had been almost at Death's-Door, but was now somewhat recover'd.

The 308<sup>th</sup>. is address'd to Alphonso King of Portugal. He writes him word, that he will do all in his Power to comply with his Commands; gives him some Account of his Brother Peter, and likewise acquaints him, that one of his Monks nam'd Roland, brings him a Letter from the Pope, whereby his Holiness grants him many Favours. He lastly recommends this Monk to him, as also all of his Order within his Majesty's Dominions.

The 309<sup>th</sup>. was written before the foregoing, in the lifetime of Sugerus, Abbot of St. Denys, whom he thereby recommends to the Pope.

The 310<sup>th</sup>. address'd to Arnaud, Abbot of Bonneval, is the last which he writ before his Death. He therein gives his Friend to understand the said Condition he is in, and desires his Prayers.

These three hundred and ten Letters compose the ancient Collection of those of St. Bernard, compil'd by his Disciples, and left in the Monastery of Clairvaux. There have since been found several others which are those which follow, continuing the Number.

The 311<sup>th</sup>. is address'd to Haimeric, Chancellor of the Holy See, and written in the Name of Hugh Abbot of Pontigni, and of St. Bernard. It contains Complaints against those who envy other Men's good Actions, and excessive Commendations of Haimeric's Conduct in his Ministry.

The 312<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter of Compliment to Rainaud Archbishop of Rheims.

In the 313<sup>th</sup>. written to Geoffrey Bishop of York; he says that those Monks that have a mind to quit a—Life for a more Austere, ought not to be hinder'd, but after having embrac'd it, they are not to be releas'd, for fear of becoming Apostates.

The 314<sup>th</sup>. is written to Pope Innocent II. about the time that St. Bernard negotiated the Affair of the People of Lombardy with his Holiness. He sends him word, that he can neither prevail upon those of Cremona, nor those of Milan.

In the 315<sup>th</sup>. he begs of Maud Queen of England, to grant him what he had formerly requested of her in Favour of the Abbot of La Chapelle.

In the 316<sup>th</sup>. he desires also Henry Archbishop of Sens, and Haimeric Chancellor of the Church of Rome, not to oppose the Restitutions of some Ecclesiastical Goods, which a certain Lord has a mind to make to the Monks. When Laicks (says he) who are in Possession of Churches or Church-Revenues have a mind to quit them, it is commendable; and when they are disposed to give them to the Ministers of God, it is doubly so. But this being to be done only by the Hands of the Bishop, he cannot refuse it without being guilty of two Faults, nor consent to it, without being the Cause of two good Things. This Lord requests a Thing of you which you ought to have asked of him; for which do you think does it better become to be in Possession of Church Revenues, a Soldier or a Saint? No body that has heard of this Action, but has been surpriz'd. Make then no more Difficulties to receive from Laicks what belongs to the Church and the Ministers of God's Word.

In the 317<sup>th</sup>. written from St. Bernard to Geoffrey Prior of the Monastery of Clairvaux; he gives him to understand



St. Bernard. that the Church of *Rome* is at present in Peace; that the Party of *Peter of Leon* have done Fealty and Homage to Pope *Innocent*; that in like Manner, all the Clergy that had sided with that Cardinal were come over to the Pope: And in fine, that God having thus fulfill'd his Wishes, he shall be speedily on his Return. This Letter was written in the Year 1138.

In the 318<sup>th</sup>. he acquaints Pope *Innocent* II. with the Danger the Church of *Rheims* was in, by reason of the great Contests about the Election of an Archbishop.

In the 319<sup>th</sup>. he exhorts *Turstin* Archbishop of *York*, not to lay down his Archbishoprick, or in Case that he be obliged to do it for some secret Reason, or in Obedience to the Pope's Commands, he advises him to enter into the strictest Cloyster.

In the 320<sup>th</sup>. he admonishes *Alexander*, Prior of the Monastery of *Fountain* in *England*, to take care that the Election of a new Abbot be made without Heats and Dispute.

In the 321<sup>st</sup>. he enjoins *Henry de Murdach* to accept of the Abby of *Fountain*, in Case he be elected.

The 322<sup>d</sup>. contains wholsom Instructions to a young Monk, which he gives to *Hugh*, then but a Probationer, and afterwards Abbot of *Bonreval*.

The 323<sup>d</sup>. is written in Favour of the Archbishop of *Treves*, against the Abbot of *St. Maximin*.

The 324<sup>th</sup>. is a Compliment to *Robert* Abbot of *Dunes*, who was afterwards Successor to *St. Bernard*, in the Abby of *Clairvaux*.

In 325<sup>th</sup>. he writes to the same Abbot, that he is not to admit a Probationer, if he have not well acquitted himself during his Probation-ship.

The 326<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter from *William* Abbot of *St. Thierry*, to *Geoffrey* Bishop of *Chartres*, and to *St. Bernard*, against the Errors of *Abaelard*, which he has there reckon'd up. We shall speak more of this when we treat of the Doctrine of *Abaelard*.

The 327<sup>th</sup>. is an Answer of *St. Bernard's* to this Letter, wherein he acquaints him, that he intends speedily to have a Conference with him upon that Subject.

The 328<sup>th</sup>. is written to Pope *Innocent* II. against him that had been chosen Bishop of *Rholes*.

The 329<sup>th</sup>. is written to the Bishop of *Limoges*, against the same.

The nine Letters following were written in the Year 1140. against *Peter Abaelard*. The 330<sup>th</sup>. and the 331<sup>th</sup>. to Pope *Innocent*, and the rest to the Cardinals. The 337<sup>th</sup>. is written in the Name of the Bishops of *France*, and contains a Relation of what had pass'd against *Abaelard* in the Council of *Sens*.

In the 338<sup>th</sup>. he recommends to Pope *Innocent*, *Abisus* Bishop of *Arras*, and says that those who have accus'd him are only Calumniators.

In the Letter following he recommends to the same Pope *Uger*, Bishop of *Angers*.

The 341<sup>st</sup>. is written to *Malachy*, Archbishop of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, who had sent two young Monks to him, to learn the Manner of living in *Clairvaux*, with Design to found a Monastery of the same Institution. *St. Bernard* promises to send them back well instructed in a short Time.

In the 342<sup>d</sup>. he writes to *Jesseln* Bishop of *Soissons*, to appease the King who had been incens'd without Cause against *Geoffrey de Loroux*, Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, who had incurred the Displeasure of this Prince, by ordaining *Grimard*, who had been canonically elected Bishop of *Poitiers*, in the Year 1140.

The two following Letters were written by *Bernard*, Abbot of *St. Anstasius*, and afterwards Pope *Eugenius* III. The first to Pope *Innocent* II. and the second to *St. Bernard*. In both he expresses a great deal of Concern, for having been forced from the Monastery of *Clairvaux*, and sent into *Italy*.

The 345<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter of *St. Bernard's* to the Monks of *St. Anastasius*, to whom he recommends living always in strict Observance of their Order, and in Charity one towards another. He moreover tells them, that though any of the Monks be sick, they must make Use only of some common Sorts of Herbs, it being repugnant to the Spirit of Religion to buy Drugs, to send for Physicians, or to take Physick.

In the 346<sup>th</sup>. he exhorts Pope *Innocent* II. not to favour the unjust Cause of *William* Archbishop of *York*.

In the 347<sup>th</sup>. he recommends to him the Deputies which went to *Rome* to complain of this Archbishop.

In the 348<sup>th</sup>. he recommends to the same Pope *Arnoul*, elected Bishop of *Lisieux*, who had a Dispute in the Court of *Rome*, about his Election, with *Geoffrey* Count of *Angers*.

The three following, are also Letters of Recommendation to the same Pope.

The 352<sup>d</sup>. contains a Privilege granted by Pope *Innocent* to *St. Bernard* and his Successors, in Consideration of the great Services he had done the Church of *Rome*, during the Schism caus'd by *Peter of Leon*, by which this Pope takes under the Protection of the Holy See, all Revenues Pre-

sent, and to come, belonging to the Abby of *Clairvaux*; as likewise, grants to the Monks of *Cîteaux*, Leave to choose an Abbot out of their Order, and to the Abbies which have others under them; he grants Permission to choose any of those Abbots for their Head, or any of the Monks belonging to such Orders. He forbids the Bishops to constrain the Abbots of *Clairvaux*, and the other Abbots of the Order of *Cîteaux*, to come to any Council, providing it be not about Matters of Faith. He prohibits all Persons to receive any Friars of their Order, after they are profess'd; and lastly, declares the Monks of this Order exempt from paying Tithes of Fruits or Cattle.

In the 353<sup>d</sup>. he comforts *William* Abbot of *Rivan*, in the Diocess of *York*, in that the Archbishop of that See has been countenanc'd at *Rome*, assuring him withal, that the Sacraments administred, and Ordinations made by bad Ministers are Valid, since it is God that baptizes and consecrates.

In the 354<sup>th</sup>. he comforts *Melisenda*, Queen of *Jerusalem*, for the Death of *Fulk* her Husband, and exhorts her to govern her Kingdom with Prudence and Justice.

In the 355<sup>th</sup>. he recommends to this Queen the Monks of *Premontre*, who were on their Journey to the Holy Land.

By the 356<sup>th</sup>. he sends back to *Malachy*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, the Monks which he had sent him. He likewise recommends them to him in the Letter following.

In the 358<sup>th</sup>. he writes to Pope *Celestine* II. to pardon *Thibaud*, Count of *Champagne*.

The 359<sup>th</sup>. is written to the same Pope, in the Name of the Monks of *Clairvaux*, who beg of his Holiness not to permit *Renaud* Abbot of *Morimond*, to quit his Monastery to go to *Jerusalem*.

In the 360<sup>th</sup>. he again exhorts *William* Abbot of *Rivan*, to bear patiently with the Archbishop of *York*.

In the 361<sup>st</sup>. he recommends to *Thibaud* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *John* Bishop of *Salisbury*.

In the 362<sup>d</sup>. he recommends to *Robert Pallas*, Cardinal and Chancellor of the Church of *Rome*, to behave himself becoming his Dignity, to *Eugenius* III. newly elected Pope.

In the 363<sup>d</sup>. he exhorts the Christians of *France* and *Barbaria* to take up Arms for Relief of the Holy Land; and moreover admonishes them neither to put the Jews to Death, nor to much as to persecute them.

In the 364<sup>th</sup>. he invites *Peter* Abbot of *Cluny* to an Assembly to be held after *Easter* at *Chartres*, there to deliberate on the Manuer of relieving the Christians of the Holy Land.

In the 365<sup>th</sup>. addressed to *Henry* Archbishop of *Mayence*, he writes against a Monk named *Radulph*, who by his preaching, authoriz'd killing of the Jews.

The 366<sup>th</sup>. is address'd to *Hildegarda* Abbess of *Mont-Saint-Robert* near *Binghen*, in the Diocess of *Mayence*. After having rejected the Praises given to him, he congratulates her upon the extraordinary Gifts she has received from God, and exhorts her to make a suitable Return there-to by Humility and Devotion.

The 367<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter of Recommendation to *Guy* Chancellor of the Church of *Rome*, in favour of *Stephen* Bishop of *Metz*.

The 368<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter of Compliment to a Cardinal which contains wholesome Advice to wean him from the Cares of the World.

In the 369<sup>th</sup>. and 370<sup>th</sup>. he congratulates *Sugerus* Abbot of *St. Denys*, in having reform'd the Church of *St. Genevieve*, by introducing regular Canons into it. He exhorts him to do the same Thing in the Church of *St. Victor*.

In the following Letter address'd to the same, he dissuades him from making the Match between the Count of *Angers* and the King's Daughter, by Reason of their near Kindred.

In the 372<sup>d</sup>. he commends *Peter* Bishop of *Palenza*, for his Humility and Application to the reading of good Books.

The 373<sup>d</sup>. is a Letter of the Abbot of *Epine* in the Diocess of *Palenza*, address'd to *St. Bernard*, by which this Abbot testifies the great Concern he has for having been drawn out of the Abby of *Clairvaux*, and charg'd with the Government of a Monastery, which he earnestly entreats *St. Bernard* to get him discharg'd from.

In the 374<sup>th</sup>. he comforts the Monks of his Order in *Ireland*, for the Death of their Abbot. *St. Malachy*.

In the 375<sup>th</sup>. he complains to *Ida* Countess of *Nivernois*, that her Servants molest and detain those who go to the Abby of *Vezelay*.

In the 376<sup>th</sup>. he exhorts *Sugerus* Abbot of *St. Denys*, to hinder the Duels which certain French Lords were engaged in against each other.

In the 377<sup>th</sup>. he commends this Abbot in that he design'd to assemble the Clergy for the publick Good.

The four Letters following are likewise address'd to *Sugerus*, whereof the two first are Letters of Recommendation. The third is concerning the Estate the Church of the *East* was then in; and in the last, says, that he is sorry that this Abbot is accus'd of the Disturbances in the Kingdom, and



and wills him therefore to do his utmost to prevent 'em, and not to suffer any in his Abby, which are any ways the Cause of them.

In the 382<sup>d</sup>. written to *Leonius* Abbot of *St. Bertin*; he expresses his Gratitude for the Favours he has receiv'd from him, and moreover acquaints him, that *Thomas* of *St. Omer* who had left his Order to come to his of *Clairvaux*, could not possibly return.

In the 383<sup>d</sup>. address'd to the same he thanks him for the many Proofs of Friendship which he has received from him. He passes the same Compliment on the Monks of *St. Bertin* in the following Letter; and in the 385<sup>th</sup>. he commends them for having reform'd themselves, and exhorts them to endeavour to perfect themselves every Day more and more.

The 386<sup>th</sup>. is written to *St. Bernard*, by *John* Abbot of the House of *St. Mary*, in the Country of *Lerculo*, to comfort him about the unsuccessful Expedition to the Holy-land, whereof *St. Bernard* had been the Promoter. He imputes the Fault thereof to the Wickedness of those that had the Management of it.

The 387<sup>th</sup>. is written to *Peter* Abbot of *Cluny*, to whom *St. Bernard* excuses himself about a sharp Letter written in his Name, affirming that the Blame ought not to be cast on him, but on the Authors of it; to which *Peter* Abbot of *Cluny*, answers by the following Letter, expressing a great deal of Value and Esteem for *St. Bernard*, professing himself well satisfy'd with his Excuse; and moreover mentioning a Legacy deposited in the Treasury of *Cluny*, which was left to the Monasteries of *Clairvaux* and *Cisteaux*, which he says he will not contend with him about, nor concerning the Election of a Bishop of *Grenoble*, which the *Carthusians* oppos'd.

*St. Bernard* gives a short Answer to this Letter, by the Three Hundred Eighty Ninth.

The 390<sup>th</sup>. written to *Eske*, Bishop of *London* in *Denmark*, and Legate of the Holy See in *Swedenland*, contains only Matter of Compliment, in which *St. Bernard* assures him of his Affection, and thanks him for that which he had profess'd for him.

The 391<sup>st</sup>. is address'd to the Abbess of *Faverney*, in the Diocels of *Bezancon*, whom he admonishes to endeavour to re-establish the religious Houses, and to reform the Monastick Discipline.

The 392<sup>d</sup>. contains Instructions concerning Humility given to *Radulph*, Patriarch of *Antioch*.

The following Letter contains the like, being address'd to *William* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*.

In the 394<sup>th</sup>. he blames the Archbishop of *Lyons*, for having depos'd the Abbot of *Aisnay*, and admonishes him to revoke his Decree.

In the 395<sup>th</sup>. address'd to *Alvisus* Bishop of *Arras*, he acquaints him that *Thomas*, a Monk of *St. Bertin*, being enter'd into the Monastery of *Clairvaux*, cannot reasonably be expected to return to *Bertin*.

In the 396<sup>th</sup>. written to *Ricuin* Bishop of *Toul*, he excuses himself for having receiv'd into his Monastery a Clerk of his Church without knowing of him.

In the 397<sup>th</sup>. written to *Odin* Abbot of *Marmontier*, in the Name of *Hugh* Abbot of *Pontigni* and of *St. Bernard*, they give him to understand, that his Monks ought not to take it ill that they have lost some Churches which they pretended to by the Arbitration and final Determination of *Geofrey* Bishop of *Chartres*, and *Thibaud* Count of *Champagne*, therefore persuades them to acquiesce in that Judgment. They further observe in this Letter, that Churches and Church-Revenues belong naturally to the Clerks who are oblig'd to serve at the Altar, and consequently ought to live by it. When the Profession of Monks and the Examples of their Predecessors learn them that they are to get their Living with the Sweat of their Brows, and not to subsist on the Profits of the Church, Nay, even tho' the Church should be neglected by the Clerks, they are not to partake of the Revenues tho' they do of the Trouble. For, says he, with what Face can you, O Monks, pretend to the Wine of the Vines, which you have not planted, and to the Milk of the Flock which you have not govern'd? How comes it that you would exact something from them for whom you never did any Service? And if you will needs lay Claim to it, why don't you baptize their Children, bury their Dead, visit their Sick, give Benedictions in Marriage, instruct their Ignorant, reprimand Sinners, excommunicate such as despise Instruction, and give Absolution to Penitents? In a Word, why don't ye open your Mouths, and preach, you, whose Duty it is to live in Repose and Silence? But it is a most odious Thing, to reap where you did not sow, and live upon the Gains of another. Lastly *St. Bernard* says, that altho' they had the Rights they pretended, yet ought they not to dissent from their Abbot, who had already agreed to the Judgment of the Arbitrators.

In the 398<sup>th</sup>. he writes to *Guy* Abbot of *Montien-Ramey*, and to the Monks of his Monastery, who had desir'd *St. Bernard* to compose Lessons and Hymns for them to read on the Feast of *St. Victor*, whose Body they pretended was

bury'd in their Church, to which he answer'd, That he durst not undertake a Work so much above his Capacity, and which requir'd a Person of greater Authority, of a Life more holy, and who was Master of a better Style. He adds moreover, that in the Celebration of so solemn a Feast, new Prayers of small Authority ought not to be made use of, but rather authentick and ancient Compositions which may be proper to edify the Church, and which favour of Ecclesiastical Gravity. That if there be a Necessity for something new, and the subject so requires it, such Pieces ought only to be us'd as command Respect from the Grandeur of their Style and the pious Life of their Author. As for the rest, says he, the Expressions therein contain'd ought to be of unquestion'd Veracity: They ought to inspire Justice, teach Humility, inculcate Equity, enlighten the Mind, model the Manners, extirpate Vice, instil Devotion, and restrain the Liberties of the Senses. The Singing ought to be grave, without intermixing any Thing either effeminate or rustick. It ought to be Agreeable without being too delicate, and should affect the Heart by surprizing the Ear. And in a Word, it should comfort Sadness, and appease Discontent, but not drown the Sound of the Words, but rather increase it; for it is no small Disadvantage to a spiritual Life when the Charms of Singing divert the Attention from Thoughts, and fix them rather upon modulating the Voice, than comprehending the Sense of the Words. These are the Sentiments of *St. Bernard* concerning Prayers and celebrating the Divine Office, and altho' he had all the Qualifications which he requir'd in an Author of this Kind, yet would he not undertake what was requested of him, and contents himself with sending only two Sermons on the Life of *St. Victor* to the Monks of *Montien-Ramey*.

The 399<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter of Recommendation which he gave to a Monk of the Monastery of *St. Michael*, who was about to go in Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. He endeavours to dissuade him from this Design, by reason that he thought a Monk, however criminal he were, could not do Penance better than within the Walls of his Monastery. He desires *Leibert* Abbot of this Monastery to receive him.

The 400<sup>th</sup>. is another Letter of Recommendation granted to *Robert* a Monk of *Lieffies*, that his Abbot might use him more kindly.

The two Letters following contain nothing remarkable.

In the 403<sup>d</sup>. address'd to *Henry* Archdeacon of *Orleans*, he answers to a Question propos'd to him, to wit, If a Child who was in Danger of Death had been baptiz'd by a Laick under this Form, *I baptize you in the Name of God and of the holy and true Cross*, whether the Baptism had been valid; or whether, providing the Child had liv'd, it must have been baptiz'd again. *St. Bernard* is of the Mind that it had been well baptiz'd, because he cannot think that the Difference in Words can prejudice the Truth of the Faith, and the good Intention of him that baptiz'd it. His Reason is, because under the Word *God* the Trinity is comprehended, and by adding *the holy and true Cross*, he had made Mention of our Saviour; that when one is baptiz'd according to the Custom of the Church, in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and as we may read in the Acts of the Apostles, that some were baptiz'd in the Name of *Jesus Christ* only, it cannot be doubted but that those who have been baptiz'd in the Name of the holy Cross, have been sufficiently sanctify'd, insomuch that the Confession of the Cross implies the Confession of *Jesus Christ* crucify'd. Moreover that in Respect of him who had baptiz'd, his Simplicity and good Intention excus'd him, but nevertheless that if any should endeavour to introduce this Manner of Baptism, they would be inexcusable. This Opinion of *St. Bernard* disagrees with that of the Divines, who maintain that Baptism of this Kind is, *ipso facto*, null and void.

The 404<sup>th</sup>. is address'd to *Albert* a Recluse Monk, who desir'd of *St. Bernard*, that he might fast after his own Fashion, and permit Women to enter into his Cell. *St. Bernard* answers, that he has no Power to command him, but that he has several Times advis'd him to eat at least once a Day, to receive no Visits from Women, and to live by hard Labour.

In the 405<sup>th</sup>. he takes Notice to an Abbot that one of his Monks was qualify'd to be Profess'd, and therefore he ought not to dispense with him.

The 406<sup>th</sup>. is address'd to the Abbot of *St. Nicholas* in the Woods, to whom he recommends a certain Monk.

In the 407<sup>th</sup>. he blames *Odin* Abbot of *Beaulieu*, for not having paid a Legacy to a poor Man, and tells him he had better have sold a Chalice from the Altar, than have suffer'd this Person to want.

In the 408<sup>th</sup>. he recommends to *William* Abbot of the Regular Canons of *St. Martin* of *Troyes* a Clerk who had a Mind to retire from the World, and who was not able to undergo the Way of Living at *Clairvaux*.

In the 409<sup>th</sup>. address'd to *Rogon* Abbot of *Abbeville*, he makes him a Compliment upon his desiring to see him, and desires him to bestow a spare Piece of Ground belonging to his Abby, to the Monks of *Alby*.



*St. Bernard.* In the 410<sup>th</sup>. he recommends to *Gilduin* Abbot of *St. Victor* of *Paris*, *Peter Lombard* who was come from *Boulogne* in *France*, and had been recommended to *St. Bernard* by the Bishop of *Lucca*.

The 411<sup>th</sup>. is written to *Thomas* Provost of *Beverlake* in *England*, and contains Exhortations to a holy Life.

The Letter following is written upon the same Subject to a young Man, who had enter'd into a Vow to imbrace a Monastick Life.

In the 430<sup>th</sup>. he recommends a Probationary Monk to *Rainaud* Abbot of *Foigny*, advising him to send him back after he had corrected his Faults.

In the Letter following, he blames a Monk of this Monastery, for having oppos'd the Return of this Person.

By the 415<sup>th</sup>. he exhorts a Man to perform the Vow he had made to become a Monk of *Clairvaux*.

In the 416<sup>th</sup>. he answers a certain Person who had complain'd to him that he had had no Share of the Alms given by Count *Thibault*, that he was not concern'd in the Distribution of them.

The two following Letters contain nothing remarkable.

These are all the Letters which are most commonly ascrib'd to *St. Bernard*, tho' Father *Mabillon* has added some others which are doubtful, and might very probably have been written by other Persons. He also adds some Characters which may reasonably admit of the same Doubt, all which nevertheless continue the foregoing Numbers.

The 419<sup>th</sup>. is an Exhortation to Probationers, the which Father *Mabillon* believes does not belong to *St. Bernard*, by reason that the Style is more restrain'd, and contains Maxims unlike those of *St. Bernard*, such as this, *That we must praise God even for our Damnation*. It likewise appears to me that this Letter differs in Style from those of *St. Bernard*.

The two following Letters are also unlike the Style of *St. Bernard*.

The 422<sup>d</sup>. is only a short Billet address'd to King *Lewis*.

The 423<sup>d</sup>. is a Draught of a Letter concerning the *Croisade*, which might probably be his as well as the Letter following. He therein recommends the Son of Count *Thibault* going to the holy War to *Emanuel Commenes* Emperor of *Constantinople*.

The 425<sup>th</sup>. is a Copy of the twenty sixth Letter of *St. Bernard*.

The 426<sup>th</sup>. is a Judgment by Arbitration pronounc'd by *St. Bernard*, between *Hugh* Bishop of *Auxerre*, and *William* Count of that City.

The 427<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter from *Geofrey* Bishop of *Chartres*, to *Stephen* Bishop of *Paris*, by which he advises him to refer himself to *St. Bernard*, touching the dispute he had with *Stephen de Guarlande*.

The 428<sup>th</sup>. from *Bernard* Abbot of *St. Anastasius*, to *St. Bernard* Abbot of *Clairvaux*, concerning a disobedient and haughty Monk.

The 429<sup>th</sup>. is an *Elogium* of *St. Bernard* sent to him by *Hugh Mesellus* a Regular Canon of *St. Leon*.

The 430<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter from the same, written to *St. Bernard*, which contains an Apology for his Monastery.

The 431<sup>st</sup>. is also from the same, written in the Name of *Siebard* Abbot of *St. Leon*, to Abbot *William*, to excuse him for having answer'd the Calumnies of *Herbert* with too great Severity.

The two following Letters are written by *Haimon* Archdeacon of *Chalons*, to *St. Bernard*: In the first he acquaints him with his Sickness, and in the other he sends to him for his Sermons.

The 434<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter address'd to *St. Bernard* to excuse *Thierry* Bishop of *Amiens* from his Voyage to the holy Land.

The 435<sup>th</sup>. is a Charter, by which *Sampson* Archbishop of *Rheims* gives to the Congregation of *Clairvaux* the Church of *Mores*, which he had obtain'd from the Monks of *St. Denys* there to build a Monastery of his Order.

By the 436<sup>th</sup>. *Henry* Bishop of *Troyes* makes the like Gifts of the Church of *Billencourt* to the Abby of *Clairvaux*.

The 437<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter of *Hugh* Cardinal Bishop of *Ostia*, to the general Chapter of *Cisteaux*, concerning the Death of Pope *Eugenius* III.

The 438<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter of *Bartholemew*, a Monk of *Foigny*, who had been Bishop of *Laon*, address'd to *Sampson* Archbishop of *Rheims*, by which he justifies himself against his being accus'd, that he had imbezelled the Goods of the Church of *Laon*, while he was Bishop there.

The 439<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter from *Turstin* Archbishop of *York*, to *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, containing a Relation of what had happened to him, when he had endeavour'd to introduce the Customs of *Cisteaux* into the Monastery of *St. Mary* at *York*.

The 440<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter of *Fastrede* the fourth Abbot of *Clairvaux*, to an Abbot of his Order, whom he blames for going too richly dress'd, and living too delicately. He therein renews the Maxim of *St. Bernard*, *That a Monk ought not to make use of any external Remedies*.

The 441<sup>st</sup>. is written by *Peter de Roye*, a Probationer of

*Clairvaux*, to the Provost of the Church of *Noyon*, in which he shews the Difference between the Life led in *Clairvaux*, and that which is led at large in the World.

The 442<sup>d</sup>. is a Letter of a General Chapter of the Province of *Rheims*, who were call'd the black Monks, to Pope *Adrian* IV. whereby they beg that *Godfrey* Abbot of *Lagny* may be suspended.

The Letter following is from the same, address'd to Pope *Alexander* III. upon the same Subject.

Lastly, the 444<sup>th</sup>. is a Letter from an unknown Hand, address'd to the Abbot of *Reatino*, which contains nothing remarkable.

The second Tome of *St. Bernard's* Works, comprehends divers Treatises, whereof the first is intitled, *Of Consideration*, divided into five Books, and address'd to Pope *Eugenius* III. to serve him for Instruction. The Consideration he treats of in this Work, is as himself defines it, the Thoughts which he employs in Search after Truth, and more particularly relating to the Duties of his Profession. In the first Book, he shews that the Condition of a Sovereign Pontiff would be but very unhappy, had he no Regard to himself, for it would be a very indiscreet Thing of him to spend all his Time in hearing and deciding other Mens Differences, and all the while neglect to employ himself sometimes in Contemplation. He exclaims against the great Number of Causes that are brought into the Ecclesiastical Courts, as likewise against the many Abuses committed there. He shews that this is more consistent with the Secular Power than the Ecclesiastical. He says, he would not have *Eugenius* follow the Examples of his Predecessors, who apply'd themselves more to Business than Contemplation, but that he should imitate *St. Gregory*, who when *Rome* was threatned to be besieged by the *Barbarians*, labour'd on an Exposition of the most difficult Passage of the Prophet *Ezekiel*. He there proves, that Consideration serves to form and employ the four cardinal Virtues. Lastly, he takes Notice of the unbecoming Bickerings at the Ecclesiastical Bar, and exhorts Pope *Eugenius* to endeavour after a Regulation.

In the second Book, after having justify'd himself for advising the Expedition of the *Croisade*, which had been unsuccessful; he admonishes Pope *Eugenius* to consider as to his Person, who he is, and as to the Dignity of his Profession, what he is. First, he is to reflect whence he is descended, which may serve to abate his Pride. He gives him to understand, that he is not set over others, to domineer over them, but to be their Minister and watch over them; that if this Dignity has procur'd him great Riches, he is not to think they belong to him by the Right of Apostleship, since *St. Peter* had no Power to dispose of what he never enjoy'd: That he indeed had given him the Charge of all Churches, but not an arbitrary Dominion over them, which he expressly forbids, and the Gospel disallows. That the same Person cannot well execute the Civil Government and the Papacy, and therefore he who grasps at both, ought justly to lose both. In a Word, he advises him particularly to avoid being haughty on Account of his Supremacy, 'for (says he) you are not supremely Perfect by being supream Bishop, and take Notice, that if you think your self so, you are the worst of Men. But let us consider you, as you stand in the Church of God, and what Figure you make. You are the Chief Priest, the Sovereign Pontiff, the first among the Bishops, the Heir of the Apostles, *Abel* in Priority, *Noah* in Government, &c. 'Tis to you that the Keys of Heaven have been intrusted, and to whom the Care of the Flock has been committed; but there are other Door-keepers of Heaven, and other Pastors besides you; yet you are so much the more above them, as you have receiv'd the Title after a different Manner. They have every one a particular Flock, but you are Superintendent over them all; you are not only supream Pastor over all the Flocks, but likewise over all the Shepherds.' He establishes this Privilege upon the Words of our Saviour in the Gospel, and he adds some Lines afterwards.— 'Others are but call'd to a Part of the Care, when the full Power is confided to you. Their Power is limited, when yours extends even over those who have a Power over others; for it is your Business to excommunicate a Bishop, and suspend him if you see Occasion. This is what you are at present by your Office to remember also what you were, and who you are personally, for you are still what you were once, and the Dignity which has been superadded to you, has not been able to divest you of your Nature. You were born a Man; you have been made a sovereign Bishop, yet you are still a Man, so that you ought to consider your self as a Man; draw the Veil which covers you, disperse the Clouds that environ you, and you will find your self to be no better than a poor, naked, wretched Creature, that is dissatisfy'd with his Nature; that is ashamed of being naked; that grieves for being born; that murmurs at being destin'd to Labour, and not to Ease; and in a Word, that is born in Sin, with a short Life abounding in Miseries, and full of Fears and Complaints.' From these two Considerations he passes to a third, which is to consider

*St. Bernard's*  
Treatise of  
Consideration.



consider his Manners and Conduct, wherein he counsels *Eugenius* to make a serious Reflection upon those Things. He admonishes him in the Conclusion of this Book to be constant in Adversity, and humble in Prosperity; to fly Sloth and unprofitable Discourse, and to practise no Manner of Partiality in his Judgments.

In the third Book he treats of the Consideration that the Pope ought to have towards those that are under him, and they are the Faithful over all the World. He admonishes him again not to affect an arbitrary Power over them, which he repeats, says he, *because there is no Poison nor Arms that he ought to dread more than the Spirit of Tyranny*. He afterwards proceeds to treat of the Duty of a Pope towards his Inferiors, and first in Respect to those who are out of the Church, as well *Jews* and *Infidels*, as Christians and Schismatics. He says it is a Pope's Duty to bring over those that are in an Error, to keep those from straying that are already brought over; and lastly, to reconcile and fix Wanderers. For this Purpose he must pitch upon unbiassed Preachers, and who shall be apt to be mov'd neither by Ambition nor Avarice: Such as these now adays swarm in the Court of *Rome*, and that is the Reason that there is so little Good done, and that Religion seems as it were at a Stand. He speaks afterwards against the Grievance of Appealing to the Court of *Rome*: 'We must, says he, make a severe Reflection upon these Appeals, for fear a Remedy prove fruitless when it is established, for it seems to me, that a great deal of Mischief may be occasioned by these Means, if Moderation be not made use of. Every Body appeals to your Holiness; 'tis a Badge of your Primacy, yet if you are wise, you will rather endeavour to procure the Welfare of the Church, than insist upon the Grandure of your See. Men appeal to the Pope, and would to God it was to a good End. Would to God that those who oppress others, would feel the Effect of Protection granted to such as are oppressed. But on the contrary, nothing is more common, than for the Oppressors to have Cause to rejoice, and for the oppressed to have Reason to mourn. The Court of *Rome* seldom considers, either the Fatigue or Expence of a Journey in a just Cause, and rarely are incens'd against him or them that were the Cause of it. Rouze thee then, O Man of God, when these Things happen: Be touch'd with Compassion for the Sufferer, and mov'd with Indignation against the Oppressor; Let the first be comforted by a Redress of his Grievance, by a full Satisfaction for the Injury done him, and let the last repent of what he has done, and let him have no Power to do the like again. The same Punishment is to be inflicted upon those that appeal without Cause, for no small Injury accreus that Way; Men may be permitted to appeal where they are injured, but to appeal with Design to injure others, is an Injustice that ought not to be suffer'd. One may reasonably appeal from a Sentence, but it would be ill done to do so before any be pronounc'd, insomuch that as then no manifest Wrong appeared. Whoever appeals without being injured, has either Design to molest his Adversary, or to gain more Time for his Defence.' He adds, that every Body complains and murmurs against the great Number and Confusion of Appeals made to *Rome*, and that they are the Occasion of innumerable Mischiefs. He confirms this by some Examples; and moreover counsels the Pope not to suffer any longer such as promote Injustice. He also in this Book condemns the Abuse of Exemptions. 'I have a mind, says he, to speak of the Complaints and Murmurs of the Churches who cry continually that they are torn to pieces and dismember'd, and that there are few or none, but either feel this Damage or fear it. If you ask wherefore? It is because the Abbies are wrested from the Jurisdiction of their Bishops, the Bishops from that of the Archbishops, and the Archbishops from that of the Patriarchs or Primates. Does this consist with Order? Can this be any ways excus'd? You may thereby indeed shew the Absoluteness of your Power, but it is to be fear'd you can at the same Time produce but little Justice. You do thus because you have a Power to do it, but the Question will be only whether you ought to have done it. You are set above others, only to preserve to every one his Rank and Quality, and not to injure any one.' He proves afterwards, that these Exemptions are neither just nor profitable; that they confound the Oeconomy of the Church; that they occasion a great deal of Trouble, and raise a Contempt as well of the lawful Powers establish'd by God Almighty, as of those of the Pope; and in a Word, that they destroy the Ecclesiastick Hierarchy establish'd in Imitation of that of the Angels. 'But what (may it be objected in the Pope's Name) will you then forbid me to grant Dispensations? No certainly; but to ruin the Church you ought not. I know you are establish'd universal Dispenser, but still it is to edifie and not to destroy. When there is a Necessity for Dispensation it is excusable; when it is profitable it is likewise commendable, but when there is neither of these, it is rather Dissipation than a faithful Dispensation. There are several

Monasteries in most Bishopricks, which belong peculiarly to the Holy See, according to the Will of their Founders, but then must those be distinguish'd which have been gain'd on account of Devotion, from those that have been coveted by Ambition.' And lastly, *St. Bernard* says, that the Pope ought in general to watch over the Church, and see strict Discipline and Ecclesiastical Institutions duly observed. He recommends to him more particularly to take Care of the Reform, enjoyn'd by the Council of *Rheims*, relating to the Habits and Manners of the Clergy, as likewise to the Age and Qualifications of such as were to be admitted to Benefices.

In the fourth Book, *St. Bernard* considers the Pope's Duty towards the Clergy, the Inhabitants of *Rome*, the Cardinals, and other Officers of his Court. He tells him, his Clergy ought to be extremely regular in all their Actions, because it is they that are to set Examples to others. In Relation to the People, he observes that it is enough to say, it is the People of *Rome* to denote what Disorders they live in. That it is a People that have never been accustomed to Peace; that love Disturbances and Tumults, that are cruel and untractable, and who never submit, but when they have no Power to resist: That he is nevertheless obliged to exhort them, though they seem irreclaimable. He farther admonishes the Pope in particular to endeavour a Reformation of Luxury and Sumptuousness. He gives him a great deal of Advice, concerning the Qualifications that are to be requir'd in Cardinals and other Ministers, which he shall pitch upon to be near his Person, and counsels him to take Care that they be neither selfish nor arrogant; and in a Word, he admonishes him to discharge his Domestick Affairs with true Oeconomy. Lastly, he makes a Recapitulation of all the principal Qualities that a Pope ought to have. 'Consider above all Things (says he to him) that the Church of *Rome*, over which God hath plac'd you as Supream, is the Mother, and not the Commandress of other Churches; and moreover, that you are not a Sovereign Lord over the other Bishops, but only one among them; that you are a Brother of those that love God, and a Companion of such as fear him; that you ought to be a living Example of Justice, a Mirror of Holiness, a Model of Devotion, the Support of Truth and Defence of Faith, the Leader of Nations and Guide of Christians, the Friend of the Bridegroom, and Conductor of the Bride to her Spouse; the Ordainer of the Clergy, the Pastor of the People, the Instructor of the Ignorant, the Sanctuary of the Oppressed, the Advocate of the Poor, the Hope of the Miserable, the Support of the Fatherless, the Judge of Widows, the Eye of the Blind, the Tongue of the Dumb, the Staff of Age, the Revenger of Crimes, the Terror of the Wicked, and Glory of the Good, the Rod of the Powerful, the Scourge of Tyrants, the Father of Princes, the Mitigator of Laws, the Dispenser with Canons, the Salt of the Earth, the Light of the World, the Pontiff of the most High, the Vicar of Christ, the Anointed of the Lord; and lastly, the God of *Pharaoh*.

In the last Book, he admonishes Pope *Eugenius* to consider the Power that is above his, that is, that of God and the Angels, which gives him Occasion to treat of the Angels and of the Divinity.

*St. Bernard* began this Work in the Year 1149. and the first Book of it was finished the same Year. The second was sent to Pope *Eugenius*, in the Year 1150. after the ill Success of the Croisade. The third in 1152. and the two last, some small Time after.

These Books, *Of Consideration*, were follow'd by a Treatise of the same Nature, address'd to *Henry* Archbishop of *Sens*, concerning the Manners and Duty of Bishops. *St. Bernard* therein shews how difficult it is to behave ones self in that Office, and the Necessity there is for having good Counsel. He afterwards lays down the Obligations for Bishops to prove an Honour to their Ministry by their Virtues, and not by Vanity and Luxury. He treats more particularly of the Virtues requir'd in a Bishop, such as Chastity, Humility and Pastoral Care; and lastly, he blames the Conduct of those Abbots who had a Mind to exempt themselves from the Episcopal Jurisdiction, and wear Pontifical Habits. This Treatise was compos'd about the Year 1127.

About the same Time *St. Bernard* being at *Paris*, writ a Discourse to the Clergy of that City, intitled, *Of Conversion*, which follows the Treatise of the Duty of Bishops. It contains a moral Exhortation to Repentance and Change of Life, and towards the End, he speaks against ambitious and incontinent Clerks.

The Treatise of *Commands and Dispensations* was compos'd by *St. Bernard*, about the Year 1131. to serve for an Answer to the Monks of *St. Peter of Chartres*, who had consulted him upon this Subject, and which is address'd to *Roger* Abbot of *St. Columbe*, near *Sens*, and not to these Monks of *Chartres*, because they had written to him with the Leave of their Abbot. The first Question he treats of is, Whether all those Things which are contained in the Order are Obligatory to them who profess them, or whether they are only



monitory and instructive. And again, if one Part ought to be taken for Precepts, and the other for Counsel. He answers, that the Order of St. *Benedict* is propos'd to all Mankind, but not offer'd to be forc'd upon any Body. That any Person is free to be admitted of it, but when one is once engag'd in it, it becomes necessary so to continue; so that excepting a few Particulars which relate to spiritual Matters, such as Charity, Humility, &c. which are instituted only by God, and therefore not to be chang'd, all the other Rules of the Order are only Instructions and good Counsel to them who are not yet profess'd, but to such as are, they become Commands, and it is criminal to violate them; that they are voluntary to the first, and compulsory to the last; yet however they may be dispens'd with upon an extraordinary Occasion: That this Power of dispensing belongs only to Superiors, and who cannot do it upon just Grounds; and not merely out of Fancy. To explain the utmost Extent of these Dispensations, St. *Bernard* reckons up three Sorts of necessary Things, which are, one establish'd, two inviolable, and three immutable. The establish'd are those which are found to be so very necessary, that every Body is not allow'd to alter them but Superiors only: These are Monastick Rules, which having been instituted by Saints, are as it were establish'd, and cannot be chang'd by private Persons, but as those who establish'd them were Men, those Men also who by a Canonical Election have succeeded to these Saints, have Authority to give Dispensations without Abuse and Disorder, according to the Circumstances of Time, Place and Persons; and moreover, these having been instituted for the Increase and Preservation of Charity, as long as they are conducing thereunto they cannot be alter'd, even by Superiors; but if it at any Time happens that they become contrary to the Interest of Charity, in the Observation and Judgment of those that are oblig'd to inspect them, then it is but reasonable, that what was at first instituted for the Benefit of Charity, should be either omitted, interrupted or alter'd for the Sake of Charity, and it would be unjust, that what had been establish'd on Account of Charity, should subsist and flourish in Prejudice thereof. These Things we term establish'd, are fix'd and immoveable, even in Regard to Superiors, but then it must be as long as they are serviceable and assisting to Charity. The second Sort of necessary Things are call'd inviolable, for that not having been instituted by Men, but establish'd by the Commandments of God, they cannot be chang'd but by the Authority of God himself, who was the Author of them. As to the third Kind of necessary Things which he terms immutable, are those which are of such a Nature, that even God himself could not change them on whatsoever Account. Under this Kind are comprehended all the Instructions which Christ gave his Disciples on the Mount, and moreover, such as both the Old and New Testament have ordain'd relating to Charity, Humility, &c. all these Things being such in their Nature, it would not be either allowable or profitable to retrench them, their Excellency being immutable and founded on the Principles of the Law of Nature. Of these three necessary Things, the first is covenanted by free Will and a Promise. The second proceeds from the Authority of him that commanded. And the third is grounded on the Dignity of Precept.

From these Principles St. *Bernard* concludes, that an Abbot cannot dispense with any Thing that belongs to Spirituals in his Order, and as to outward Observances, he must not be guided by his Pleasure and Fancy, but by Charity, because he is not above the Order which he professes himself a Member of: That the Letter of the Rules must give Way to Charity when Necessity so requires it: That even Superiors cannot restrain the Obligation of a Vow, unless upon an absolute Necessity; nor extend it, unless the Inferiors consent: That nevertheless an Inferior, whose Obedience does not exceed his Vow, is imperfect, because perfect Obedience is not comprehended within any Bounds, but embraces willingly, and accepts courageously whatever is commanded: That there is no Disobedience but what is to be avoided, but that several Kinds of it are not equally criminal: That there ought to be a Difference put between the Person that commands and the Things commanded: That in Regard of the Persons, we ought to be most afraid of offending our Superiors, who have the greatest Authority over us; for it is better to obey God than Man, our Superiors than our Equals, and amongst our Superiors those of our own Country rather than Strangers: That in Relation to Commands, we ought to take more Care of those which are of Importance, than of those of less Consequence, and that a Person is more or less culpable according as the Command is of more or less Importance: That this Difference is in the Commandments establish'd by Men, because they command with more or less Affection according as they see Occasion: That perfect Obedience consists in not slighting the least Commands and obeying the greatest, conforming ones self to the Intent of the Superior: That slight Matters, such as forbidding Laughing, or Speaking, when they are once commanded become Obligatory, and

they who disobey them commit a Sin, tho' no Crime, providing they do it not with Contempt; but when they contemn the Law they are more than ordinarily faulty: That God is to be obey'd, as likewise is Man, that commands in his Name, providing the Command be not contrary to the Law of God: That in doubtful Matters the Commands of Superiors are to be follow'd: That all Sins of Disobedience are not equal; and that in Respect of those which are committed against the Monastick Rules, some are more considerable than others: That it ought not to be thought that the Observing of Monastick Rules is impossible, because that cannot be but either thro' Neglect or Inadvertency.

St. *Bernard* proceeds afterwards to answer some Particulars which these Monks had propos'd to him.

The first was, Why an erroneous Conscience does not sometimes change the Bad to Good, in like Manner as the Good to Bad? He answers, that to the End that an Action may be good, it ought to be effected by the Knowledge and Love of God: That he that does a good Action, believing it to be bad, has not the Love of God in him, and by Consequence his Action must be bad, but that he that does a bad Action, believing it to be good, is ignorant of what is good, and therefore his Action cannot be esteem'd good, tho' his Intention was so: That his Good-will shall not be altogether depriv'd of a Reward, altho' thro' a deceiv'd Simplicity he be not altogether exempted from Ill. But what, perhaps you may say, did not he act according to his Conscience? Yes, replies St. *Bernard*, but according to a false and erroneous Conscience, which does not exempt him absolutely from Sin.

Next he answers the second Question, which was, If in Relation to Commands, Disobedience be proportionably as criminal, as Obedience is meritorious? He shews that in certain Cases Obedience is more meritorious than Disobedience criminal.

They had likewise demanded of him, How far they were oblig'd to be resident, and where they might take a Liberty to quit their Monastery? He answers, That a good Monk ought never to forsake his Monastery without Leave first obtain'd from his Abbot, when he is able to undergo the Injunctions of his Order; but if the ill Lives of those which he lives amongst, hinder him from so doing, then is he to chuse and go to another Monastery, where he may accomplish those Vows, he could not so well perform there: That altho' it be not allowable for a Monk, who is in a well regulated Monastery, tho' less austere, to leave it without Permission of his Superior, for one more austere; yet if it happen, that one having left it, enters into another, none ought to advise him to return, unless the Monasteries be near to each other, and he be speedily recall'd.

The fourth Question they propos'd to him was, Why St. *Gregory* the Great receiv'd a Person that had quitted his Order, into the Communion, and did not rather oblige him to return to a Monastick Life. And why St. *Austine* teaches that a Marriage contracted by such as had made a Vow of Continence is not to be dissolv'd. St. *Bernard* owns freely, that he is not of those holy Bishops Opinion: And that it belong'd to them to make good what they had asserted.

He moreover answers a fifth Question, concerning the Bishops which St. *Gregory* had cloyster'd up in Monasteries by Reason of the Crimes they had committed, the Question was, Whether they were to continue their Episcopal Habit there, or to wear that of the Monks. He says, He knows little of the Matter, but that it is likely they ought not to take upon them the Habits of the Order, because they had never before done it, and because they were to continue in those Monasteries but for a Time, and that they were confin'd to these Places only that they might have more Leisure to repent.

The sixth Question which he answers is, Why of all the Kinds of Repentance that amongst Monks has the Privilege of being term'd a second Baptism? He says, he believes it is, by Reason that they have absolutely renounc'd the World, and practise a spiritual Life after a very excellent and extraordinary Manner; That they are anew cloath'd with Jesus Christ, and retire from the Darkeness of Sin into the Light of Piety and Virtue.

The seventh Question they ask'd St. *Bernard* is, If when an Abbot dies or is depos'd, they have, during the Interval, a Liberty to go out of their Monasteries to go to another? St. *Bernard* answers, they have not, because the Vow they made is not to be limited by the Death of the Abbot, but only authoriz'd by his Presence, and that therefore a Monk ought to consider his Vow by the Limits of his own Life, and not by that of another.

They also demanded of him, What a Monk ought to do that has a secret Aversion to his Abbot, whose Election he looks upon to be inconsistent with the Rules of the Order? To which St. *Bernard* answers, that when the Election is not manifestly irregular, the Monks ought to obey.

The other Questions of these Monks being of less Consequence, St. *Bernard* answers them in few Words, and there is but one which deserves to be mention'd, which is,

St. Bernard.

St. Bernard's Apology to William Abbot of Thierry.



If a Person who has offended another be so disposed as not to design to do him any Harm, and yet is not concern'd if any happen to him, be in a Condition to approach the Altar. St. Bernard answers that he ought not to do it till his Passion and Resentments be over.

St. Bernard's Apology address'd to William Abbot of St. Thierry, is a Work in which he undertakes to Justify himself and those of his Order against their being accus'd of speaking ill of the Order of Cluny, that is to say of all the Benedictin Monks who had not embrac'd the Reform of Cisleaux. Altho' this Work be entitled an Apology, he nevertheless severely reproveth in it the Monks of Cluny; but to have the better Colour for doing so with greater Freedom, he begins by declaring that neither he nor any of his Monks have ever spoken ill of that Order. He approves of the different Kinds of Religious Orders, and particularly commends that of Cluny. He exclaims against those that Judge rashly of the Manner of living of this Order, who think themselves more Holy, because they lead an Austerer Life. He shews that Spiritual Exercises are more profitable than Corporal, and that a Man may be a good Monk without practising all these Austerities, and that also all these Austerities are Unprofitable when they are not accompany'd with Charity and Virtue. But for fear that he may not seem to approve of the Irregularities which were practis'd in the Abby of Cluny, he falls upon and condemns them in the second Part of this Work. He says that the Manner of Living among the Order of the Abby of Cluny, seems to be a Work of Saints, because being willing to save a great many Persons they have temper'd the Rigor of the Rules of his Order in Favour of the Weak without altogether ruining it at the same Time. But I cannot believe they have nevertheless allow'd of the many Disorders that are to be found in most Monasteries. For I can never enough Admire (says he) how so great a Licentiousness in Meals, Habits, Beds, Equipages, and Horses can get in and be establish'd as it were, among Monks; insomuch that those who have thus wholly abandon'd themselves to these Excesses, seem to have had a mighty regard to the Spirit and Religion of their Ancestors: In a manner that by these extravagant Proceedings they have procur'd Vices the Name of Virtues, and on the contrary Virtues the Name of Vices. When a moderate Expence ought to be call'd Covetousness; Sobriety, if not Extraordinary, Austerity; and Silence, Sadness; they on the contrary call a loose Behaviour the Effect of Discretion; Profuseness, Liberality, and much Talking but common Civility. Immoderate Laughing with them is no more a Vice, but goes under the Name of a necessary Gaiety. Luxury in Habits and Pride in Horses are look'd upon as the good Breeding of a Monk, and superfluous Ornaments are the Furniture of his Chamber. Yet whatever they thus Lavish away can it be call'd Charity? No; Unhappy Charity that destroys the True! Irregular Discretion that confounds in us that of Virtue! Cruel Pity that has greater regard to the Body than the Soul! What a strange Charity is this, to provide so well for the Flesh, and to take no Care of the Spirit! What Discretion to give all to the Body and refuse all to the Soul! He afterwards proceeds to compare the Sobriety of the Antient Monks with the Intemperance of those of his Time, and gives a very lively Description of the Excesses of these last, whereof some of his Expressions follow. Are not their Mouths and Ears equally fill'd with Victuals and confus'd Voices? And while they thus Spin out their Immoderate Feasts, is there any one who offers to regulate the Debauch? No certainly: Dish dances after Dish, and for Abstinence which they Profess, two Rows of fat fish appear swimming in Sauce upon the Table: Are you cloy'd with these? The Cook has Art sufficient to Prick you up Others of no less Charms? He'll provide Sauces as different as your Dishes. Thus Plate is devour'd after Plate, and such natural Transitions are made from one to the other, that they fill their Bellies, but seldom blunt their Appetites, for the Palate is always so agreeably entertain'd with so many Novelties that it has not leisure allow'd it to be satisfy'd. Now Hunger is reviv'd again, the Appetite is awaken'd and they fall on with the same Greediness and Gust. The Belly having no Eyes sees not how much it takes in, and it is at last rather fill'd than glutted. And because the simplicity of Nature is not entertaining enough, we make Mixtures and Hotchpottes of different kinds, and by exquisite and elected Savours support and encourage our Intemperance, yet notwithstanding tho' we recede so much from Nature, yet are we not able to fill the vast Bounds of our Desires. He then reproveth very severely, their Excess and Niceness in Drinking, and ridicules a pleasant Custom of some Monks who being Young, Healthy and Strong, would retreat at Sacrament time into the Infirmary to Eat and Drink. From their Excess in Eating and Drinking he proceeds to Dressing. We don't think our selves well Drest (says he) unless we have the best of every Thing on our Backs. We don't search after the most decent and commodious but the Gayest Cloaths. We don't enquire for the warmest but the finest Cloath. In a word, we don't desire (pursuant to our Vows) what may be most serviceable to us, but what may cover us most with Vanity? — Don't we see every Day that these

Habits which were given to the Monks as Marks of Humility, are so contriv'd that they serve rather to exalt their Pride? Scarce can a whole Kingdom furnish them suitable to their Extravagant Desires. The Soldier and the Monk almost participate of the same Habit in the Field and the Cell. Will not a Monk's Habit now a Days become a Man of the World? A Prince likewise, providing he were in Fashion, would not look Amiss in their Garments. But you'll tell me perhaps with the Proverb, That the Habit does not make the Monk, and that it is Virtue alone which governs the Heart tho' the Person be never so splendidly cloath'd. Very well: Then I would Ask you when you traverse the Town, visit all Fairs, and the Merchants Houses, overturn the Magazines, unfold the Silks, feel them with the Fingers, view them with your Eyes, hold them up to the Light, reject some and like Others, whether you have not more Vanity than Virtue? He adds moreover that the Abbots do not only neglect to reform these Disorders, but even authorize and encourage them by their Silence and Example: I am accus'd (says he) of being Arrogant; No matter I cannot hold my Tongue? I must always take the Liberty to enquire how the Salt of the Earth comes to be so deprav'd: What occasions Men, who in their Lives ought to be Examples of Humility, by their Practice to give Instructions and Examples of Vanity? And to pass by many other Things, what a Proof of Humility is it to see a vast Retinue of Horses with their Equipage, and a confused Train of Valets and Footmen, so that the Retinue of a single Abbot outshines that of two Bishops. May I be thought a Lyar if it be not true that I have seen one single Abbot attended by above 60 Horses. Who could take these Men for the Fathers of Monks and the Shepherds of Souls? Or who would not be apt to take them rather for Governors of Cities and Provinces? Why, tho' the Master be four Leagues off, must his Train of Equipage reach to his very Doors? One would take these mighty Preparations for the Subsistence of an Army, Or for Provisions to travel thro' a very large Desert. Cannot Wine and Water be pour'd undress'd out of the same Cup? Cannot a Candle give Light but in a Gold or Silver Candlestick? Cannot you sleep upon any other Bed but one of Tissue? Will not one Servant suffice to guide the Horse, serve at Table and make the Bed? If you tell me it is to save Charges in an Inn that you carry so many Things, then will I ask you why every one does not carry his own Provisions. He also does not spare the Monks in their Buildings. But all this (says he) is Little or Nothing. Let us proceed to Matters of greater Consequence, and so much the greater as by how much they are more Common. I shall not take Notice of the Dimensions of our Churches, of their Stately Height, of their Excessive Length and Superfluous Breadth, of their Sumptuous Ornaments and Curious Pictures, which, attracting the Eyes of the Congregation do not a little, I fancy, divert their Devotion, and which seem to me not much more allowable than the Ceremonies of Ancient Judaism. As for my Part I would have all Devotion and Places of Worship tend to the Glory of God. I would fain ask the Monks (for I am a Monk myself) a Question which a Pagan heretofore demanded of Pagans. Tell me ye Priests (says he) what has Gold to do in Holy Places? Now I would make Use of his Sense tho' not of his Words. Tell me Poor Souls then say I (if you may be call'd Poor Souls) what has Gold to do in the Sanctuary? I do not speak of Bishops and their Churches, for they may take a greater Liberty; but I speak of the Churches of Monks. We know that Bishops are indebted both to Wise Men and Fools, and must be allow'd to stir up Devotion in the People by Images, and other such Sensible Objects, which they could not raise by their Preaching. But we that are now no more of the World; that have forsaken all the Pleasures and Riches of Life, for Jesus Christ's sake; who have cast at our Feet all that glitters in the Eyes of the World, and have fled from Concerts of Musick, Fragrant smells and Feasting our Senses, shall we (I say) Interrupt our Devotion by these Bawbles which we have left for its Sake? What can we expect if we should Acquiesce in all these Vanities? The Admiration of Sots or the Satisfaction of Fools. Is it not the Commerce we entertain'd with the World that causes us to offer Incense to its Idols? And to speak more plainly, is not Avarice the Cause, the very worst of Idolatries? Is it not true that we have greater regard to People's Riches, than their Salvation? If you ask me how comes this to Pass I will discover the wonderful Secret to you. There is a certain Art to multiply Riches by exhausting them, and like a River to make them encrease while they flow, for here Profuseness is the Cause of their Abounding. Here the Eyes and Minds of the Spectators are so seduc'd by these costly Vanities, that instead of offering their Hearts to God they sacrifice their Purse to Man. Thus you may see how Riches swallow up Riches, and how the Money of the Monks proves a Bait for that of Fools; for Men have I know not what Inclinations to throw Wa-



St. Bernard.

St. Bernard.

ter into the Sea, and to heap Riches upon those that have 'em in Abundance. The Monks cover the Relicks with rich Attire, and the Pilgrim for fear of being dazzled approaches them with shut Eyes and an open Purse. The best adorn'd of these Images are ever the most Holy. Men crowd to pay them Devotion, but first they must be consecrated with the Holy Water, and after are led to the Image where they for the most part admire the Ornaments more than the Thing it self. Next the Church is hung round not with Crowns of Thorns, but Rows of Pearls. The Lights of the Lamps are lightned by the Lustre of Diamonds, and instead of Candelsticks you see great Branches of Brass mounted, whose Weight and Work-man-ship are equally to be admir'd. What do you think can be the Cause of all these fine things? Are they more to put you in mind of your Sins than to move your Admiration? No Certainly. O Vanity of Vanities! But this is not so much a Vanity as Folly. The Church shines in its Walls and suffers in its Poor. It covers its Stone with costly Garments and leaves its Children the Misfortune of being naked. Here the Eyes of the Rich are fed with the Bread of the Poor. The Curiosity of Men is indulg'd when the Miseries of the Indigent are neglected. Nevertheless if we are Insensible of the Wants of Men, we ought to have more respect to the Images of our Saints, than to Pave our Churches with them. What Shame is it for us to spit in the Mouth of an Angel, and tread on the Face of a Saint? But all this while if we have an Indifference for the Carving, why do we not spare the Beauty of the Painting? Why do we paint with our Hands, what we intend to deface with our Feet? Why do we take so much Pains in embellishing what we intend to defile the next Moment? What signify so many fine Strokes when they are immediately to be cover'd with Dust? In a Word what Occasion is there for all these Vanities among Poor Monks who have renounc'd the World, unless we have a mind to Answer this Pagan Poet with *David*; *Lord, I have been all exclaim'd with Zeal for the Honour of thy House and the Tabernacle of thy Glory.* Well then I agree with you; I consent to these Excesses in the Church. The Simplicity and Devotion of Prayers may possibly sanctify that that would be a Crime in a Prodigal; but in Cloysters, to what purpose are those Paintings Carwings, before People who weep for their Sins. Towards the End of this Treatise he makes an Apologue for what he had said before. I hope in God (says he) that no Body will be offended at what I have writ, for I do not Question but that in reprov'g Vice so severely, I have a little grated the Ears of some that Prædise it. But it may be if God is so pleas'd to have it, that even those whom I may be thought to have anger'd, may not be so. But this cannot possibly happen unless they cease to be what they are, unless they cease to calumniate every Day according to Custom; to Judge ill of their Brethren by Reason they do not visibly lead so Austere a Life; and if on the Contrary those that are less mindful of exterior Rigor, do not take Care to retrench all their Superfluities. Lastly he blames those who thro' their Inconstancy go from one Order to another. I have known some (says he) who had a mind to change the Moderation of their Order, for the Austerity of ours; What had they a mind to do then? Why what but to deprive their Brethren of the Scandal of their Inconstancy, and bring it to us? and they have not been less Troublesome to us by their wretched Conversation, than they were to them by their leaving them; and because they have despis'd through Pride the Profession which they had embrac'd, and presum'd to assume a new one beyond their Abilities, God's Justice has suffered their Baseness to appear, for they have been oblig'd to quit our Order through the same Imprudence that they engaged in it, and shamefully to resume that which through Inconstancy they had forsaken, for not having entered on it, but by the Impatience they had to continue in their own, and not through any hearty Desire of living with us, they have sufficiently shewn what they were, and going thus from one to the other, they have left Scandal with both. I don't here mean every Body, for thanks be to God, we have found some, who as they have begun generously, have persever'd honestly; for it is much better to persevere in what we undertake, than to undertake what we are not able to persevere in. But above all, let us all take Care with the Apostle, that our Actions be conceiv'd in the Spirit of Charity.

St. Bernard's Treatise in Commendation of the new Militia.

The Treatise in Commendation of the new Militia address'd to *Hugh*, great Master of the Knight Templars, was written by *St. Bernard*, about the Year 1135. This Order had been establish'd in the Year 1118. by some pious Knights who had made a Vow to the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, that they would live like regular Canons in Chastity, Obedience and Poverty. The first that made this Vow, was *Hugh de Paganis*, and *Geofrey de St. Aldemar*. The King of *Jerusalem* gave them for their Habitation a Place near the Temple, whence they afterwards took upon them the Names

of Knights-Templars. The Patriarch and Bishops gave them for Employment the Guard of the High-Roads that led to *Jerusalem*, to defend the Pilgrims from Robbers. The first great Prior of this Order was this *Hugh de Paganis* to whom this Treatise of *St. Bernard* is dedicated. In the Beginning of this Institution they were but nine Knights, but afterwards their Number soon encreased. Their Institution was approved of by the Council of *Troyes*, in the Year 1128. who drew up the Rules they were to Observe; some believe they were drawn by *St. Bernard*, but it is certain that it was *John de St. Michael*, nam'd by the Council and by *St. Bernard*, who drew them up according to the Relation of the great Prior and the other Knights, and as may appear in the Prologue of these Rules. The Treatise of *St. Bernard* which we speak of, does not consist of Rules, but is an Elogium on this Order, and an Exhortation to the Knights of the Temple, to acquit themselves well of their Duty. *The World bears* (says he) *with Astonishment, that there is a new Militia establish'd in the Country, which Christ honoured with his Corporal Presence, to the End, that as he had exterminated the Prince of Darkness from thence by the force of his Arm, he might likewise at present drive away his Guards by the prowess of his Courageous Soldiers, and consequently redeem his People anew.* This kind of Militia is altogether new, and past Ages have known nothing like it. They are engaged in two Combates at once, one against the Flesh, and the other against the Enemies of Christ; in one they resist a Corporal Foe by force of Arms, and in the other declare War against Vice and the Devil. He adds, That the Occasion and Design of this Institution is not less to be admir'd; for whereas all Wars among Men, are either begun on Account of Anger, Ambition or Vain Glory, or out of a Desire of getting Possession of Something, and the End propos'd is always some Temporal Interest. These Knights of the Temple acted by a quite different Motive, and had quite another End in their Enterprizes. Their Business was to fight the Battles of the Lord, without fear of Sinning, if they kill'd their Enemies; or Perishing, if they were kill'd themselves; because whether they kill or were kill'd, it was altogether to further the Cause of Jesus Christ. In a Word, the Lives and Behaviour of these Knights ought to shame all those, who now-a-days practise the Art of War, for they did nothing but by Command of their Prior, had nothing but what he gave them, us'd nothing Superfluous in their Habits, liv'd regularly without Wives and Children, pretended to nothing of their own, nor even so much as wish'd for more than they had; they moreover never gave their Minds to any Sports, delighted in no Shows, nor sought after any Honour, but wisely and diligently waited for the Victory of the Lord. After this great Commendation, *St. Bernard* exhorts them to acquit themselves courageously in their several Posts, having always a strict Regard not to prophane the Holy Places upon which he makes divers Mystical Reflections.

The first of the Works compos'd by *St. Bernard*, is his Treatise on the Degrees of Humility and Pride, which follow in order of the Edition, the Treatise which we have just mentioned before. The Title sufficiently acquaints you with the Subject: It suffices to observe that it is very moving, consisting of Abundance of Piety and good Matter.

The Treatise of the Love of God was written some Time after the foregoing. *St. Bernard* therein treats of the Manner, Reasons, Source, Degrees and Obligation of loving God. He says, that the Manner of loving God, is to love him without Reserve; the Reason of loving him, is because he is God, and loves us; for the Recompence of loving him, is the Love it self which makes our Happiness; then that the Source and Origin of this Love is Charity, which God affords us through Mercy. Lastly, that four Degrees of this Love may be discover'd; the first is that by which Men love themselves; the second, whereby they love God for their own Sakes; the third, by which they love God, both for him and themselves; and the fourth, whereby they love God on his Account only. This fourth Degree is the supream Perfection to which it is impossible to arrive in this Life, which even the Martyrs never did, and which the Souls of the Blessed cannot attain to, till they are separated from their Bodies, to which they have always a natural Tendency. He moreover distinguishes Chast and Pure Love from that which is interess'd; the Love of Slaves from that of Children, and at length, in respect of the Obligation to the Love of God he shews that it is Natural so to do, and that it has an universal Influence upon Mankind.

The Treatise of Grace and Free-Will, address'd to *William Abbot of St. Thierry*, was written by *St. Bernard*, about the Year 1128. upon occasion of a Conference in which a certain Person had objected to him, that he had allowed too much to Grace, because that speaking of the Graces which God had done him, he had said that God had prevented him in doing Good, for that he ow'd to his divine Grace all the Progress which he had made therein, and that he hop'd that he would in Time grant him a full Perfection. One of the Standers-by, hearing him talk thus, said

to

St. Bernard's Treatise of Grace and Free-will.



St. Bernard. to him, *What have you done then of your self, and what reward can you expect when you confess God has done all?* This Question occasion'd St. Bernard to write upon this Subject to explain the Agreement of Free-Will with Grace. He therein follows the Principles of St. Austin, and first he says, that Free-Will is saved by Grace, together with which it cooperates in consenting voluntarily to its Motions; that this Consent is effected by Grace it self, but that it is not less Free, because it is without constraint and voluntary. *Where-ever there is Consent (says he) there is a Will, and where there is a Will, there is a Freedom or Liberty.* Ubi voluntas, ibi Libertas: *The Will is a reasonable Movement, which presides over the Senses, and the Appetite which Reason accompanies, follows and instructs without imposing any Force on it, so as that it may either incline to ill by pursuing inordinate Desires, or to Good, by following Grace. The Will only is capable of both Happiness and Misery, and 'tis by its Consent and Approbation, that Men are either Wicked or Good, Happy or Miserable.* He afterwards divides Freedom into three Sorts, 1. Freedom or Exemption from Sin. 2. Freedom or Exemption from Misery. 3. Freedom or Exemption from Necessity. He calls the last Freedom that of Nature, the second, that of Grace, and the first, the Freedom of Life or Glory; for first, says he, Man was made an excellent Creature, with a Will altogether Free; secondly, he has been re-establish'd in Innocence to be a new Creature in Jesus Christ; thirdly, he is translated into Glory, to become a perfect Creature in Spirit. The Freedom of Necessity is to be found in all rational Creatures in whatever Condition they be; in Angels as well as Men, in the Blessed as well as the Damn'd, in the Righteous as well as the Wicked. They that would do well and cannot, are free from this Freedom, but they are not nevertheless free from the Freedom of Sin, which ought rather to be call'd free Advice than Free-Will. This second Freedom is found only in such as have Grace, as the Freedom of Misery, which he calls *Libertum Complacitum*, is to be met with alone among the Blessed, because those only can enjoy the Good that pleases them, and be exempt from the Ill that displeases them, they being only endued with Grace that can do Good, Grace being absolutely requisite to do it; so the Will of Free-Will to be absolutely Perfect, has need of two Gifts of God, viz. of Conversion to Good and Confirmation in it, the first is granted through Grace to the Just in this Life, and the second is the Effect of Beatitude. The first Man, over and above the Freedom of Nature, had likewise the Freedom of Counsel and the Freedom of Compliance, but nevertheless in an imperfect Degree; for these two Freedoms have both their Degrees, one being Superior, and the other Inferior. The first Man in the State of Innocence had this last, but lost it by his Fall, insomuch that he afterwards retain'd only Free-Will. He fell by his Crime, and the ill Use he made of his Will, but then he could not raise himself again by the same Power, by reason that he might not have fell unless he had so pleas'd, but being once Fallen, it was not allow'd him to Rise. What then says one, is Man's Free-Will lost because he cannot avoid Sinning? No, answers he, but rather the Free-Warning he had not to Sin. He says moreover, That 'tis by Reason of this treble Liberty of the first Man, that he was created after the Image, and in the Resemblance of his Maker; that the Blessed have this Resemblance in the greatest Perfection, because they enjoy this treble Freedom, after a more excellent Manner than the first Man, and that those redeemed by Jesus Christ, during their stay on Earth, through Grace receive a Part of this Freedom, because that though they cannot be altogether free from Sin and Misery, yet with the Assistance of Grace, they may be able to prevent being Over-come by Sin and Misery. Let no body think then, says he, that Free-Will is so call'd because it keeps as it were, the Will in balance betwixt Good and Evil, in a manner that it can do one as easily as the other, for if this were so, neither God, the Angels nor Saints, who can do no Ill, could be exempted from doing it no more than the very Devils, who can do no Good. It is rather call'd Free-Will, because let the Will be inclin'd either to Good or Ill, it is still Free, it being in the power of no Person to be either Good or Bad, without the Consent of his Will: Now Grace does not take away this Freedom, because it sets the Will at Work, and changes the Evil to Good; but nevertheless, by its free Consent: So those who act through fear of Death or Punishment, do not fail to act with Freedom, because the Will cannot be constrain'd but by its self, and that cannot be forc'd by a Violence purely passive on its own Part. That in a word, excepting original Sin only, all others are an Effect of the Will which inclines to Sin without being oblig'd by any exterior Force: That we cannot pretend to any Thing meritorious without Grace, but also that Grace cannot make us to merit without our Will. Merit consists in the Consent that Free-Will gives to Grace, but at the same time this Consent does not proceed from Free-Will, because that cannot have a good Thought of it self, and that God is the Occasion of

all Good in us, whether it be the Product of Thought, Will or Action, for he does as it were prevent us by inspiring us with good Thoughts, and changes our bad Will by making us consent to Good, which he alone causes us to perform. That he Effects the first without us, the second with us, and the third by us, for the Beginning of our Salvation proceeds from God; we our selves are not the Occasions of it, neither are we present at its being done, but the Consent and Action, although they do not proceed from us, yet are they not without us; insomuch, that we ought to take care when we feel good Motions in us, not to attribute them to our Will which is weak, but to the sole Grace of God. These are the Principles and Maxims which St. Bernard establishes in this Treatise, which agree with the Doctrine of St. Austin, concerning the Nature of Free-Will, and the Necessity and Efficacy of Grace, without which Man could not perform any Thing towards his Salvation.

The tenth Treatise of St. Bernard, is a Letter address'd to St. Bernad's Letter to Hugh of St. Victor, against some Opinions which an Anonymous Author had laid down; which were;

1. That the Baptism of Jesus Christ had been obligatory, ever since our Saviour had said to Nicodemus, *Whoever is not born anew by Water and the Holy Spirit, shall never enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*

2. That no Body can be sav'd without actually receiving the Sacrament of Baptism, or Martyrdom in its stead.

3. That the Patriarchs of the Old Testament had as clear a Knowledge of the Incarnation as the Christians.

4. That there is no such thing as a Sin of Ignorance.

5. That St. Bernard was mistaken in that Passage of his Homilies, where he says, that even the Angels were not acquainted with God's Design touching the Incarnation.

As to the first, he says that it would be a hard Case, that what Jesus Christ spoke in Particular, should be taken for a general Precept, to oblige all Mankind. He is of Opinion, that Original Sin was remitted to the Jews by Circumcision, during the time of the ancient Law, and to the Faithful amongst the Gentiles, either by their own Faith, or by that of their Parents, and that the Obligation of being baptiz'd under Penalty of Damnation, did not commence till after the Promulgation of the Gospel.

As to the second, he is of Opinion that the Adult may be sav'd without actually receiving Baptism, if so be they cannot be baptized, although they desire it, because that actual Baptism is here supply'd by Faith and Vows. This he proves from divers Passages out of St. Ambrose and St. Austin, who (says he) are two Authorities which I cannot possibly dissent from, but with whom I am always resolv'd to be, either in the right or the wrong. He adds, that what supplies Baptism in case of Martyrdom is not the Pain, but the Faith of him that suffers. In relation to Infants who can have no Faith, he owns that they cannot be saved without Baptism, although they might be sav'd by the Faith of others, when they actually receive it.

As to the third, he says that if the Faithful of the Old Law had as clear a Knowledge of our Mysteries, as we our selves, God would have been either too liberal to them, or too reserv'd towards us: That the Gospel would not have been then above the Law; that St. Paul would have been in the wrong, to boast that he and the other Apostles receiv'd the first Fruits of the Spirit of God; that this would be to do a considerable Injury to St. John Baptist. And lastly, that the Prophets have not been all equally enlighten'd with our Mysteries, and that even among Christians, some have more Knowledge in those Matters than others.

As to the fourth, he affirms that there are Sins of Ignorance, and that the Author of this Proposition ought to agree with him, since he has before maintain'd that the Precept of Baptism given to Nicodemus in private, oblig'd those who could have no Knowledge of it; that it was moreover evident by the Holy Scriptures, that there are Sins of Ignorance, for that the Prophet David expressly prays to God not to lay his Sins of Ignorance to his Charge; also Moses speaks of Sins committed through Ignorance, and St. Paul is said to have persecuted the Church without knowing what the Church was; and our Saviour Christ beg'd of his Father to forgive them that crucify'd him, in that they were ignorant of the Sin they committed.

As to the fifth, he explains what he had said concerning the Angels, knowing nothing of the Mystery of the Incarnation, before Gabriel came to acquaint the Virgin of the Circumstances of Time, and Place of the Incarnation, the Manner thereof, and the Person chosen to be the Mother of God.

We will forbear speaking of the Treatise against the Errors of Abaelard, till we come to the History of that Author, so that there remains no more of the Treatises of St. Bernard in this second Tome, than the Life of St. Malachy, and the Tract concerning Singing, neither of which require any Observation.

The third Tome contains St. Bernard's Sermons throughout the whole Year; upon the several Feasts; and other Matters



**St. Bernard.** matters of Moment. These are his other Works, being writ with an elaborate Spirit, and abounding with lively and solid Thoughts, very proper to move the Heart. He preach'd most of them to his Monks, whom most commonly he exhorted publicly every Day. Father Mabillon shews in his Preface, that although there might have been several Converts among these Monks who did not understand Latin, yet for the most Part these Sermons were delivered in that Language, as their Style sufficiently demonstrates. He owns also that St. Bernard might sometimes have preach'd in the Vulgar Tongue, for the Benefit of those that did not understand Latin.

The last Tome of the first Volume of St. Bernard's Works, contains his Sermons upon the *Canticles*, amounting to the Number of 86, and being upon the two first Chapters, and the first Verse of the third Chapter, they comprehended an infinite Number of both Moral and Spiritual Thoughts which he draws out of the Words of the Text, either by explaining the Text after a Mystical Manner, or giving it an allegorical Sense, or adapting it to other Subjects. It is a wonderful Thing to consider how ready he is at this Manner of Writing, and how he could be capable of composing so vast a Work of such different Matters upon two such short Chapters as those of the *Canticles*.

**Gilbert Abbot of Hailand.** The second Volume of Works that go under St. Bernard's Name, is divided into two Tomes. The first contains a Continuation of the Commentary on the *Canticles*. This belongs to Gilbert of Hailand, a little Island between England and Scotland, where there was a Monastery of Monks and Nuns, whereof he was Abbot, depending on the Bishop of Lincoln. He was of the Order of Cisterciens, and dy'd in the Year 1172. in a Monastery of the Diocese of Troyes in Champagne. This Continuation is of the same Nature with the Work of St. Bernard, and is divided into forty eight Sermons, all which do not go beyond the 10th. Verse of the 5th. Chapter. This is follow'd by seven other Mystical Treatises, and four Letters by the same Author.

This Tome contains several other Tracts, attributed to St. Bernard, although it is certain he was not the Author of them.

**William Abbot of St. Thierry.** The first is a Letter or a Book address'd to the Friars of *Mont-dieu*, which is a Charter-House in the Diocese of Rheims near Mouzon. This Book has been quoted under the Name of St. Bernard, by Gerson and others; but nevertheless, several ancient Manuscripts assure us that it was written by William Abbot of St. Thierry, since Monk of Signy, as well as the Treatises of the *Contemplation of God*, and that of the *Nature and Dignity of Love*, both which go under St. Bernard's Name, and come next after. This William was Native of Liege; he came to Rheims with his Brother Simon; they embraced a Monastick Life in the Monastery of St. Nicaise; afterwards Simon was made Abbot of St. Nicolas, in the Diocese of Laon, and William succeeded Geoffrey, translated from the Abby of St. Thierry, to that of St. Medard of Soissons, in the Year 1120. He had a very particular Correspondence with St. Bernard, and retir'd to the Monastery of Signy of the Order of Cisterciens, in the Year 1135. where he dy'd about the Year 1150. His Works over and above the first Book, being the Life of St. Bernard, and the three Treatises just mention'd, comprehend a Treatise call'd the *Mirror of Faith*; another intitled the *Enigma of Faith*; a Book of Meditation; a Treatise of the Nature of the Body and the Soul; another against *Abaelard*; a Book of the Works of William de Conches; a Treatise upon the Sacrament of the Altar; and lastly, an Exposition of the *Canticles*. All these Works are to be met with in the fourth Tome of the *Bibliothèque of Cisterciens*. There is moreover Mention made of a Collection of Proverbs and Sentences, being only a Manuscript, with some other Works, which are lost. The Abridgment of the two first Chapters of the *Canticles*, which immediately follows the preceding Works is only an Extract of remarkable Things in the one and fifty first Sermons of St. Bernard upon the *Canticles*.

**Gregory Abbot of Igny.** The Declamations and Discourses on the Words of St. Peter with our Saviour Christ, are the Work of Geoffrey Abbot of Igny, extracted out of the several Works of St. Bernard whose Disciple he was.

**Guigue Author of the Ladder of the Cloyster.** The Treatise of the *Ladder of the Cloyster, or the Method of Praying*, which was found among the Works both of St. Austin and St. Bernard, has been since restor'd to Guigue, Prior of the Grand Charter-House, upon the Credit of a Manuscript of the Charter-House of Colen, having in the Beginning of it a Letter of this Guigue, address'd to Gerwase, and which serves for a Preface to the Book.

The pious Meditations concerning the Knowledge of Human Nature, found amongst the Works of Hugh of St. Victor, belong neither to him nor St. Bernard, but rather to some more modern Author.

**Anonymous Author found among those of St. Bernard.** The Treatise of the Edification of the Inner House or of Conscience, found also among the Works of Hugh of St. Victor, belongs to some Monk, in all probability of the

Order of Cisterciens, who liv'd much about the same Time with St. Bernard. The same Judgment may be given concerning another Treatise of Conscience, and of another Treatise of the model of Life and Manners, which follows this.

The Treatise of Charity is compos'd of Matters drawn out of the Works of Richard of St. Victor, Peter of Blois, and of St. Bernard.

The Treatise entituled the Mystical Vine, upon the Words of our Saviour Christ, *I am the true Vine*, though it does not belong to St. Bernard, yet was written by some Author not long after him.

The Meditation on the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, which bears the Name of St. Bernard in some Manuscripts, yet is not at all like his Style, no more than the Lamentation on the Passion of our Saviour, and the Treatise on the three principal Mysteries of our Religion.

The Treatise of Virtues is not likewise of St. Bernard's Style, but rather belongs to some Benedictin Monk, who writ it for Probationers, on the three Virtues of Humility, Obedience and Charity.

The Exposition on the Lord's Prayer belongs to the same Author.

These Treatises are follow'd by some Sermons of St. Aelred, of Nicholas Disciple and Secretary to St. Bernard, who came from the Monastery of *Monstier-Ramey* to *Clairvaux*, and who left this in Disgust to St. Bernard; of Oger, Abbot of *Lucedio*, in the Diocese of *Verceil*, who liv'd a little while after St. Bernard; and of some other Sermons whose Authors are unknown; but which are attributed to St. Bernard, together with some other *Opuscula* of Piety of the same Nature, without Authors Names, among which there is a Treatise on these Words, *Why are you come?* Which is printed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, under the Name of David of Augsburg, of the Order of *Minorites*, with another Treatise on the Manner of living well, dedicated by an Anonymous Author to his Sister.

This Tome ends with some pieces of Prose, likewise falsely attributed to St. Bernard.

The sixth Tome contains the Sermons of *Guerric*, Abbot of *Igny*, whom St. Bernard brought to *Clairvaux*, in the Year 1131. from *Tournay*, where he was a Canon, and whom he had made Abbot of *Igny*, about the Year 1138. *Igny* after that *Humbert* had laid down. Some Spiritual Letters of *Guigue*, fifth Prior of the Grand Charter-House, Author of the ancient Statutes of this Order. And the Historians of the Life of St. Bernard, whereof the first Book was compos'd, as we have said before, by William Abbot of St. Thierry. The second by *Arnaud*, Abbot of *Bonneval*, and the three last by *Geoffrey*, Secretary and Disciple to St. Bernard, who had before been a follower of *Abaelard*, and who after having been Abbot of *Igny*, succeeded in the Year 1162. in the Abby of *Clairvaux* at *Fustrede*, and in the Year 1175. retir'd to *Fossa Nova* in Italy, of which he was Abbot, as also afterwards of *Haute-Combe*, about the End of this Century. He also writ a Commentary on the *Canticles*, the Life of St. Peter of *Tarantaise*, and divers other Treatises or Sermons which were never Printed. Cardinal *Baronius* has given us a Letter of this Geoffrey, address'd to Henry Cardinal-Bishop of *Albany*, against *Gilbert of La Porre*, which Father *Mabillon* has also placed at the End of this Volume, together with a Sermon of the same Author for the Anniversary on the Death of St. Bernard, and a Letter of the same to *Josbert* on the Lord's Prayer.

The five Books of the Life of St. Bernard are follow'd by two Others containing an Account of his Miracles, one whereof consists of divers Pieces, that is of three Letters. One of Philip a Monk of *Clairvaux* to *Sampson* Archbishop of *Rheims*. The other writ by the Monks of this Monastery to the Clergy of *Colen*, and the third by *Geoffrey* Abbot of *Igny* to the Bishop of *Constance*: The second is drawn out of the Book entituled the *Great Beginning of the Order of Cisterciens*.

Besides these Authors Father *Mabillon* gives us likewise the Life of St. Bernard compos'd by *Alanus*, who from being Abbot of *Larivoir* was made Bishop of *Auxerre* in the Year 1153. and retir'd to *Clairvaux* in the Year 1161 where he dy'd in the Year 1181. Also some Fragments of a third Life of St. Bernard which was believ'd to belong to Geoffrey. And a fourth Life of St. Bernard written about the Year 1180. by John the Hermit, who had liv'd with St. Bernard's Disciples. He also adds a Poem of the Monk *Philothens* of the Life and Praises of St. Bernard, with Verses likewise of other Authors in his Commendation. And lastly the Bull of the Canonization of this Saint together with the Testimonies that divers Authors had given of him, which concludes this Volume.

He might also have put into this Volume the Letters of Nicholas of *Clairvaux* Secretary to St. Bernard, publish'd by Father *Picart* a Regular Canon of St. Victor, and inserted in the 22d. Tome of the last *Bibliotheca Patrum*. They are about fifty five all full of wit and Written in a very engaging Style; but they contain nothing remarkable either on Account of Doctrine or Church-Discipline. This Nicholas after

St. Bernard.

Works of Geoffrey, Disciple to St. Bernard.

The History of the Miracles of St. Bernard.

Other Lives of St. Bernard.



after having left *Clairvaux*, retir'd into his Monastery of *Monstier-Ramey*, where he dy'd about the Year 1180. M. Baluze has also given us two of his Letters in the second Tome of his Miscellaneous Works.

St. Bernard's Style is lively, noble and concise; his Thoughts sublime and his Diction pleasant and curious. He equally abounds with good Matter, Tendernefs and Force. He is sweet and violent: He engages the Mind by his insinuating Manner, and touches the Heart with his Movements. His Exhortations are pressing; his Admonitions full of Gravity; his Reprimands efficacious; his Reproaches so temper'd with good Nature, that it is easy to perceive that he is in Charity with the Person that he rallies, and reproves rather to correct than to insult or domineer over him. He knows how to commend without Flattery, and to tell Truth without offending. He diverts, recreates and pleases; he instils Dread and inspires Love; his Knowledge is more useful and wholesome Doctrine than curious Learning. He is so full of the Holy Scriptures, that scarce a Period passes but he has some Words or Expressions out of them. St. Ambrose and St. Augustine are those of the Fathers which he has follow'd most, and which he considers as two Patterns that he is indispensably bound to imitate. He also understood very well the Canons and Rules of Discipline of the Church; but he more particularly apply'd himself to Divinity and Morality. His moral Sentences are noble, lively, weighty, and contain a great Deal of Sense in few Words. He is ingenious and very fertile in Allegories. He treats of Doctrines after the Manner of the Ancients, and not according to the Methods of the Scholasticks, and Controversiaries of his Time, which has gain'd him the Title of the *Last of the Fathers*. Altho' he has taken most of his Thoughts from the Ancients, yet has he manag'd them with so great Address that they seem to be his own. He was in so great Reputation for Piety and Learning while he liv'd, that all Potentates desir'd to have their Differences determin'd by him, and they look'd upon his Decisions as indispensable Laws. The proudest Kings and Princes have willingly condescended to obey him. The Bishops not only had Recourse to his Knowledge, but likewise regarded his Decisions as so many Oracles; and have refer'd themselves to him about the most important Affairs of the Church. The Popes themselves have taken his Advice, and look'd upon it as the greatest Support of the Holy See. And all People had a very profound Respect and particular Veneration for his Person and Character. In a Word, it may be said of him, that even in his Solitude, he govern'd all the Churches of the West. But what is most remarkable is, that he knew how to join the Love of Silence and a Retreat with so many Occupations and Implants, as likewise a profound Humility with so great an Elevation.

No Father of the Church has had his Works so often Printed as St. Bernard. The first Edition is that of his Sermons on the Times and Saints, printed with his Book dedicated to the Knights Templars, in the Year 1475. at Mayence by Peter Schoiffer. About the same Time the Treatise of Consideration, the Apology to William Abbot of St. Thierry, and the Treatise of Commands and Dispensations

were printed at Roan. In the Year 1481. his Letters with his Sermons were printed at Brussels. This Edition was followed by that of Paris, in the Year 1494. which contains 310 Letters, with his Sermons on the Canticles. The Editions of Bresse of the Year 1495. of Spire in the Year 1501. and of Venice in the Year 1503. are also very imperfect. That of Paris in the Year 1508. contains almost all this Saint's Works: They were collected by the Care of John Bouchard and printed by John Petit. In the Year 1515. Josse Cliton printed them at Lyons with the Sermons of Gilbert de Hoiland on the Canticles. This Edition has been several Times reprinted at Paris and Lyons. In the Year 1520. two Monks of Clairvaux publish'd a new Edition of St. Bernard's Works more correct than the former, printed the first Time at Lyons. Some time after Francis Comestor of the College of Sorbonne revis'd the Works of this Saint, and printed a new Edition at Paris in the Year 1547. Whilst this Edition was selling and reprinting, Anthony Marcelin publish'd another at Basil in the Year 1552. In which St. Bernard's Works are rang'd after a new Order, and divided into four Parts: The first containing his Sermons, the second his Letters, the third his Treatises, and the fourth his suppos'd Works. In the Year 1566. Francis Comestor's Edition was reprinted as printed with the Additions found in the Edition of Basil and some other Treatises. After this John Gillet undertook to present the Publick a new Edition of St. Bernard's Works, more correct and more ample than the former: This was printed at Paris by Nivelle in the Year 1572. and afterwards reprinted several Times, particularly in the Year 1586. In the Beginning of the following Century, Edmund Tiragueau a Monk of Cisteaux publish'd a new Edition of St. Bernard's Works, in the Year 1601. And eight Years after John Picart gave another which was reprinted several Times in divers Places. At length James Merlon Horsius labour'd seriously to get a good Edition of this Father's Works, and after a considerable Time, and a great deal of Pains taken, he produc'd one, and printed it in the Year 1641. This Edition was receiv'd with Applause, and reprinted in divers Places. Nevertheless Horsius having past over several Faults in the Text, which might be corrected by Assistance of the Manuscripts, Father Chantelon of the Congregation of St. Maur undertook to revise his Edition, and presented the Publick with his Sermons on the Times, and the Saints corrected, in several Places. This Father dying before he had finish'd his Design, Father Mabillon was pitch'd upon to continue what he had so well begun, who publish'd this Saint's Works entire, in the Year 1666. in a great and small Volume, according to the Model of Horsius, and review'd and corrected by divers Manuscripts. But as this Edition was the first Work of this learned Monk, he sometime after discovered several Errors which he had pretermitted before, and therefore undertook a second Impression at Paris, in two Volumes in Folio, in the Year 1690. In which the Order is altogether new, and which is moreover enrich'd with fine Prefaces, and divers short Notes at the Bottom of the Pages, and which reach to the End of first Volume. It is this Edition we have follow'd in these Extracts which we have made.

## CHAP. V.

### The Life and Writings of Peter, surnam'd the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny.

Peter Maurice surnam'd the Venerable, the ninth Abbot of Cluny, descended from a noble Family of Auvergne. His Father Maurice, and his Mother Rangarda presented him to the Monastery of Cluny, where he took upon him the Habit of that Order at the Hands of Hugh the first Abbot of Cluny of that Name. Whilst Pontius was Abbot he was made Prior of Vezelay, and then of Domnus; and at last elected Abbot of Cluny in the Year 1123. on our Lady's Assumption-day, when he was but thirty Years old or thereabouts. He dy'd in the Year 1157. on Christmas-day.

Whilst he was Abbot he wrote a great many Letters, of which they have made a Collection divided into six Books. In the last Book is inserted a Treatise against the Jews, and another Tract against the Petrobusians. He likewise compos'd two Books, containing the Narratives of several Miracles which happen'd in his Time; four Sermons; a particular Letter against those who maintain'd that Jesus Christ was not in express Terms call'd God in the Gospel; several Pieces of Prose, one an Encomium of our Saviour, another upon St. Benedict, a third upon the Resurrection of our Saviour, a fourth in Honour of St. Hugh; two Hymns, the one upon the Virgin Mary, and the other upon Mary Magdalene; and a Discourse in Prose upon the Virgin Mary. He procur'd the *Alcoran* to be turn'd out of Arabick in-

to Latin, and made a Treatise to refute it in Opposition to Mahometanism.

We have almost all these Works printed a-part at Paris in the Year 1522. at Ingolstadt in 1546. in the Library of Cluny, and in the last *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

Among this Author's Letters there are several which contain several considerable Points, both of the History and the Discipline of these Times; so that we cannot forbear giving you an Abstract of them.

The first Letter of the first Book is directed to Pope Innocent II. He acquaints him that the Archbishop of Bourdeaux who was a zealous Promoter of the Interests of his Holiness, had given him Intelligence of the News he had receiv'd: That he was heartily glad at the happy Success of his Affairs, and that he congratulated him for the great Care he took in reforming the Church. He declares to him that he is very much concern'd that he is not in a Posture of being an Assistant in so great an Undertaking. He exhorts him to persevere in the vigorous Maintenance of his Dignity, in hopes that God, who had already subdu'd Part of his Enemies, would at last bring the rest under his Feet. He assures him, that he shall always be inviolably at the Devotion of his Holiness, and that where, or in what Circumstance soever he should be, he would always regard him as the Sovereign Pontiff. In the Close of this Letter he intreats

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*Peter the Venerable.* the Pope to remember, that the Church increased at first by Sufferings and Persecutions, and that it surmounted all Opposition by Patience: That he had combated against its Enemies seven Years already; that in the eighth it was to be hop'd, he would sing Praises of Joy and Exultation. This Conclusion makes it appear, that this Letter was wrote in the seventh Year of the Pontificate of *Innocent II.* Anno Christi 1137.

In the second of the same Book he wrote Word to the Bishop of *Albany*, that the Bishop of *Troyes* was ready to bestow one of the Prebends of his Church on the Monks of *Cluny*, as formerly the Prebends of *Chartres* and *Orleans* had been bestow'd on them. He intreats him to promote this Business at *Rome*, if he thought in Conscience he could safely do it. He likewise intreats him to prevail upon the Pope to remit to him the Trial of a Priest within his Jurisdiction, who was gone to *Pisa*, where the Court of *Rome* then was, in order to have his Cause heard there.

In the third he wrote to *Haimeric* Chancellor of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the Affair of the Monks of *Aniana*, who had prefer'd great Complaints against the Bishop of *Bexius*. He therein takes Notice, that in his Time the Members of the Church were very much disjoynted in his Country, that the Superiors insulted over the Inferiors, and the Bishops over the Monks; so that, says he, it seems as if their Aim and Design was not to feed their Flocks like Shepherds, but fleece and drain them like Hirelings.

In the fourth he acquainted *Hugh* Archbishop of *Roan*, of the Death of one of his Clerks, whom he had assisted in the last Moment of his Life. He takes Notice that they had given him the Extreme Unction before the Viaticum, and that afterwards he receiv'd the Sacrament twice.

In the eleventh he intreats Pope *Innocent* to be favourable to the Church of *Orleans*, by confirming the Election of *Heli* Abbot of *St. Sulpicius* to the Bishoprick of that Church.

By the fifteenth he acquaints *Adela* of the Death of *Henry* King of *England*, who departed this Life on the 2d. of December, 1135. after he had receiv'd all his Sacraments, as he observes in this Letter.

In the seventeenth he acquainted Pope *Innocent II.* of the Murders committed on the Subdean of *Orleans*, and *Thomas* Archdeacon of *Paris*, and prays him to confirm, by his Apostolick Authority, the Sentence pass'd in *France* against the Murderers.

The twentieth, directed to Monk *Cislebert*, contains a long Instruction about the Duties and Virtues of Monks.

In the twenty third he declares to Pope *Innocent* that he had much ado to resolve upon sending any of his Religious to re-establish the Abby of *Luxeu*, because he fear'd it would prejudice his Monastery by drawing off the Monks from thence; and that besides it was easier to found new Monasteries than to re-establish old ones: That however in Obedience to the Commands of his Holiness, he had offer'd to the Monks of the Abby of *Luxeu*, who had waited upon him, to send them an Abbot and some Officers; but that they had rejected the Religious which he had offer'd them. He intreats the Pope, that if they were still resolv'd to have a Monk of *Cluny* for their Abbot, he would not grant them Liberty to choose whom they pleas'd, but order them to be satisfy'd with his Choice.

In the twenty seventh he complains to the same Pope, of the Outrages offer'd to the Archbishops, Bishops and Abbots, among whom he was present in the Town of *Luni*.

The twenty eighth is an Apology for the Order of *Cluny* against that of *Cisteaux*, directed to *St. Bernard*; wherein after he had pass'd several Compliments upon him for his Learning and Piety, he relates the Points, upon which the Monks of *Cisteaux* pretended, that those of *Cluny* deviated from the Rule of *St. Benedict*; which are as follow. 1. That they bestow'd the Monastick Habit on Novices as soon as they were presented, without staying till their Probation Year was over, according as the Rule prescribes. 2. That they made use of Habits made with Skins. 3. That they wore Breeches always, though it was not permitted by the Rule, unless in case of Travelling. 4. That they had thicker covering on their Beds than was prescribed by the Rule. 5. That they had more than two Dishes serv'd up at Table with a second Course. 6. That they always admitted the religious Apostates, tho' the Rule prescribes that they should admit them only thrice. 7. That they did not observe the Fasts which the Rule prescribes. 8. That they did not inure themselves to any Manufacture. 9. That when they entertain'd Strangers, they did not bow to them, and that the Abbot did not wash their Hands and Feet, as the Rule prescribes. 10. That the Abbot kept not an Inventory of all the Tools and Utensils of the Monastery. 11. That when they are out of their Monastery, they do not bow the Knee, as usual in saying their Office. 12. That the Table of the Abbot is not set apart for the Entertainment of Strangers. 13. That when two Monks chance to meet, the Younger does not ask Blessing of the Elder. 14. That they do not make one of the eldest Monks Porter of the Monastery Gate. 15. That the Porter does not reply *Deo Gratias*, i. e. Praise

be God, to those who knock at the Gate of the Monastery. 16. That they renew the Vows that they have made in one Monastery, when they admit themselves into another. 17. That they admit the Monks of another Monastery into theirs, without the Leave of their Abbot. 18. That they would be exempted from the Jurisdiction of their Bishop. 19. That they hold Parishes and Tithes, which are only the Propriety of those who preach and administer the Sacraments. 20. That they are Possessors of Lands, and concern themselves with the Affairs and Business of this Life, as if they were mere Seculars having Territories, Seignories, Vassals, Banks, and Monks who are employ'd as Solicitors and Advocates.

He returns a Reply to all these Objections, in the Name of the Monks of *Cluny*, and at first says in general, that they who make those Objections, are an upstart Sort of Pharisees, who were for distinguishing themselves from other Folks, and would be reckoned better than them. He asks them, how it comes to pass that they who boast to be such strict Observers of the Rule, forget at the same Time the Observation of one Article, wherein the Monks are enjoyn'd, not only to call, but also sincerely to esteem themselves to be the Refuse and Vilest of all Mankind. 'Is it,' says he, the Effects of this Article, which enjoyns us to believe and assert our selves to be worse than others, to undervalue their Actions, and overprize our own, to condemn them, and set too high an Esteem upon our selves? — You stile your selves the only true Monks now extant in the World, and treat all other Monks as Impostors and Corrupt; you wear an Habit of extraordinary Colour to distinguish your selves from others, and you brag to be the white Monks in the midst of black ones, though the black Habit was made Choice of by our Fathers out of Humility; and though we read that *St. Martin*, that admirable true Monk, wore a long black Habit, and not a short white one as yours is. Now don't you violate the Rule of which you pretend to be so great Observers, since it declares it self against Monks being concerned for the Colour or the Quality of the Stuff which they wear? Are not you Prevaricators in changing that Colour which is most conformable to Humility and Austerity, for another more glaring and the Emblem of Joy.

After he had made these Reflections on the Monks of *Cisteaux*, he maintains that those of *Cluny* do not transgress the Rule, in following the Traditions of their Fathers, since they derive them from the Saints, who authorize them by the Sanctity of their Lives, and by their Miracles, and who had a Privilege of prescribing Laws to them. Afterwards he returns a more particular and direct Answer to the foremention'd Objections. 1. That as to what related to the Admittance of Novices, they therein follow'd the Rule of Jesus Christ, who order'd the rich Man in the Gospel who desir'd to be perfect, immediately to sell all he had, to give it to the Poor, and to follow him; and who order'd the Man that was willing to go bury his Father before he would follow him, to leave the Dead to bury the Dead, and to follow him without any more ado. And that they therein imitated the Example of the Apostles who follow'd Jesus Christ as soon as ever he call'd them, and who receiv'd into the Christian Church all those who offer'd themselves. He owns that the Letter of the Rule is against this Custom; but withal avers that the End and Intention of the Rule being Charity, and the Salvation of our Neighbour, which are in Force so long as any one practises the Rule, even in the strict and literal Sense, one may with Reason deviate from the Letter of the Rule. He adds, that since the Discipline of the Church has been alter'd with Respect to a great many Points, 'tis no such extraordinary Matter that the Monastick Discipline should be subject to the same Alterations. 2. That *St. Benedict* in his Rule had prescrib'd nothing directly concerning Habits: That he had no where prohibited the wearing of Leather; that he only order'd that they should be different according to the Variety of Climates: That a Leathern Habit was most suitable to Austerity and Solitude. That the Prophets *Elias*, *St. John Baptist*, and the ancient Hermits were cloath'd with Leathern Garments: That we find in Story that *St. Benedict* himself wore such an Habit: That lastly, it must be left to the Discretion of the Abbot to prescribe the Quality of Habits, according to the Climate, the Season, and the Constitution of those who wear them. 3. That they wear Breeches for Decency and Modesty's Sake. 4. That the Rule leaves the Abbot full Power to prescribe what sort of Covering the Monks should have on their Beds. 5. That with Respect to Eating, we ought not scrupulously to adhere to the express Terms of the Rule, since *St. Benedict* gives the Abbot Liberty to augment the Portion of Bread and Wine, if they have work'd more than ordinary: And that 'tis well said of him, that 'tis enough to allow the Monks two Dishes of Meat upon the Account of their Infirmities, that so if they have no Stomach to the one, they may eat of the other; but that if it should so happen, that they could not eat of either of these two



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two Dishes, he has no where prohibited the allowing them a third or fourth Dish: Lastly, that we ought to proportion the Quality and the Quantity both of Meat and Drink to the Constitution and Strength of Men, and to refer all to Charity, which is that Sovereign Rule, by which we ought to be rul'd and govern'd. 6. That in receiving the Religious as often as they were willing to return, they did nothing but what was agreeable to the Evangelical Law, and to the Practice of the Church: That what St. Benedict says on this Subject in the Rule, was only by Way of Commutation. 7. That as to the Fasts they observ'd what was prescrib'd by the Rule, viz. from the 13th. of September to the Beginning of Lent, they did not eat on any Day, except Sundays, till Nine; but that from Whitsuntide to the 13th. of September they did always eat at Noon, tho' the Rule seems to prescribe that on Wednesdays and Fridays they should not eat till the Hour of None, because it leaves the Abbot at his Liberty to augment or diminish the Fast. 8. That they had particular Reasons for not working with their Hands, since such a Labour was injoin'd the Monks only to keep them from being idle, and that they being engag'd in other more useful Employments, were dispens'd from that. 9. That it was a sort of Childishness to condemn the Order of Cluny, because the Religious and the Abbot of that House did not prostrate themselves before all the Strangers that came to them, nor wash their Feet; and besides, that this Employment would wholly divert the Monks from all their other Duties, by reason of the great Number of the Strangers: That however to avoid the total Neglect of what the Rule prescrib'd, each Monk every Year washes the Feet of three Strangers, and presents them with Bread and Wine. 10. That the Abbot was discharg'd from the Care of keeping an Inventory of the Tools and Utensils of the Monastery, provided another Man did it, since it is impossible for him to do all Things himself. 11. That they do not omit those *Genuflections* which they are requir'd to make during the Office, tho' they say it abroad, unless when the Badness of the Weather hinders them, and that then they say a *Miserere*. 12. That the Abbot orders an Allowance of Meat and Drink to be given to all Strangers, but that it was not proper to introduce all Manner of Persons without Distinction into the Refectory; nor that he should leave the Religious to wait upon others. 13. That the young Monks do ask Blessing, *viva voce*, of the elder, when they meet them out of the Bounds of their Monastery; but that within those Bounds they only ask it by a low Bow without saying any Thing, that they might preserve their Silence. 14. That if they do not place at their Gate an elderly Monk, yet they set one there of known and approv'd Fidelity and Wisdom; that the Monastery-Gates are almost always open in the Day-time, and that 'tis sufficient that they have one to open them when they are shut. 15. That 'tis not at all necessary that the Porter should cry *Deo-Gratias* to all Comers. 16. That there was no Inconveniency for the Monks when they change their Monastery to renew their Vows, and that the Rule it self in express Terms permits the Renewing of the Vow of Constancy. 17. That they are satisfied that a Monk cannot leave his Monastery without the Leave of his Abbot, so long as that Abbot discharges the Duty of a Pastor; that is, so long as he takes Care to provide for the Bodily Necessities of his Religious: But that if it should so happen that a Monk cannot live or be safe under an Abbot in one Monastery, he may leave that Monastery without the Licence of his Abbot: That 'tis upon this Account that the Abbot of Cluny has obtain'd a Privilege from the Holy See, of entertaining all the Religious who are forc'd to leave their Monastery for either of these Reasons. 18. That they have for their Bishop the Chief of all Bishops, and the Bishop of all the Churches, namely the Bishop of Rome, who has granted them the Privilege of being exempted from the Interdictions or Excommunications of all other Bishops besides himself: That notwithstanding this they receive the holy Chrism, the holy Oils, holy Orders, and the Consecration of their Churches from the Hands of other Bishops: That to find Fault with their Privileges is the same Thing as to question the Authority of the Holy See; that several other Monks enjoy the same Privileges; and that St. Gregory granted such to a great many Monasteries. 19. That the Pope has given them Leave to have Parishes, and to enjoy Tenths: That 'tis reasonable for them who offer up continual Prayers for the Faithful to live by the Offerings of the Faithful; and that as Secular Clerks have a Right to enjoy the Revenues of Ecclesiastical Estates, because they administer the Sacrament, and preach the Gospel, so the Monks likewise may receive the Oblations of the Faithful, upon the Account of the Psalms which they repeat in their Behalf, upon the Account of the Tears which they pour out to divert the Justice of God, and upon the Account of the Alms, and other good Works which they practise. 20. That the Religious are not forbid holding Temporal Estates of what Kind soever; and that they may maintain their Estates by all Manner of just and lawful Ways. Lastly, he observes that we ought to make a Dis-

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inction between two Sorts of Precepts, the one immutable, which can never be chang'd, such as our Loye to God and our Neighbour, whatever else is commanded by the Laws of God, and others which may be chang'd for a greater Good, or for the avoiding a greater Evil; and he avers, that whatever they had alter'd in the Rule of St. Benedict, was of the latter Kind; and that they did not change it but only for the greater Benefit, and to fulfil Christian Charity, which ought to be the supream Rule and Law.

N. B. [And now upon this whole Debate or Controversie between the Monks of Cisteaux and those of Cluny; we cannot forbear making this one Remark, that according to our old course English Proverb, here has been a great Cry, but little Wool; a great Noise and Clamour about the Externals, but scarce one Word said; pro or con, about the Internals of Religion, which sufficiently shews, that when Men are once wedded to any Party in Religion, their greatest Heats happen about the Circumstantial of Religion, to which that Party adheres, and that they have little or no Concern for the Fundamentals of the truly Catholick and Christian Church.]

The twenty ninth Letter is likewise written to St. Bernard, upon a particular Quarrel about one of the Monks of Cluny, elected to the Bishoprick of Langres, whereof St. Bernard makes Mention in his 164th. Letter, and in those that ensue. Peter of Cluny in this Letter says, that St. Bernard being prejudic'd against this Monk upon some false Reports, oppos'd his Ordination.

The thirty third is written to Pope Innocent, about another Difference between the Monks of Cluny, and those of Cisteaux. This Pope in the Year 1132. had exempted the Monks of Cisteaux from paying Tenths. This was a considerable Prejudice to the Monks of Cluny, particularly to the Abby of Gigny, which had considerable Tithes to receive from the Lands belonging to the Monastery of Miroir. The Monks of Gigny were for demanding them, for which the Pope had interdicted their Church; whereupon Peter the Venerable conjures him not to deprive the Monks of Gigny of a Right which belong'd to them, and to suspend the Interdiction which he had pronounc'd against them, that so they might have Time to inform him of the Justice of their Cause. About the same Time he wrote upon the same Subject, the thirty fourth Letter to Haimeric, Chancellor of the Church of Rome, whereby he represents to him more at Length the Injustice which he pretends was done to his Order; and directed another Letter to the Chapter General of Cisteaux, whereby he exhorts them to quit this their Pretension. This is the thirty fifth Letter, which is written with a great deal of Smartness and Discretion. However, because several Abbots of the Order of Cisteaux were displeased at it; the next Year he sent them a Letter of Excuse, which is the thirty sixth and last of this Book. The Monks of Gigny not being able to obtain of the Pope what they desired, were for doing themselves Justice, and some few Years after went to the Monastery of Miroir, where they committed great Outrages. Pope Eugenius III. Innocent's Successor being inform'd thereof, wrote to Peter the Venerable about it, and threatned the Monks of Gigny to punish them severely, in Case they did not make Reparation for the Wrong which they had done to the Monks of Miroir. St. Bernard and Peter the Venerable, met at Cluny to adjust the Affair; the Damage was estimated at above thirty thousand Sols; but the Monks of Gigny having made but very inconsiderable Offers of Reparation, St. Bernard wrote to the Pope about it. At last the Affair terminated in an Accommodation made after the Death of St. Bernard; in the Year 1155.

The first Letter of the second Book is wholly Doctrinal. He therein proves against a Man, who was fall'n into the Error of the *Apollinarists*, that the Humanity of Jesus Christ was compos'd both of Soul and Body.

The second is directed to Peter Archbishop of Lyons. He congratulates his being advanc'd to the Primacy of a Kingdom, which acknowledg'd no other Superior than the Holy See, and which had an Authority over all the Churches of France. He exhorts him to use his utmost Diligence for the Restoration of Piety, particularly within his Diocess. In this Letter, he gives us a Description of the Irregularity of the Manners of the Ecclesiasticks and Religious.

In the Third he complains to Pope Innocent of the Coldness which he shew'd to the Cardinal Bishop of Albany, to whom he lay under great Engagements; and exhorts him to leave him in France with Authority, where he was capable of doing a great deal of Good, till such time as he could recal him with Honour to Rome.

In the fourth he exhorts Gilo Bishop of Freseati to abandon the Party of Peter de Leon, which could not be the true Church, since it was reduc'd to a small Number of People shut up in several Forts of Italy or Poitou. The thirty fourth is likewise directed to the same Bishop, upon the same Subject.



*Peter the Venerable.* In the seventh, he shews *Theobald Prior de la Charité*, that he is bound both in Duty and Obedience not to quit his Charge.

In the tenth, he with a great deal of Freedom remonstrates to Pope *Innocent*, that he does not do well in recalling the Cardinal of *Albany* to *Rome*.

In the eleventh, he complains to that Cardinal, that they had turn'd out several Monks out of the Monastery of *Verdun*, to put some Clerks into their Places.

The sixteenth is a circular Letter to all the Superiors of the Monasteries of his Order, whereby he recommends to their Prayers his Mother *Rungarda*, who departed this Life on the 22<sup>d</sup> of *June*, and orders them to say thirty Masses for the Peace of her Soul, and to feed twelve poor People in the Monasteries where it could be done, and that in the others, the Priests should say two Masses, besides the general Mass.

In the next Letter, he tells us after what Manner he receiv'd the News of his Mother's Death, who was become a Religious of *Marigny*. He therein makes her Encomium, and describes the Circumstances of her Death, which was wholly Christian. These and the following Letters inform us that he dyed at the Time of his Return from the Council of *Pisa*, held in the Year 1134.

The twenty sixth is a Letter of Pope *Innocent* directed to *Peter of Cluny*, wherein he recommends himself to his Prayers, and dispenses with him from coming to *Rome*, because of his Infirmary.

In the twenty eighth, *Peter* Abbot of *Cluny* intreats Pope *Innocent*, not to take the Prior of *Lezelay* out of his Monastery, to make him Bishop of *Langres*.

The thirty first is written to *William* Bishop of *Orange*, who had interdicted the Monastery of *Puy*, because the Monks retain'd a Church which had been given them by the Predecessor of that Bishop. *Peter* of *Cluny*, prays him to do them Justice, if not, to appoint a Day wherein he would have the Affair discuss'd before the Pope's Legate.

The thirty third is written to *Atto* Bishop of *Troyes* about the Difference which had been between him and the Bishop of *Auxerre*, about the Ordinations of several Monks of the Order of *Cluny*, made at *La Charité* upon the *Loire*. *Peter* of *Cluny* was willing to send him the Privileges of the Holy See, which allow the Monks of *Cluny* to be ordain'd by what Bishop they pleas'd, when he once could understand that this Affair was adjusted. He desires he would be pleas'd to send him an Account thereof, and writes to him about two other private Affairs, the latter of which relates to a Clerk of his Church nam'd *Guarin*, who desir'd to have the first vacant Prebend conferr'd upon him.

The next Letter is written to the same Bishop, about *Guarin* his Archdeacon, who was gone to *Rome* about some Difference which he had with his Bishop. In his Journey he stop'd at *Cluny*, and had promis'd *Peter* to return to *Troyes*, and adjust Matters with his Bishop.

*Atto* in the thirty fifth Letter returns an Answer to the foregoing Letter.

The following Letters of *Peter* of *Cluny* contain nothing in them of Moment, till you come to the seventh of the third Book; wherein he replies to the Questions which had been propos'd to him by one of his Monks nam'd *Gregory*, who was a great Student. The first Question was, Whether the Virgin *Mary* had received an Increase of Grace, in receiving the Holy Ghost with the Apostles on the Day of Pentecost? *Peter* of *Cluny* replies, that she had received no Increase of Charity or of sanctifying Grace, since throughout her whole Life, she had a Fulness of Grace and Sanctity; but that she might have receiv'd an Augmentation of some particular Gifts, such as Knowledge, Prophecy, the Power of working Miracles, of speaking several Tongues, which yet was not very certain. The second Question is, How the Virgin *Mary* could possibly be ignorant of any Thing after she had conceived the Son of God. *Peter* of *Cluny* proves, that she was ignorant of a great many Things, nor is he of Opinion, that she had such a perfect Knowledge of God,

[We cannot but here observe, that this is one of the most modest Accounts of the Perfections of the Virgin *Mary* to be met with among any Romanists, and such as does not all favour the Notions of some of the modern Papists.]

as the Angels and Souls of good Men made blessed have; and he positively denies, that here below she enjoy'd Beatitude, though he owns that she had more Knowledge and Wisdom with Respect to Spiritual Things, than all other Mortals? The third Question is upon a Passage of *St. Gregory*, wherein that Father seems to assert, that the Word was united to the Manhood before it was born of the Virgin *Mary*. *Peter* of *Cluny* says, that this Passage has given some an Occasion of asserting, that our Lord brought down his Humanity from Heaven, which is entirely contrary to the Sentiment of *St. Gregory*, who explains his Thoughts by saying, that though *Jesus Christ* was not yet born of the Virgin, yet the Union of the Person of the Divine *Logos* with the Manhood was

already typify'd and foretold, though it was not as yet known or reveal'd.

In the third Letter of the fourth Book, he writes to Pope *Innocent* in Favour of *Lewis the Younger*, King of *France*, and intreats him to have some Condescension for him, if his Youth had inclin'd him to do any Thing that was not convenient. This was written upon the Occasion of the Difference between that Prince and the Archbishop of *Bourges*. He likewise gave the Pope to understand, that the Monastery of *Luxen*, which he would have reform'd the last Year, by sending thither several Monks of *Cluny*, was still wholly irregular, and in a worse Condition than before.

The fourth is that Letter which he wrote to the same Pope about *Abelard*.

By the fifth, he recommends to that Pope a Canon of *Lyons* nam'd *Herachius*.

In the seventh, he writes again to that Pope in Favour of *Arnulphus*, Archdeacon of *Seez*, elected and consecrated Bishop of *Lizieux*, that the Pope might confirm him in Spite of the Attempts made by the Count of *Angers*, to the contrary.

In the eighth, he complains to *Milo* Bishop of *Terrouanne*, for his having publicly declaim'd in his Church against the Monks of *Cluny*, accusing them of being proud and disobedient to Bishops. He shews him, that if he had any Thing to say against their Conduct, he ought to let them know of it, and reprove them for it privately, and not to declaim against them so publicly. Afterwards he clears them of the Accusation, and complains that that Bishop had hinder'd the bestowing a Canonship of *Abbeville* on them, though it did not belong to his Diocese, but to the Diocese of *Amiens*.

In the ninth, he recommends to Pope *Innocent* the Bishop of *Salamanca*, Archbishop elect of *Compostella*, and intreats him to approve of this Translation.

In the tenth, he intreats him to grant *Hugh* Archbishop of *Tours*, Leave to return to his Archbishoprick. For *Hugh* in his Journey to *Rome* fell sick in the Monastery of *La Charité*, where he had taken upon him the Habit of that Order.

In the eleventh, he exhorts the Archbishop of *Narbonne*, who was very old and infirm, to quit his Archbishoprick, and to retire to *Cluny*. This Letter was written from *Spain*, to which Place he had travelled.

The sixteenth is the two hundred and twenty eighth Letter of *St. Bernard*, to which *Peter* of *Cluny* reply'd by the seventeenth, which is likewise the two hundred and twenty ninth of *St. Bernard's* Letters, of which we have given you an Abstract. *Peter* of *Cluny* does therein at first declare, that the Difference which had been between them, whether about the Bishoprick of *Langres*, or for Tenthis, had abated nothing of the Charity, Friendship or Esteem which he had for him. In the close of this Letter he sends him Word, that he therewith sent him a Version of the *Alcoran*, which he had translated whilst he was in *Spain*, to shew the Errors and Follies of the *Mahometan* Religion. Afterwards he gives him a short Account of *Mahomet* and of his Doctrine.

The eighteenth is a Letter of Compliment to Pope *Celestine II.* upon his Advancement to the Popedom.

The nineteenth is written to Pope *Lucius*, to whom he likewise made several Compliments, and asked him, whether he should send him the thirteen Religious, according as he had order'd him when he was at *Rome*. This Pope by the next Letters return'd him Answer, that he would do him a great Favour in so doing.

The twenty first is that which he wrote to *Helioissa*, upon the Death of *Abelard*.

The twenty second is written to *Lucius*, in Favour of the Bishop of *Orleans*, who was accus'd by several of his Clergy.

By the twenty fourth, he recommends to him the Religious whom he sent him.

In the twenty fifth, he wrote to Pope *Eugenius III.* in Favour of the Archbishop of *Besançon*.

In the twenty seventh, he exhorts *Atto* Bishop of *Troyes* to retire to *Cluny*.

In the thirtieth, he blames those who caus'd to be sung or recited such Hymns or Histories in the Church, as are full of Fictions; and he says, that not long ago he was very much put to the Blush in being forc'd to hear sung, and to sing himself in the Church, an Hymn in Honour of *St. Benedikt*, which contains twenty Fallacies at least, without mentioning the Impropriety of the Language, and the Falseness of Quantity; which had engaged him to make another Hymn in Honour of that Saint.

The thirty sixth is written to King *Lewis the Young*, exhorting him to punish the *Jews*, not by putting them to Death, but by taking away from them such Effects as they had unjustly gotten by their Usuries and Extortion.

In the fourth Letter of the fifth Book, he writes to Pope *Eugenius III.* the Causes which the Abbot de *la Chaise-Dieu* alleg'd against the Archbishop of *Arlas*, and the Bishop of *Pieters*, nominated by his Holiness to take Cognizance



nizance of the Difference which was between the Bishop of *Nismes* and that Abby.

In the fifth he wrote to the same Pope, about the Refusal which the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* had made of ordaining him, who had been elected Bishop of *Angoulême*.

In the seventh, he replies to several Questions which had been propos'd to him by *Thibald* Abbot of *St. Colomba* of *Sens*. Among the rest was this, Why they repeat the Unction of the Sick at *Cluny*. *Peter the Venerable* says, That the Case is not the same with the Unction of the Sick, as with the Unctions of Baptism and Confirmation, whose Efficacy is simple and only One; nor the same as with the sacerdotal Unction, or the Unctions of Churches and Holy Vessels, which imprint a Consecration which can never be effac'd. Whereas the Effect of the Unction of the Sick being only Remission of Sins, wherein Men fall after they are recovered of their Sickneſs, it ought to be repeated in the next Sickneſs.

The sixth Book contains several Letters of *Peter of Cluny* to *St. Bernard*, and of *St. Bernard* to *Peter of Cluny*, of which the fourth is somewhat remarkable. *Peter of Cluny* therein intreats *St. Bernard* to procure an Union between the Monks of *Cluny* and of *Cîteaux*, by ordering that whenever the Monks of *Cluny* should come into the Monasteries of those of *Cîteaux*, they might be entertain'd as the Monks of the Monastery, and admitted into the Refectory; the Dormitory, and the other Regular Places.

There are likewise in the same Book several Letters to Pope *Eugenius III.* in one of which (*viz.* the ninth) he assures him that the Archbishop of *Vienne* does not at all oppose the Interests of the Order of *Cluny*, as the Pope had suppos'd, and sent him word in the preceding Letter.

In the twelfth, he advertises him of the Division which was in *Chartres* the Great, upon Occasion of a Person elected to the Bishoprick of *Grenoble*.

In the twenty fifth, he gives him to understand of the Irregularities of the Bishop of *Clermont*.

In the twenty seventh, he wrote to him in favour of *Humbert* of *Beaujeu*, who returning from beyond Sea, was settled in the Neighbourhood of *Cluny*, and had put a stop to the Wars and Robberies committed there in his Absence, and had quieted all the Country thereabouts; but because he had quitted the Order of *Knights Templars*, and taken his Wife again, the Pope could not endure that he should live in the World. *Peter of Cluny* in this Letter remonstrates to him, that it was very proper for him to use his Indulgence towards this Lord, and to grant him a Dispensation of living with his Wife, and of leading a secular Life.

In the twenty eighth, he wrote to him against the Provost, Abbot, and other Ecclesiastical Lords of *Brionde*, who had turned a Clerk out of his Church, and his demerits without any Form of Justice, nay, so much as denying him to clear himself by the Tryal of Fire, as he had offer'd them to do.

The 42d. 43d. 44th. and 45th. Letters are likewise written to *Eugenius III.* The first in Favour of the Abbot of *Breme*, and the second in Favour of *Guy* Lord of *Domnus*, who had been interdicted by the Pope, for having married a second Wife in the Life-time of his first. *Peter of Cluny* shews the Pope the Reasons upon which he believes that the first Marriage ought not to stand, and prays him to determine this Affair according to this Remonstrance, and to take off the Interdiction which he had issued out against this Lord. The third is in Favour of the People of *Placentia*, who were unwilling to admit of a Bishop, consecrated by the Archbishop of *Ravenna*, and they thought they had Reason for it, because they were to admit of no Bishop but who was sent by the Pope. In the last, he acquaints the Pope of a Treaty which he had made with a Lord of his Neighbourhood.

The 15th Letter of this Book, is a circular Letter written by *Peter of Cluny*, to all the Superiors of the Houses of his Order, wherein he warmly reproves the Abuse which was establish'd among the greatest part of his Religious, of eating Meat every Day in the Week except Friday. He shews, that this was forbidden by the Rule of *St. Benedict*, which enjoyns them to eat nothing but Fish, and by the Example and Institution of *Odo*, one of the Founders of their Order.

The 17th. 18th. 19th. and 20th. Letters, are about the *Croisade*. *Peter of Cluny* had been invited by *Sugerus* Abbot of *St. Denys*, and by *St. Bernard* to meet at that Assembly which was to be held at *Chartres* upon this Design, he excuses himself from coming by two of his Letters, but withal commends that Design.

In the 26th. written to *Everard*, Grand-Master of the Order of *Knights Templars*, he commend. their Institution, and interceeds for *Humbert* of *Beaujeu*, who had left them.

The 39th. written to his Nieces, is in Commendation of a Virgin Life.

The 7th. Book contains three Letters written by *Peter of Cluny*, to *Sugerus* Abbot of *St. Denys*, an Answer of that Abbot; three Letters of *St. Bernard*, and one Letter of *Peter of Celles*, written to *Peter of Cluny*.

Besides the Letters we have already mentioned, there are a great many others, which are either Letters of Compliment, or on Affairs of little Moment, and several other Moral ones about the Spiritual Monastick Life, such as the ninth and tenth of the first Book; the twelfth, fifteenth, twenty second, and fiftieth of the second, the fourteenth, thirty ninth, fortieth, forty first and forty second of the fourth Book; the third of the fifth; and the thirteenth and fourteenth of the sixth. All these Letters are penn'd with a great deal of Purity and Pleasantness of Style, full of Life and solid Thoughts. They are not indeed so Airy as the Letters of *St. Bernard*, nor so full of Turns and playing upon Words, but the Style is more Correct, Even and Pure.

These Letters are follow'd by the Tracts of *Peter of Cluny*.

The 1st. is dedicated to *Peter* of *St. John's*, who in a Conference which they had together, had told him, that some of those with whom he convers'd, had asserted that Jesus Christ is not expressly call'd God in the Gospel. *Peter of Cluny* in this Treatise, proves the contrary from all those Passages in the Gospel where Jesus Christ is Styled God, and has such Attributes apply'd to him, as belong to none but God.

The 2d. Tract is against the *Jews*, wherein he proves the Divinity of Jesus Christ, that he is the *Messias* who had been foretold by the Prophets, and refutes several Fables of the *Jewish Talmud*.

To these two Tracts are annexed two Prefaces, the one is *Peter's* of *Cluny*, and the other *Robert's* of *Redines*, upon the Version of the Alcoran, with an Abridgment of the History and Errors of *Mahomet*. The five Books which *Peter of Cluny*, has compos'd against the *Alcoran*, have not as yet been printed.

We shall speak of the Treatise against the *Petrobrusians*, when we come to treat of those Hereticks.

The two Books of Miracles contain the Relation of a great many Miracles that happened in his Time. In the second, we meet with the Life of *Matthew* Prior of *St. Martin* in the Fields, and afterwards Bishop of *Albany*, and the Account of the Contest between *Pontius* and *Peter the Venerable*, about the Abby of *Cluny*.

Of the four Sermons penn'd by *Peter of Cluny*, we have only that about the Transfiguration remaining.

The Pieces of Poetry which we have of his, are an Apology in Hexameters, or Pentameters against those who found fault with the Verses of *Peter of Poitiers*; several Pieces of Prose on the Life of Jesus Christ, on the Resurrection, in Honour of the Blessed Virgin, upon *St. Mary Magdalene*, and in praise of *Hugh* Abbot of *Cluny*. Two Hymns, one on the Festival of *St. Benedict*, and the other upon the Translation of his Body; and several Epitaphs on Count *Eustachius*, *Bernard* Prior of *Cluny*, *Reginald* Archbishop of *Lyons*, and *Peter Abelard*. It had been well if he had written as well in Verse as in Prose.

*Peter of Cluny* made likewise a Collection of the Statutes of his Order, which were made whilst he was Abbot, and at the End of each Statute, has explained the Reason of their being enacted. These Statutes relate to the Divine Service, to Fasts, the Form of Habits, and several other Customs of the Monks of that Fraternity.

Father *Maillon* in the third Tome of his *Analec'ts*, p. 481. has given us two Letters of this Author, of the Association of Prayers for the Dead, between those of *Chartres*, and the Senators of *Venice*.

## C H A P. VI.

### An Account of the Heresies which prevailed in the Twelfth Century.

WE have already observed, that in the Beginning of the foregoing Century, there appeared in several parts of France, such Hereticks as were accus'd of impious Doctrines, who openly attacked the Sacraments of the Church, and subverted its

most sacred Rites and Ceremonies. The Severity with which those who were taken were condemn'd, did not prevent the Sect from spreading further, nor this Doctrine or some of the such like, from over-running the Kingdom, so that in this twelfth Century, a great many Hereticks appeared, whose chief Aim

Of the Heresies in the twelfth Century.

Of the Heresies in the twelfth Century.



Of the Heresies in the twelfth Century. Aim was to divert Men from the receiving of the Sacraments; and to overthrow the Hierarchy and Discipline of the Church.

The first who appeared were *Peter of Bruis*, and an Hermit nam'd *Henry*, his Disciple. They first began to broach their Doctrine in *Provence*, from whence the latter went to *Lausanne*, and afterwards into the Country of *Mans*. We will give you the Description which the Historian of the Bishops of *Mans* made of him; in speaking of *Hildebert*. About this time there arose in that Country a certain Hypocrite, who for his wicked Actions, for his corrupt Morals, and for his abominable Doctrines, deserv'd the severest Punishments. This Man conceal'd the Rage of a Ravenous Wolf, under the Appearances of an innocent Sheep. His Countenance and Eyes look'd like a ruffled and tempestuous Sea: He was as yet very young: He wore short Hair, his Beard shav'd, was large in Stature, but very sordidly cloath'd; walk'd apace, and bare footed even in the hardest Time of Winter; he was pretty Affable, had a strong terrifying Voice, and liv'd in a Manner quite Different from Others. His ordinary Retreats were the Cottages of Peasants; he liv'd all Day under Portico's; eat and slept on some Hill or other in the open Air, and had acquir'd a great Reputation of Sanctity. The Women applauded him, cry'd him up for a great Servant of God, and gave out that no Person could have a greater Faculty than him of converting the most obdurate Hearts; and that he was endued with the Spirit of Prophecy, to discern the most inward recesses of the Conscience, and the most private Sins. This Fame having rendred him very desirable in the Diocese of *Mans*. He sent thither two of his Associates and Disciples, who liv'd in the same Manner as he did. Those Men arrived at *Mans* on *Asb-Wednesday*, where they were received by the People as Angels. In imitation of their Master they carry'd Staffs, on the top of which was an Iron Cross, and they wore the Dress of Penitents. Bishop *Hildebert* was surprized at the Sight, and received them kindly. He just upon his Departure for *Rome*, ordered his Archdeacons to give *Henry* Leave to come into his Diocese, and permit him to preach to the People. He was no Sooner come, but they flocked from all Parts to hear his Sermons, and the Clergy themselves excited the People thereto. He had a Natural Eloquence, and a Tone of Voice resembling Thunder. He soon spread his Errors in his Sermons, and stirred up the People against the Clergy, so that a great many Ecclesiasticks were abus'd by them. The Chapter of *Mans* perceiving this Disorder, wrote to him, and gave him Notice by one of the Canons, that they prohibited him from preaching any more, either in Publick or Private within their Diocese. The People had like to have kill'd the Canon who brought him this Message, and *Henry* continued to preach in the Churches of *St. Germain* and *St. Vincent*. He taught, that the Women who had not liv'd continently, ought to strip themselves, to burn their Hair, and to renounce their Worldly Goods, to lead a Life of Poverty, by marrying likewise Poor Men. 'Tis ealie to guess how much Disturbance such a Doctrine put in Practice would raise in the Diocese. *Hildebert* being returned from *Rome*, *Henry* retired into the Castle of *Cahais*, and continued there to vent his Doctrines, and the People still follow'd him, and were so far insatuated, that they would scarce acknowledge their Bishop, or receive his Benediction. The Bishop to undeceive the People, went to *Henry*, and entering into a Conference with him, ask'd him what Profession he was of. He answered him, that he was a Deacon. The Bishop asked him whether he had assisted that Day at Divine Service? He said no; then reply'd the Bishop, let us say our Mattins. *Henry* declared that he could not say his Office; the Bishop began to recite the Psalms of the Office of the *Virgin-Mary*; but *Henry* was still as Ignorant as ever, so that being in a Confusion, he was forc'd to owne that he knew nothing at all, but that he had made it his Study to make Discourses to the People. *Hildebert* having gain'd the Conquest over him, prohibited him from preaching or staying any longer in his Diocese. Two of his Disciples nam'd *Cyprian* and *Peter*, recanted and left him, after they understood that his Life was Infamous, and his Doctrine Heretical, as *Hildebert* informs us in his 78th. Letter. All this happened about the Year 1110.

The Errors of Peter of Bruis.

Whilst *Henry* preach'd in *France*, *Peter of Bruis* continued likewise to publish his Errors in *Provence*. *Peter* the Venerable Abbot of *Cluny*, who has refuted them, makes mention of five. (1.) His denying that Baptism was of any Advantage to Infants, and maintaining that only adult Persons ought to be baptized; a Doctrine which they put in Practice by Re-baptizing all those who initiated themselves into their Sect. (2.) His condemning the Use of Churches, Temples and Altars, and beating them down. (3.) His rejecting the Worship of Crosses, and breaking them. (4.) His believing that the Mass was useless, and that none are oblig'd to celebrate it. (5.) His Teaching, that Alms and Prayers for the Dead are of no avail, and

forbidding to sing the Praises of God. He likewise takes Notice, that a great many accus'd them of wholly rejecting all the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, and of not believing either in Jesus Christ, or the Prophets, or the Apostles; but he would not impute the Error to them, which was only attributed to them by common Fame. 'Tis no hard Matter to comprehend how much Trouble such a seditious Doctrine must needs raise both in Church and State. In *Provence* there was nothing else to be seen but Christians re-baptized, Churches prophan'd or destroy'd, Altars pull'd down, and Crosses burnt. The Laws of the Church were publicly violated, the Priests beaten, abus'd and forc'd to marry, and all the most sacred Ceremonies of the Church abolish'd. These Disorders excited the Zeal of the Bishops of that Country, who with the Assistance of the Princes drove out this Heretick, and put a stop to the Fury of his Followers. But he went from thence into *Languedoc*, where he vented the same Errors at *Tholouse*, and in other Cities, till he was apprehended and burnt alive at *St. Giles's* in *Languedoc*.

His Disciple *Henry* who was likewise returned to *Languedoc*, after he had been driven out of *Mans*, preach'd there the same Doctrine, and added thereto several new Errors, so that within a short Time, that Country was so infested with those detestable Maxims, that there were to be seen (as *St. Bernard* says) a great many Churches without People, a great many People without Priests, a great many Priests is despised by their People, and a great many Christians without Jesus Christ. The Churches there were become like so many Synagogues; the Sanctuary was divested of its Sanctity; the Sacraments looked upon as prophane Things; the Festivals lost their Solemnity; Men dy'd in their Sins, without Absolution, and without receiving the Communion, Baptism was deny'd to Infants; they divided the Prayer and Sacrifices for the Dead, and the invocation of Saints; the Excommunications of Bishops, the Pilgrimages made for the sake of Devotion, the Consecration of the Holy Chrism and of the Holy Oyls. And in a Word, a general Contempt was cast on all the Ceremonies and Customs of the Church. *St. Bernard* brought into that Country by *Alberic*, Cardinal Bishop of *Ostia*, and Legate of the Holy See; put a stop to those Disorders, and undeceiv'd part of the People by his Preaching and his Miracles. *Henry* thought of making his Escape, but was apprehended and carry'd in Chains to *Tholouse*, and put into the Bishop's Hands. *St. Bernard* undertook the Journey in the Year 1147.

'Tis very probable that the Hereticks of *Perigueux* were the Disciples of *Peter de Bruis* and of *Henry*. We will give you an Account which a Contemporary Monk nam'd *Herbert* has left us of them, in a Letter address'd to all Christians, wherein he admonishes them to beware of these false Prophets. There are (says he) in the Country of *Perigueux* a great many Hereticks, who boast that they lead an Apostolical Life, eat no Flesh, and drink no Wine, unless in a very little Quantity, and that from one three Days end to another, who fall upon their Knees an hundred times a Day, and receive no Money. Their Sect is very Corrupt and Hypocritical; they do not say the *Gloria Patri*, but instead of it say, *because yours is the Kingdom, and you have a Power over all Creatures for ever and ever, Amen*. They make no Account of Almsgiving, because they believe that no Man ought to possess any Thing as his own Property. They bear no Regard to the Mass, and teach that one ought not to receive the Communion, but only a piece of Bread. If any one of 'em out of Hypocritie says Mass, he never recites the Canon, nor receives the Communion, but throws the Host besides the Altar, or into the Missal. They do not adore Crosses or Crucifixes, and condemn those of Idolatry who do them any Honour. This Sect is mightily increased, and not only a great many Persons of Quality leave their Estates to be of their Number, but likewise a great many Ecclesiasticks, and a great many Religious of both Sexes follow them. The most stupid and senseless among them, within less than eight days time became very expert and fit to teach, and be Exemplars to the rest. 'Tis a hard Matter to take them, for wherever they be apprehended, the Devil helps them out of Prison again. They do work some Miracles, such as filling a Vessel with Wine, by pouring some drops of Water into it. The chief of this Sect is called *Pontius*. *St. Bernard* in his Journey confronted likewise these Hereticks.

About the same time *Tancheline* vented the same Errors in *Flanders*. He was a Laick who ventured to preach, and became so proud, that he caus'd extraordinary Respects to be paid him, and he carried his extravagant Folly so far, that (if we may believe *Abaelard* in the Case) he caus'd himself to be styl'd by the People the Son of God, and a Temple to be built in Honour of him. That which is more certain, is that he taught, that the Churches were only Places of Prostitution; that the Eucharist which the Priests consecrated signified nothing. That the Sacraments were rather Abominations than sacred Things; that the Efficacy of the Sacraments depended on the Sanctity of the Ministers.

The Hereticks of Perigueux.

The Hereticks of Tancheline.



*Of the Heresies in the twelfth Century.* nisters. The Bishop of *Tournay* established in the Church of *St Michael*, a Congregation of twelve Ecclesiasticks to oppose these Errors. This Church was afterwards bellowed on *St. Norbert*. *Tancheline* went as far as *Rome* with a Priest nam'd *Evervachier*, who was one of his principal Followers. 'Tis not known what became of him afterwards, but for the Priest he returned to *Utrecht*, where he made a great many Disciples. The Bishop of *Utrecht* sent word thereof to *Frederick* Archbishop of *Cologne*, who oppos'd the Heresie in its very Birth, which began to spread it self in his Diocess, as is observ'd in the Letter of the Church of *Utrecht* to that Archbishop.

*The Hereticks of Cologne.* In spight of all his endeavours it was established there; and there continued, as we are informed by a Letter of *Enervin*, Provost of *Stemsfeld* near *Cologne*, written to *St. Bernard*, wherein he gives him to understand, that within a short time they had discovered several Hereticks near that City, some whereof had abjur'd their Errors; and two others having maintain'd them obstinately, had been burnt by the People. These Hereticks taught; that they were the only Persons among whom the true Church had subsisted, because they alone had follow'd the Example of Jesus Christ, and had possess'd nothing of this Worlds Goods. They forbid the eating of Milk meats, and the Flesh of Beasts. They would not discover what their Sacraments were; however they had own'd that they believe that the Bread and Wine which they did eat every Day was consecrated by the Lord's Prayer, for the Nourishment of those who were the Members and the Body of Jesus Christ; that in this Sense it became the Body of Jesus Christ; that Others had not the true Sacraments but only the Appearance of them, and that they held a false Tradition of Men. They admitted of a Baptism by Fire and the Holy Ghost, as more Excellent than the Baptism of Water, for which they had no great Esteem. They believ'd that their Elect had a Power of Baptizing and Consecrating. They distinguish'd three sorts of Persons among them, Hearers, Believers and the Elect. Lastly they condemn'd Marriage without giving any Reason for it.

The same Author likewise takes Notice, that there were likewise in that Country several other Hereticks different from the former, (who had been even Instrumental in discovering them) who deny'd that the Body of Jesus Christ was consecrated on the Altar, because all the Priests of the Church are not consecrated, and that the Ministry is corrupted by the secular and prophane lives of the Ecclesiasticks: That therefore they have no other Power than to teach and preach, and that all their Sacraments are Null except the Baptism of Adult Persons; for they did not believe that Infants ought to be baptiz'd. They likewise taught that only Marriages contracted between a Man and Maiden were lawful, and that all others were no better than Fornication. They had no trust or Confidence on the Mediation of Saints. They asserted that Fasts and other Mortifications were not all necessary for the Just, no nor for sinners themselves. They styl'd all the Usages of the Church which were not establish'd by Jesus Christ and the Apostles, Superstitions. They deny'd Purgatory, and maintain'd that the Souls departed, immediately went into the Place allotted for them, and by Consequence they render'd the Prayers and Sacrifices of the Church for the Dead, Null and Void.

These are the Errors which *Enervin* attributes to those two Sorts of Hereticks to oppose which he excites the Zeal of *St. Bernard*, who at that time in discoursing upon these Words in the *Canticles*, take us the little Foxes, took an Occasion from this Text to write against those Modern Hereticks, whom he compares to Foxes. At the first he represents their Morals in the 65th. Sermon; wherein he accuses them of being Proud, Lovers of Novelties; of making no scruple to swear and forswear themselves; of concealing their Mysteries; of leading dissolute Lives; of being too familiar with marry'd Women and Maids; of being Cheats and Hypocrites. Afterwards in the 66th. Sermon he refutes in particular their Errors about Marriage; Abstaining from Meats, Infant-Baptism, Purgatory, Prayers for the Dead, the Efficacy of Sacraments and the Like. Lastly he speaks of their false Constancy which made them suffer Death and the greatest Torments: And he reproves several Princes, and even several Bishops who tolerated those Hereticks by receiving presents from them. Those Sermons of *St. Bernard* were written about the Year 1140: which serves to fix the *Epocha* of the time wherein those Hereticks of *Cologne* first appear'd.

These are the same Hereticks, whom sometime after *Ekkert* Abbot of *St. Florin* in the Diocess of *Treves*, oppos'd in his Tracts dedicated to *Reginald* Archbishop of *Cologne*. He had often had Conferences with them whilst he was Canon in the Church of *Bonne*, and whereas they were frequently discovered to be in the Diocess of *Cologne*, he thought himself oblig'd to expose their Errors and refute them. This is what he has done in six Discourses which are to be met with in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. He therein takes notice that those Hereticks in *Germany* were call'd *Cathari*, in *Flanders*, *Pipbri*, in *France* *Fisserani*, and makes them to be the Off-spring of the *Manichæes*. We will now

V o l. II.

*Of the Heresies in the twelfth Century.* give you an Account of the Errors which he attributes to them and refutes in those Discourses. They condemn Marriage, and threaten Damnation to those who marry'd in a marry'd State. Some among them only condemn such Marriages as are contracted between any besides such as have never been marry'd: They eat no Flesh because they believe it to be unclean; which is the Reason which they give of it Publickly; but in private they say that Flesh is the Devil's Creature. They have divers Opinions about Baptism: Some of them say that 'tis of no Use to Infants: In secret they add that the Baptism with Water is of no avail, for which reason they Re-baptize those who enter into their Sect in a particular Way, and assert that 'tis the Baptism of the Holy Ghost and of Fire. They Believe that the Souls of the departed enter the very Day of their Death into a State of Everlasting Happiness or of Everlasting Misery; and do not believe Purgatory: By consequence they reject the Prayers, the Alms, and the Masses for the Dead. If they come to Church, hear Mass, and communicate there, 'tis only for show; for they suppose that the Sacerdotal Order is utterly extinct in the Church and only subsists in their Sect. They do not believe that the Body of Jesus Christ is consecrated on the Altar, but call their own Flesh, the Body of Jesus Christ, and in taking of Food say, that they make the Body of Jesus Christ. I have heard (adds he) from a Man who had left their Sect, after he had discover'd the Turpitude and the Errors thereof, that they asserted that Jesus Christ was not born of the Virgin; that he had not real Flesh; that he did not rise again really, but in a Figure: He believ'd that 'tis for this Reason that they keep not *Easter*, but have another Festival which they call *Bema*. Lastly he accuses them also of teaching that the Souls of Men are those Apostate Angels who were turn'd out of Heaven.

This Sect had likewise some Followers in the Diocess of *Toul*, as we are inform'd by the Letter of *Hugh Metelins*, a Regular Canon of that Diocess, written to his Bishop *Henry*, wherein he gives him to understand that in his Diocess there were dangerous Men who began to start up, whom one might rather stile Beasts than Men, because they led a Life wholly Brutal: who detest Marriage; abominate Baptism; deride the Sacraments, and abhor the Name of *Christian*.

*The Hereticks of Toul.* In *Italy* there were likewise Hereticks of the same Nature, who went under the Name of *Cathari*. *Bona-cursus*, who had been formerly one of their Teachers at *Milan*, Italy call'd *Cathari*, has given us a Tract of them after his Conversion, publish'd by *Father Luke Dachery* in the thirteenth Tome of his *Spicilegium*. He therein says that some of them maintain'd that God created all the Elements: That others say, It was the Devil who created them; but that they all believ'd that it was the Devil who separated and rang'd them in their Order: That they likewise believ'd that it was he who fram'd the Body of *Adam* out of the Clay of the Earth, and that he therein infus'd an Angel of Light: That he likewise made *Eve*, and lying with her, begat *Cain* of her Body: That they assert that the Fruit which *Adam* was forbidden to Eat, was the Carnal Knowledge of *Eve*: That they maintain that all the Bodies which are in the Air, on the Earth, and in the Water were made by the Devil: That it was the Devil who appear'd to the Patriarchs, and who is the God of the Old Testament whom they reject: That they likewise condemn *St. John Baptist*: That they teach that Jesus Christ had not a Body animated with a Soul, and that he neither Drank, or Eat, or did any other humane Action really; but only in Appearance: That they did not believe either his Descent into Hell, or his Resurrection, or his Ascension: That they do not believe him to be equal to the Father: That they affirm that the Cross is the Character of the Beast: That *St. Silvester* is Antichrist: That ever since the Pontificate of that Pope the Church had been extinct; and that no Person could be sav'd in a marry'd State: That they condemn the Holy Fathers: That they forbid the eating of Flesh, Eggs, Milk and every Thing else that proceeds from Animals: That they do not believe that the Holy Spirit is conferr'd by the Baptism of Water; nor that the Visible Substance of the Bread and Wine is chang'd into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; and that they assert that all those who swear shall be damn'd: That they say that no Man can be sav'd but by Imposition of Hands, which they stile Baptism: That they assert that the Sun is the Devil; that the Moon is *Eve*, who Ly together as Man and Wife once a Month: That all the Stars are Demons; and Lastly that no Man can be sav'd, unless he be of their Sect.

*The Passagians.* The same Author speaks of other Hereticks whom he calls *Passagians*, who taught that one ought to observe the Law of *Moses* even in the Literal Sense; and that the Sabbath, Circumcision, and the other Ceremonial Practices of the Law ought to be still in Force: That Jesus Christ was not equal to his Father: That the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were distinct Substances.



Of the Heresies in the twelfth Century.

The Heresy of Arnold of Breffe.

Lastly he speaks of the *Arnoldists*, the Disciples of *Arnold* Native of *Bresse*, who went from *Italy* into *France*, where he was the Scholar of *Peter Abaelard*. Upon his Return to his own Country, he took upon him the Habit of a Monk; and his Head was full of this Thought, that neither the Pope nor the Clergy ought to hold any Demeans. Upon this Footing he let himself to preach, that the Clerks who held any Demeans, as their own Property, the Bishops who were possess'd of Royalties, and the Monks who enjoy'd any Lands could not be sav'd; that all those things appertain'd to Princes. Beside this, he taught the same Errors as other Hereticks, about Infant-Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar. He was forc'd out of *Italy* by Pope *Innocent II.* and oblig'd to retire into *Switzerland*. After that Pope's Death he return'd into *Italy* and went directly to *Rome*, where he stirr'd up a Sedition against Pope *Eugenius III.* and afterwards against *Adrian IV.* who interdicted the People of *Rome* till such time as they had drove out that Heretick and his Followers. This Menace had its Effect; the *Romans* seiz'd upon the strong Houses which those Hereticks kept in, and forc'd them to retire to *Otricoli* in *Tuscany*, where they were kindly receiv'd by the People, who look'd upon *Arnold* as a Prophet. However he was apprehended sometime after by Cardinal *Gerard*, and in spite of the Endeavours of the Viscounts of *Campania*, was brought to *Rome*, and condemn'd by the Governor of that City to be ty'd to a stake and burnt to Ashes, for fear the People should pay any Honour to his Relicks.

Thirty of those Hereticks cross'd over from *France* into *England* about the Year 1160. where they would likewise willingly have sown the same Doctrine: But they were apprehended and exterminated, and communicated that Error only to one Woman, who recanted. The Author which makes Mention of this takes Notice that they were call'd *Publicans* or *Publicans*. *William* of *Malmsbury* the Historian, who did not live much after this time, says that those Hereticks being examin'd; answer'd pretty well about the Nature of the Heavenly Physician, namely *Jesus Christ*; but that when they were told of the Remedies which he has left us, namely the Sacraments, they then reply'd very ill, and declar'd that they condemn'd Baptism, the Eucharist, and Marriage; and that they despis'd the Catholick Unity.

All that we have hitherto related concerning the Hereticks of the Twelfth Century is taken out of Cotemporary Authors, and shews that two sorts of Errors were predominant at that Time; One sort Common to all those Hereticks, and others were Peculiar. Their common Errors regarded the Sacraments, the Practices of the Church, and the Hierarchical Order, against which they had all conspir'd. The particular Errors were such as had some relation to *Manichæism*, to *Arianism*, and other Impieties into which many had been led by a strange sort of Blindness.

These Hereticks were condemn'd in several Councils. The first which pass'd a Law against them was that of *Toulouse* in the Year 1119. held in the presence of *Calixtus II.* the third Canon whereof runs thus. *We condemn and turn out of the Church of God as Hereticks those who under pretence of Religion reject the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, Infant Baptism, Priesthood, Holy-Orders, and lawful Marriages. We enjoin that they be suppress'd by the Secular Powers. We subject their Defenders under the same Condemnation, if they do not repent.* This Canon was repeated in the same Words and confirm'd in the second general *Lateran Council* held under *Innocent II.* in the Year 1130. in the 23d. Canon.

Those who went into *England* were convicted and condemn'd in an Assembly of Bishops held at *Oxford* in the Reign of *Henry II.* King of *England* in the Year 1160. This Prince order'd them to be branded with a red hot Iron in their Cheek, to be whip'd publicly, to be driven out of the City half-naked, and left them to be starv'd to Death.

The Council of *Tours* held in the Year 1163. enjoyns that for the suppressing of that Heresy which spread it self in *Gascogne* and in other Provinces, all those should be Anathematiz'd who held any Correspondence with those Hereticks: That the Princes should confiscate their Goods, and prevent their Meeting.

In the Year 1176. A Solemn Sentence was pass'd in a Synod held at *Lombes* against several of those Hereticks, going then under the Name of *Bons hommes*, who had been apprehended by the Inhabitants of that City. The Judges pitch'd upon by both Parties were *Girald* Bishop of *Albi*, *Gaucelin* of *Lodeba*, the Abbot of *Castro*, and three other Abbots, and Judgment was pass'd in the presence of *Pontius* Archbishop of *Narbonne*, *Arnulphus* Bishop of *Nismes*, the Archbishop of *Toulouse*, the Bishop of *Agda*, several Abbots and Superiors of Monasteries who assist'd at the Synod. The Bishop of *Lodeba* by the Order of the Bishop of *Albi*, interrogated those *Bons hommes*, and in the first place ask'd them, whether they receiv'd the Law of *Moses*, the Prophets and the Books of the Old and New Testament.

They reply'd that they did not receive the Law of *Moses*, nor the Prophets nor the *Psalms*, nor any part of the Old Testament; but only the Gospels, the Epistles of *St. Paul*, the seven Canonical Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse. In the second place he demanded of them an Explanation of their Faith: They return'd him Answer that they would not explain it unless they were constrain'd to do it. The third Question was about Infant Baptism: They reply'd that they had nothing to say on that head. The fourth Question was about the Eucharist, where and by whom it was consecrated, who were the Persons who receiv'd it, and whether it were better consecrated by a Good than by a wicked Priest. They return'd him Answer that those who receiv'd it unworthily should be damned, but withal averr'd that it might be consecrated by any good Man, whether Priest or Laick. The fifth was about Marriage. They declar'd that they had nothing else to reply to that than what *St. Paul* has said, viz. That a Man and Woman are joyn'd together to avoid Incontinence and Fornication. The sixth Question was whether Repentance at the Hour of Death could save any Man; and whether one was oblig'd to confess ones Sins to the Priests, or whether one might confess them to Laicks. They reply'd that the Sick might confess them to whom they pleas'd: As to others they were not willing to determine any Thing, because the Apostle *St. James* speaks only of the Sick. Then they were ask'd whether Contrition and Confession alone were sufficient to obtain Remission of Sins, without thinking it necessary to make Satisfaction, to observe Penances, Fasts, Almsgiving, and other Austerities. They reply'd that the Apostle *St. James* had order'd nothing else besides Confession as necessary to Salvation. They declar'd likewise without being ask'd, that they believ'd that one ought not to take an Oath: That all those who were ordain'd without having the Qualifications prescrib'd by *St. Paul* for Bishops, were Wolves and Devourers, to whom no Obedience ought to be paid. Those Errors were refuted by *Pontius* Archbishop of *Narbonne*, by *Arnulphus* Bishop of *Nismes*, and by two Abbots, which serv'd only as Testimonies of the New Testament. Afterwards the Judges declar'd these *Bons hommes* Heretical, condemn'd *Oliver*, and his Followers, and all who were of the same Opinion with the Hereticks of *Lombes*, and authoriz'd their Judgment by several Passages out of the Holy Scripture, oppos'd to the Errors which we have been relating. This Sentence was pronounc'd by the Bishop of *Lodeba*. Those Hereticks protested against it, by saying that the Bishop who had pronounc'd it was an Heretick, an Hypocrite, their Enemy, their Persecutor, and that they were ready to demonstrate by the Testimony of the Gospel and the Apostles, that neither he nor any of the Bishops were Pastors, but Mercenaries and Hirelings. The Bishop reply'd upon them that his Sentence was Juridical, and that he was ready to demonstrate in the Court of Pope *Alexander*, in the Court of *Lewis* King of *France*, and in that of the Count of *Toulouse* or of the Countess his present Wife, and of the Lord *Trencavelle* who was likewise there present, that those whom they had condemn'd were Hereticks. Upon this they being thus convinc'd turn'd about to the People, and declar'd that they would make a Profession of their Faith out of Charity, and for the Honour of the Assistants. The Bishop bid them observe that they did not say for the Honour of God, but for the Honour of Assistants. They made Profession of all the Articles of the Creed, and added that they acknowledg'd that they ought to confess with their Mouth the Faith which they conceiv'd in their Hearts: That they believ'd that no Person was sav'd, unless he receiv'd the Body of *Jesus Christ*, which is not preserv'd but in the true Church; that none else beside Priests had Power of Consecrating it; and that the Bad consecrated it as well as the Good; that no Body could be sav'd without Baptism, and that Infants are sav'd by this Sacrament; That Men and Women may be sav'd tho' in a married State: That every one ought to receive with Heart and Mouth Repentance from the Priest, and to be baptiz'd into the Church; and that Lastly they were ready to acknowledge all that could be demonstrated to them by the Authority of the Evangelists and the Epistles of the Apostles: The Bishop urg'd them to swear that they would keep to the Doctrine, and to declare whether they ever had any other Opinions. They reply'd that they could not swear, because the Gospel had prohibited all Oaths. The Bishop determin'd that they ought to swear, if they would be credited, and prov'd by several Instances taken out of the New Testament, that Oaths were not absolutely forbidden. They reply'd that the Bishop of *Albi* had promis'd them that they should not be oblig'd to swear at all. The Bishop of *Albi* deny'd that he had made them any such Promise, and confirm'd the Sentence pronounc'd by the Bishop of *Lodeba*, which was sign'd by all the Assistants.

Some time after this there appear'd a great many of those Hereticks in *Toulouse*: The Pope's Legate went thither in the Year 1178. attended by several Bishops. They constrain'd them to submit to publick Penance, raz'd the Forts where-

Of the Heresies in the twelfth Century.

The Hereticks condemn'd at Toulouse.



Of the Heresies in the twelfth Century.

The Condemnation of the Albigensians in the Lateran Council, A.D. 1179

The Heresy of Terrick.

in they met, excommunicated and banish'd those Hereticks who retir'd into *Albigensis*, where they were secure. For Roger Count of *Albi* countenanc'd and made use of them in detaining the Bishop of his City Prisoner. From this Time forward they went under the common Title of *Albigenses*. There were a great Number of them not only in that Country, but likewise in all *Languedoc* and *Gascogne*. There were likewise *Banditi* in those Provinces without Law or Gospel, who ran about the Country, ravag'd, pillag'd and massacred all without Distinction of Estate, Age or Sex; and in an especial Manner assaulted Churches and Monasteries; some of them were call'd *Barbancons*, others *Arragonists*, *Navarrists*, and *Bascani*; others *Cotteraux* and *Triverdini*. The General Council of the *Lateran* held in the Year 1179. excommunicated all of them, prohibited the interring them in holy Ground, exhorted the Catholick Princes to wage War against them, to confiscate their Goods, and to make them Slaves; granted to those who took up Arms against them proportionable to their Services and according to the Discretion of the Bishops, excommunicated those who gave them any Protection, suffered them in their Territories, or had any Commerce with them.

That Council says that the Hereticks of *Albi* were call'd *Cathari*, *Patarini*, *Publicans*, and went under a great many other Names; which shews that they were descended from the Hereticks who appear'd in the Beginning of this Century, and were so call'd. The *Publicans* or *Publicans* held a great many Cattles in *Gascogne*. In the Year 1181. *Henry* Abbot of *Clairvaux* Bishop of *Albi* being in the Quality of Legate, rais'd a great many Troops, and went to give them a Visit. To divert this Storm they pretended to abjure their Errors; but the Danger once past, they follow'd their old Course of Life again.

This Infection spread it self in several Provinces on each side the *Loire*. One of those false Apostles nam'd *Terrick*, who lay a long Time conceal'd in a Grott at *Corbigny*, in the Diocess of *Nevers*, was taken and burnt. Several others suffer'd the same Punishment in other Parts, particularly two old Women in the City of *Troyes*, to one of whom 'tis said, that this *Terrick* gave the Name of *Church*, and to

the other the Name of *St. Mary*, that so when his Followers were examined, they might swear by *St. Mary* that they held no other Faith than that of the Holy Church. These *Publicans* were likewise condemn'd in the Council held at *Sens* in the year 1198. which depos'd the Abbot of *St. Martin's* of *Nevers*, and suspended the Dean of the Church of that City, accus'd of that Heresy, and referr'd them to the Holy See.

There was in the same Century a Visionary who was presented to Pope *Eugenius* III. at the opening of the Council of *Rheims*. He was a Gentleman of *Bretagne* nam'd *Eon de l'Etoile*, who was so ignorant, that having heard it sung in the Church: *Per eum qui venturus est judicare vivos & mortuos*; he imagin'd and asserted, that it was he who was to judge the Quick and the Dead: He was follow'd as a great Prophet; sometimes walk'd with a great Train of People at his Heels, sometimes liv'd in Solitude, and afterwards appear'd in greater Splendor than before. 'Tis said that he was a Magician, and that to draw the Mob after him, he made great Entertainments, but that they were meer Illusions, and that the Visuals which were eat at his Table, and the Presents which he made bewitch'd Mens Minds. The Archbishop of *Rheims* having apprehended him, presented him to his Holiness, and the Council: His Answers were so full of *Frensy* and *Enthusiasm*, that they look'd upon him as a Fool, and shut him up in a Close Prison, where he dy'd soon after. A great many of his Disciples, a great deal more senseless than himself, chose rather to be burnt than to renounce him.

These were the Heretical Sects which appear'd in the twelfth Century, and were so full of extravagant Errors. If we enquire into the Causes of the amazing Progress which they made in so short a Time, we shall find that the Relaxation of Church Discipline, the Avarice and Covetousness of Ecclesiasticks, the common Abuse which was made of the Sacraments, the Credulity and Ignorance of the People, the pretended Virtues of those new Preachers, and the Desire of Reformation contributed very much to the spreading of those upstart Opinions.

## C H A P. VII.

### The History of Peter Abaelard, of his Writings, Errors and Condemnation.

The Life and Adventures of Abaelard.

THE famous *Peter Abaelard* has himself given us an Account of his Life and Adventures, which are both diverting and singular. We have the Relation thereof in his first Letter written to one of his Friends, of which we now give you the Abstract. He was born in the Village call'd *Palais*, about three Leagues from the City of *Nantes*. His Father *Berengarius*, though a Man of Arms, was yet somewhat given to Study, and took Care to give all his Children Learning. *Abaelard* who was the youngest, and very much inclin'd to Letters, renounc'd the Profession of War, to give himself up wholly to the Study of Philosophy. With this Design he left his native Country, and after he had frequented several Schools, came to *Paris*, where that Science was then in Vogue, and chose for his Master *William* of *Champeaux* Archdeacon of *Paris*, the most famous Professor of that Time. After he had liv'd for some Time with him in good Repute, he incur'd his Displeasure, because he undertook to refute his Opinions, and to dispute against him with so much Strength, that he sometimes seem'd to have the Advantage over him. The great Opinion which he had of his own Parts, made him, though but young, very desirous of teaching others, and of seeking out a convenient Place where he might profess publicly. The Castle of *Melan*, which was then a Royal Seat, was pitch'd upon by him as very proper for his Purpose, because of its being near to *Paris*. He obtain'd a License to teach there publicly, in spite of the Opposition which *William* of *Champeaux* made, who did not like, that *Abaelard* should teach so near *Paris*, for fear that the Reputation which he acquir'd would lessen his. In Effect *Abaelard* had no sooner begun to teach Logick, but the Reputation of *William* began to sink, which inclin'd *Abaelard* to go and settle at *Corbeil*, that so being nearer *Paris*, the Disputes might be more frequent. Some Time after, this *Abaelard* was constrain'd by a Sickness contracted by his great Application to Study, to return to his own Country. During his Absence, *William* was made Regular Canon in the Monastery of *St. Victor*, that so (as was suppos'd) he might with greater Ease obtain a Bishoprick, as happened accordingly, being within a short Time after elected Bishop of *Chalons*. Whilst he stay'd at *Paris* he continued his Lectures in *St. Victor*; and *Abaelard* being returned to that City, had studied Rhetorick under him, and renewed the Disputes in Philosophy, which he had formerly with him, especially concerning that universal *a parte rei*, which he urg'd so far,

that *William* was forc'd to change his Opinion, which acquir'd *Abaelard* so much Credit, that the Person who had succeeded *William* in teaching Logick at *Paris*, surrendred his Place to him. *William* soon after outed both of them, so that *Abaelard* return'd to *Melan*, from whence he soon came back to *Paris*, and held his publick Lectures at *St. Genevieve*, where he had a great many Pupils, who were very frequently engag'd in Disputes with the Scholars of *William*. But when his Father became Monk, and his Mother *Lucia* was desirous likewise to live retiredly, *Abaelard* was forc'd to take a Journey into his own Country. At his Return, he found that *William* was made Bishop of *Chalons*, and he went to that City to study Divinity under *Anselm*, Canon and Dean of the Church of *Laon*, who profess'd it with a great deal of Repute. *Abaelard* did not find that this Man's Learning answer'd the Fame thereof, and soon left off going to his Lectures. Several of the Scholars having ask'd him, what he thought of reading the Holy Scriptures; he reply'd, that it was a very useful Study, but that he wonder'd that Men of Learning should not be satisfy'd with the Commentaries and Glosses of the Holy Fathers; without having Recourse to other Masters. When they smil'd at the Proposal, he told them that he was ready to make it appear to them that it was possible, and to give them an Experiment by explaining to them the most difficult Books of the Scriptures, with one single Commentator. They took him at his Word, and made Choice of the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*. He began to explain it on the Morrow, and those who were present at his Explication, thought he had acquitted himself so well, that they brought a great many others to hear his ensuing Lectures. *Anselm* began to grow jealous of him, and moved thereto by *Alberic* of *Rheims*, and *Lotulphus* or *Lentaldus* of *Novar*, who had the Repute of being his best Scholars. He forbid *Abaelard* to continue his Lectures, under a Pretence, that if he should advance any erroneous Opinion, it might be imputed to him. Hereupon *Abaelard* return'd to *Paris*, where for some Time he profess'd very quietly, continuing to expound the Holy Scriptures. The Repose which he enjoy'd, the Applauses which he receiv'd, and the Money which he got by this Profession, puff'd him up with Pride, and cast him into a debauch'd Course of Life. But God punish'd him for both, by permitting him to be depriv'd of those Parts which had serv'd as an Instrument to his Lust, and to be constrain'd to burn with his own Hands that Book which he prided himself

The Life and Adventures of Abaelard.



himself most upon; so that he became chaste by Necessity, and humble by Force. We will give you now an Account how this came about. There was at Paris a young Woman nam'd *Helloissa*, Niece to *Fulbert*, Canon of Paris, handsome and well shap'd, whom her Uncle who lov'd her tenderly, brought up to Learning. *Abaelard* who was her Tutor, immediately fell passionately in Love with her; and that he might the more easily enjoy her, he pray'd the young Woman's Uncle to take him to Board, under a Pretence that he could bestow more Time upon her, lodging in the same House, that besides he would do him a Kindness by easing him of the Trouble of House-Keeping, which was not suitable to a studious Man. The Uncle who neither distrust'd the Virtue of his Niece, nor the Prudence of *Abaelard*, who had hitherto liv'd very regularly, accepted freely of the Proposal, and intrusted him with *Helloissa*, whom *Abaelard* courted so much the more easily, because the Pretence of Study furnish'd him with an Opportunity of being often alone with her. *Sub occasione discipline* (says *Abaelard* himself) *amori penitus vacabamus, et secretos recessus, quos Amor optabat, studium Læctionis offerebat. Apertis itaq; Libris plura de Amore quam de Læctione verba se ingeriebant, plura erant oscula quam sententiæ. i. e. Under the Pretence of Learning we had our Fill of Love, and our Study afforded those private Recesses which our Love required. We opened our Books indeed, but Love, not the Lesson, was the Burthen of our Discourse, and more Kisses were intermingled than Sentences read.* The young Woman it seems was not so hard-hearted, but she answer'd his Flame, and in a short Time the Buliness was known to every Body; besides the Uncle who was the last that found it out. As soon as he was inform'd of it, he turn'd *Abaelard* out of Doors; within a few Days Time after, *Helloissa*, whose Love was still the same, notwithstanding this Separation, writ Word to *Abaelard*, that she was with Child. He brought her off from her Uncle's House, and carry'd her to his own Country, disguis'd in the Habit of a Nun, where she was brought to Bed of a Boy, who was nam'd *Astrolabe*. The Uncle of *Helloissa* overwhelm'd with Grief at the Loss of his Niece, would have reveng'd the Affront upon *Abaelard*'s Person, had he not been afraid that she would have underwent the same Fate. *Abaelard* to pacifie him, went to wait upon him, and offer'd to marry his Niece, provided the Marriage were kept secret. The Uncle consented to it, and *Abaelard* went away immediately to fetch her and make her his Wife. She oppos'd the Resolution a long Time, foreseeing that she should be the Ruin of the Fortune, and the Reputation of a Person whom she passionately lov'd. At last, yielding to the pressing Importunities of *Abaelard*, she return'd with him to Paris, where she was marry'd privately in a Church in the Presence of her Uncle, and of several of their Friends. After they were marry'd they parted, and came together very seldom and very privately. The Uncle and his Friends immediately publish'd the Marriage abroad; but *Helloissa*, who prefer'd the Honour and Interests of *Abaelard* to her own, and who fear'd that if the Marriage were discover'd, he would lose a Prebend which he had, and his Reputation too, swore that nothing could be falser. This gave her Uncle an Occasion of abusing her, so that *Abaelard* resolv'd upon putting her into the Monastery of *Argenteuil*, where she had been formerly educated, and making her take upon her the Habit of a Nun, but without the Veil. This made her Uncle and her Relations believe that he mock'd them, and design'd to abandon her; whereupon they resolv'd upon being reveng'd of him after a most barbarous Manner, and in Effect, enter'd the Chamber of *L'Auberge*, where he was; and punish'd him, by depriving him of those Parts whereby he had injur'd them. It cannot be imagined what Confusion *Abaelard* was in, to see himself in that Condition. He owns that it was this, more than Devotion, which induc'd him to imbrace the Monastick Life, after he had perswaded *Helloissa* to become a Nun. They both made Profession at the same Time; *Abaelard* at *St. Denys*, and *Helloissa* at *Argenteuil*. The Disgrace which *Abaelard* fell into, did not hinder several Persons from waiting upon him at *St. Denys*, and intreating him to continue his Lectures to them; so that the Abbot and the Religious of *St. Denys* made use of this Pretence, to send him to teach School in one of their Houses, that so they might be free from the Reproaches which he cast upon them for their Disorders. His Reputation drew thither so many Scholars from all Parts, that the Place where he was, was not capable of receiving them, nor the Country of providing for them. He taught them the Liberal Arts and Theology. This great Concourfe of Scholars, soon rais'd the Jealousie and Envy of other Masters against *Abaelard*, who to suspend him from all Sorts of Professions, gave out that it was not proper for a Monk to teach the Liberal Arts, and that he could no longer expound the Holy Scriptures, since he had learn'd it without a Master.

The Council of Soissons.

The Treatise which he compos'd about the Unity of God and about the Trinity, gave his Adversaries an Occasion of accusing him of Error. *Alberic* and *Lotolphus*, who taught

at *Rheims*, and who would after the Death of *William* of *Champagne* and *Anselm* of *Laun*, succeed alone to their Reputation, being jealous of *Abaelard*, excited *Rodolphus* Archbishop of *Rheims* against him, who having sent for *Conon* Bishop of *Palestrina*, the Pope's Legate in France, held a Council at *Soissons*, in the Year 1121. and cited *Abaelard* thither, ordering him to bring his Book along with him. He obey'd that Order, presented his Book to the Pope's Legate, and submitted it to his Judgment, assuring him, that if he had written any Thing contrary to the Catholick Faith, he was ready to correct it, and to make Satisfaction. The Legate order'd him to put his Book into the Hands of the Archbishop of *Rheims*, who order'd it to be shown to his two Adversaries, who read it over and over, to see if they could find any Error in it. *Alberic* met with a Passage, wherein *Abaelard* deny'd that God could be said to generate himself. *Abaelard* justify'd it by the Authority of *St. Augustine*, which he had cited, and maintained to his Face, that if he should assert the contrary, he would fall into the same Heresie with those who believed, that the Father was the Son of himself. *Alberic* was not satisfy'd with this Reply, but continu'd his Prosecutions against *Abaelard*. In the last Session of the Council, they put it to the Question, what Order they should make about his Book and about his Person. *Geofrey* Bishop of *Chartres* said, that they ought to interrogate *Abaelard*, and give him Liberty to make his Defence, but his Adversaries would not venture to stand it out with him. The Legate thought it adviseable to refer this Affair to a more numerous Council; and in the mean Time to send *Abaelard* back to his Monastery, where he should be tried. But his Adversaries made the Legate alter his Mind, and perswaded him to condemn his Book, to order it to be burnt publicly, and to shut up the Author for ever in a Monastery; saying there was sufficient Grounds to condemn him, for having undertaken to teach publicly, without having had a Mission from the Pope or the Church. When the Bishop of *Chartres* perceived that this Resolution was taken, he advertised *Abaelard* of it, and advis'd him to suffer it patiently, and the rather, because this Violence would be more prejudicial to his Enemies than to himself, assuring him that he should not be long confin'd, because the Legate who did all this against his Will, would quickly let him at Liberty. Upon this Promise he came into the Council, cast his Book into the Fire with his own Hand, and there recited *St. Athanasius*'s Creed as a Declaration of his Faith. Afterwards he was shut up in the Abby of *St. Medard* of *Soissons*. The Monks of that Monastery treated him very civilly, and did what they could to comfort him, but he was a great deal more concern'd at the Affront which had been then offer'd him, than at that Misfortune which happened to him formerly. However the Legate kept to the Promise which the Bishop of *Chartres* had made him, and within a few Days after sent him back to his Monastery. He was as unacceptable to his fellow Monks, as he had formerly been, and they took Occasion to give him fresh Disturbance, because he had asserted that *St. Denys* of France was not the *Areopagite*, founding his Assertion on what *Bede* says, that the *Areopagite* had been Bishop of *Corinth*, whereas 'tis believed that *Denys* of France had been Bishop of *Athen*. This Proposition did so far incense the Abbot and the rest of the Religious against him, that he not thinking himself secure in that Abby, made his Escape by Night, and retired into the Territories of *Thibaud*, Count of *Champagne*, and dwelt in *Provence* in an Hospital belonging to the Monks of *Troyes*, the Prior whereof was one of his Friends. His Abbot would fain have had him out again, but dy'd within a short Time after. *Abaelard* with much ado, obtain'd Leave by the Interest of some great Lords to live in what Place of Solitude he would, provided he would not enter into any other Monastery. After he had obtain'd this Leave, he retir'd to a Solitude near *Troyes*, where he built a Chappel in a Field, which was given him by some private Persons of the Place, by Consent of the Bishop of *Troyes*. He was no sooner settled there, but he was follow'd by a great Number of Scholars, who built little Cells round about his Lodge, so that one would have thought that they were rather Hermits than Scholars. They furnish'd him with all that he had Occasion for, either for his Nourishment or Refreshment, and built him a Church which was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. *Abaelard* gave it the Title of *Paraclete*, in Memory of the Consolation which he had received in that Place. His Adversaries found Fault at that Appellation, pretending that one could not dedicate a Church to the Holy Ghost alone. Upon this *Abaelard* observes, that the Name of *Paraclete* might be very well apply'd to all the three Persons of the Trinity; and that if it were only the peculiar Title of the Holy Ghost, yet one might without any Scruple dedicate a Temple to the Holy Ghost, though it might be so customary. His Enemies perceiving that they were not strong enough of themselves to ruin him, stir'd up two great Persons against him, who were Men of the highest Esteem. One was the Restorer of the ancient Life of the Regular Canons, and the other of the Life of

The Life and Adventures of Abaelard.



*The Life and Adventures of Abaelard.* the Monks. ('Tis St. Norbert and St. Bernard which he here means.) These two Men declaim'd against both his Life and Morals, before the Ecclesiastical and Secular Powers. To escape this Storm, he accepted of the Abby of St. Gildors of Ruy's in the Diocess of Nantes in Bretagne, though the Monks thereof were very barbarous and cruel, with whom it was very difficult for him to converse. This happened at the same Time when the Abbot of St. Denys took to himself the Abby of Argenteuil, and the Nuns of that Place being dispers'd, Abaelard gave to Heloissa, who was Prioress thereof, and to several other of the Religious who had follow'd her, the Church of the Paraclete and its Dependencies. This Donation was confirmed by the Bishop of Troyes, and by Pope Innocent II. and by Degrees, this Convent which was very poor at its first Rise, was plentifully endowed by the Liberality of the Faithful. Abaelard went often thither to assist them in their Needs, which gave Occasion to the Malicious of accusing him, of having still a Passion for Heloissa, and of attributing to the Motions of his fleshly Lusts, what he did out of a pure Motive of Charity, or to avoid the ill Treatment of his Monks, who perpetually sought for an Opportunity to get rid of him.

*The Letters of Heloissa to Abaelard.* This Letter of Abaelard fell into the Hands of Heloissa, whereupon she sent him Word, that having known his Hand-writing, she could not forbear to read it over with all the Eagerness which the Passion she had for him could inspire into her. That it was but very reasonable since she had ruin'd him, that she might at least receive some Consolation by the reading of his Letters. That this however had very much afflicted her, by putting her in Mind of the Miseries which had happened to him, and letting her know of the Danger wherein he was: That she conjur'd him to send her often Word how he did, that so she might partake with him either in his Grief or his Joy: That since he had been pleas'd for the Satisfaction of his Friend to send him an Account of his Misfortunes, he lay under greater Obligations to write to her and her Religious, whom he ought to esteem not only as his Friends, but as Persons entirely at his Devotion; not as Companions, but as his own Daughters, who were beholden to him alone for the Monastery which they were in Possession of: That it was he who first rendred that Solitude Habitable, and was the Founder of that House: That it was his Duty likewise to bestow all his Cares upon it; and that having done so much for others, it was very reasonable he should be serviceable to them also. That he was farther oblig'd thereto, upon Consideration of the Relation she had to him, of the extream Love which she always had for him, and the great Loss which she had suffer'd by parting from him. Afterwards she expresses the Sentiments of her *quondam* Passion to him, so as not only to say that she never lov'd any Thing in him besides his own Person, but also that the Name of Concubine seem'd more eligible to her than that of Wife, because it would wound his Reputation less, and have made her a greater Sacrifice. She adds, that altho' the Emperor would have had her in Marriage, and bestowed the whole Empire upon her, yet she chose to be Abaelard's Mistress, rather than Empress. (By this you may perceive the Violence of a Woman's Passion.) To this she subjoins the Remembrance of several other reciprocal Testimonies of Love, which they had given each other; and afterwards she upbraids him for that, though in Obedience to him she was made a Nun; yet that he had so far slighted or rather forgot her, that she had received no Refreshment by his Visits, nor Comfort by his Letters. 'Is it, says she, because the Bond which tyed you to me was rather the Heat of Lust than the Force of Love?' She avows, that it was not out of Devotion, but in Obedience to her Husband's Commands, that she had embrac'd the Monastick Life; that she could not expect any Reward from the Lord for it, for whose Sake she had not done it: That she had follow'd, or rather preceded her Husband, and that one of those Things which troubled her most was, that he had engag'd her to dedicate her self to God, before he had resolv'd upon it himself, as if he had some Distrust of her Fidelity. She assures him, that even at present, she had him still in her Mind, and lov'd him still. She intreats him to consider what a Piece of Ingratitude it would be in him to refuse to visit her, and comfort her with his Letters, since that would be a Means of her serving God with the less Distraction. And lastly, that since he had formerly writ so many Love Letters to excite a dishonourable Passion in her, it was very reasonable that he should write some to her now to incline her to God.

*Abaelard's Letter to Heloissa.* Abaelard return'd an Answer, That it was not out of Negligence that he had deferr'd writing to her, but because he had so much Confidence in her Piety and Learning, as to think that she stood in no Need of his Advice: That if she thought that she wanted it, she might inform him of the Points wherein she desir'd his Instruction, and that he would satisfy her therein. He thanks her for being so kind as to participate in his Afflictions, and recommends himself to her Prayers, and the Prayers of her Fraternity. From this he takes an Occasion to shew how grateful the Prayers of

Holy Virgins are to God. In particular he takes Notice to her of a Form of Prayers, which he desired that they would say for him at the Close of the Canonical Hours; and tells her, that after his Death, he would have his Body brought to their Monastery to be there inter'd, that they Abaelard might pray to God for the Quiet of his Soul.

This Letter very sensibly affected Heloissa, because Abaelard therein speaks of his Death, as if near at Hand. She had so much Affection for him, that she could not bear this Thought, without being very much disturbed at it. She declares those Thoughts to him in a very pathetic Manner in the Letter, which she sent back to him, wherein she could not forbear reflecting upon the Misfortune which had happened to Abaelard through her Means. She desir'd that she might undergo a Penance worthy of her Fault, and owns that she is still so weak, as not to efface out of her Memory the Remembrance of past Pleasures, but that they continually present themselves to her Mind, which gives her great Cause of Humiliation, and of rejecting the Praises which he had bestowed upon her.

Abaelard endeavoured to comfort her by excusing himself of the Reproaches which she had cast upon him in that Letter, which he reduced to four Heads. The first was about the Complaint which she made of his having nam'd her first in the Inscription of this Letter. The second about the Reproach which she had cast upon him, of having increased her Grief, rather than afforded her any Consolation. The third about the Reflections which she had made upon their past Misfortunes. And the last about her Refusal of the Praises which he had given her. As to the first Head, he satisfy'd her by saying, that since she was become the Spouse of Jesus Christ, she was according to St. Jerom's Phrase his Mistress, and that upon that Account, he had Reason to name her first. From thence he took an Occasion to give her some Instructions about the Virtues requisite for the Spouse of Jesus Christ. Upon the second Head he says, that he had not mention'd any Thing of his Death, or the Danger wherein he was, in his Letter, if she had not conjur'd him to do it. Upon the third Head, he approves of her rejecting all Praises, provided it were sincere, and if she did not condemn them out of a Principle of Pride. As to the fourth Head, he intreats her to make no farther Complaints of a Misfortune which he really deserv'd, as due to his Sins, whereof he was thoroughly sensible. He advises her rather to give God Thanks for the Favour he had shewn to both of them, by bringing them out of a disorderly Course of Life, to lead a more regular one. He look'd upon that Pain which had been inflict'd on him as very light, in Comparison of the Crimes which he had committed, and thought himself very happy in being deliver'd from that which had been the Cause of his Sin. He concludes with a Prayer which the Religious of the Nunnery of Paraclete ought to say for him and Heloissa.

In the next Letter Heloissa in Obedience to the Order which Abaelard had given her, made no more Mention of their Misfortunes, but intreated him on Behalf of her self and her Religious, in the first Place to inform them of the Original of their Order, and of the Authority thereof. In the second Place, to compose a particular Rule, and such as might be proper for them, which had not as yet been done, the Monks and Nuns professing the same Rule of St. Benedict, wherein were a great many Things which were only applicable to Men; as for Instance, that which is said about Habits, Functions, the Abbot, the Entertaining of Strangers, Manufactures, and other Practices which their Sex was not capable of: That if according to the Intention of St. Benedict, the Rule ought to be moderated in Favour of the Weak, it was very reasonable to do so in Favour of the Virgins; that the external Exercises which are such as they were the least capable of, were likewise the least necessary. For this Reason she exhorts Abaelard to draw up a discretionary Rule for them, which might be suited to their Weakness, particularly with Relation to the Fasts and Service of the Church, it being very reasonable that he who under God was the Founder of their Monastery, should be likewise the Institutor of their Rule.

Abaelard answers the first Question of Heloissa in the seventh Letter, wherein he pretends that the Monastical Orders as well of Men as Women, drew its Original from the Manner of Jesus Christ's living here on Earth. That there were several Examples of this in the Old Law: That the Women who attended our Saviour and the Blessed Virgin, who liv'd in Common with the Apostles, the Virgins and Widows of the Primitive Church, led a religious Life. Afterwards he enlarges himself on the Praises of the Sex, and particularly on those of Virgins, of whom he makes a learned Encomium throughout the whole Letter.

He satisfied Heloissa in her second Demand, by sending to her a full Instruction about Continence, voluntary Poverty, Silence and Solitude, to which are annex'd particular Constitutions for the Abbess, and for the other Officers of the Covent, and about the Order which they ought to observe in the Divine Service, in Meats, in Habits, and in reading of the Holy Scriptures, to which he advises them



above all Things. This Rule is full of very useful Instructions, and of fine Passages out of Scripture, and the Writings of the Fathers apply'd very much to the Purpose. There is a Venture of to be found in the Manuscript of the Abby of *Paraclete* Abaelard, another Collection of particular Rules which are attributed to *Heloissa*.

*Fulcus* Prior of *Desilbore* likewise a Share in the Misfortune which happened to *Abaelard*, and wrote him a Consolatory Letter upon that Subject, wherein he advises him to stay in his Monastery, and not to undertake a Journey to *Rome* to demand Justice of the Canon, who had been the Cause of his being so abus'd. This is the first Letter of the second Collection which relates to *Abaelard*.

The second is a Memoir of *Abaelard*, directed to *Adam*, Abbot of *St. Denys*, and to the Monks of that Monastery, and to prove against the Testimony of *Beatus*, that *Denys* the *Areopagite* was not Bishop of *Corinth*, but Bishop of *Athens*.

In the third directed to a Regular Canon, who despis'd the Monks and extoll'd the Regular Clerks, and maintain'd that the Monastical Order was inferior to the Clerical; *Abaelard* takes the Monks Part, and maintains that the monastical Order was not in the least inferior to that of the Regular Canons, whether one regard the Figure which they make among Men, or that which Religion gives them in the Sight of God. The Reasons which he alledges for this were, that we see every Day Clerks who embraced the Monastical Life, and that after they had done so, were not permitted to re-enter into the Clerical Order. That the Monks who were made Choice of to execute the Clerical Functions, never quit their Habit: That they often made Choice of Monks to make them Bishops, whereas they never chose Clerks to preside over Monasteries: That in the Litanies and Prayers of the Church, the Suffrages of the Monks were implor'd: That the Monks are advanc'd to Holy Orders, and even to Priesthood itself: That *St. Jerome* prefers the Monastical State to that of Clerks, as being more perfect: That *St. John Baptist* quitted the Priesthood to lead a solitary Life: That the Monks are in less Danger of their Salvation, than the Clerks, who are oblig'd to converse so much with the World: That the Monks embrace the contemplative Life which our Saviour prefer'd before the active Life: That the Regular Canons whose Institution was but new, imitate the Monks in living in Common in Cloysters: That lastly, the Life of Monks is more painful and more austere than that of the Clerks.

The fourth Letter is against those who condemn the Use of Logick. *Abaelard* compares them to the Fox in the Fable, who lighted the Fruit at which he could not get. He says, that those Doctors do in the same Manner despise Logick, because they have not a Genius to comprehend it. He makes it appear, that the Holy Fathers, and particularly *St. Augustine* have commended this Art, and thought it necessary for the right Explication of the Holy Scriptures. He owns that one ought to avoid the Love of Disputing, and the Desire of deceiving others by Sophisms; but he would have Men have an Insight both into Logick and Sophistry, to discern good Argumentations from false ones. He maintains, that without Logick 'tis very difficult to refute Hereticks.

The fifth is writ to *St. Bernard*, about the Intelligence which *Abaelard* had received from *Heloissa* Abbess of *Paraclete*, that that Saint coming to that Monastery, had observed them to repeat the *Lord's-Prayer* quite different from what was done in other Churches, and looked upon it as a Novelty, which he thought *Abaelard* had introduc'd. All the Difference consisted in that they said our *Super-substantial Bread*, instead of our daily Bread. *Abaelard* observes, that the first Phrase being in the Text of *St. Matthew*, who has given us the *Lord's-Prayer* more entire and compleat than *St. Luke*, and whose Phrases are follow'd except in this; it seem'd more reasonable to change nothing in the Text, and to make use of the Phrase which *St. Matthew* has used, than to insert into *St. Matthew's* Text a Phrase taken out of *St. Luke's* Gospel. That therefore one ought not to accuse those of a Novelty, who in repeating the *Lord's-Prayer* say, Give us our *Super-substantial Bread*, instead of our daily Bread, since they are the very Words used by *St. Matthew*, whose Form was follow'd. That however he did not blame the contrary Usage; but that he did not believe this Usage was to be prefer'd to the Truth, and the rather, because the *Greek Church* had retain'd the proper Terms of *St. Matthew's* Gospel. That *St. Bernard* had the least Reason of any Man to find Fault with this Alteration, since there were in his Order a great many Novelties contrary to the ancient Customs and Usages of the Monks and Clerks, even in the Divine Service; such as, for Instance, the Singing of new Hymns, the Singing of the same Hymn on different Festivals; the not repeating the Suffrages which were elsewhere said after the *Lord's-Prayer*; the omitting the Commemoration of the Virgin and of the Saints at the End of the Office; the having excluded almost entirely the Usage of Processions; the Singing *Alleluiah* even to *Quinquagesima-Sunday*; the not reciting the Apostles Creed at Prime and the Vespers, and the Singing of the In-

vitatory, the Hymn and the *Gloria Patri* the last three Days in the holy Week. Tho' those Practices were contrary to the common Usage of the Church, yet *St. Bernard* did not think himself oblig'd to leave them, because he esteem'd them more reasonable and more conformable to the Rule. From hence *Abaelard* concludes, that upon a stronger Reason one could not well disapprove the Alteration which he had made in the *Lord's-Prayer*, tho' it might seem a Novelty; and the rather because the Novelties which are prohibited are not those of Expressions, but those of Opinions, since the Church has invented new Phrases to explain our Mysteries: That lastly, there be a world of different Customs in the Church with respect to Ceremonies; That in *Rome* no Church beside the *Lateran* observes the ancient Usage of the Holy See: That in *Milan* only the Cathedral Church observes its ancient Rites: That the Church of *Lyon* is the only Church which has retain'd its ancient Office; and that the Diversity of Ceremonies has likewise its Advantages. Lastly, he concludes by saying, that every one might abound in his own Sense, and repeat the *Lord's-Prayer* in the Way which he should think most proper: That he does not pretend to persuade others to imitate him therein: That he left those who would at their Liberty to change the Words of Jesus Christ, but for his Part he would endeavour all he could to keep to the proper Terms of Jesus Christ, as well as to his Words.

The sixth Letter is an Exhortation to the Religious of *Paraclete*, to study that they might be capable of reading and understanding the Holy Scriptures: It hardly consists of any Thing else but Passages out of *St. Jerome* upon that Subject. He congratulates their Happiness in having such a learned Abbess as was able to teach them *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*; the Languages which were necessary for their rightly understanding of the Scriptures. He recommends to them the having Recourse to the Original Text, which is the Foundation of all Versions; and to study *Hebrew* and *Greek*, the Study whereof, he complains, was very much neglected in his Time. He wishes that those Nuns would recover that Learning, which the Men had suffer'd to be lost. And takes notice, that they might apply themselves to it the more easily, because they were less capable of working with their Hands than Men, and were the more oblig'd to it by the Quietness and Sedateness of their Lives, and because the Weakness of their Sex render'd them more liable to Temptations, which they might divert by being thus employ'd.

The seventh is a Panegyrick on *St. Stephen*, dedicated to the Nuns of *Paraclete*.

From the Year 1121. wherein *Abaelard* was forc'd in the Council of *Sorbonne* to cast his Book of Theology into the Fire, he had met with no Disturbance about his Doctrines, tho' he had still continu'd to write and teach the same Things as before. The first who renew'd the Charge of Errors against him was *William* Abbot of *St. Thierry*, who having read two Books of Theology compos'd by *Peter Abaelard*, and therein found such Propositions as put him to some Disturbance, and which he thought to be contrary to sound Doctrine, sent an Account of them to *Geoffrey* Bishop of *Chartres*, and to *St. Bernard* Abbot of *Clairvaux*, exhorting them to declare themselves against those Novelties, and to get them to be condemn'd. His Letter is the three hundred and twenty sixth among the Letters of *St. Bernard*. He therein says, that he is very much abash'd to speak his Mind at a Time wherein those whose Duty it was to do it held their Peace; but that he could not be silent when he saw the Faith of the Church corrupted by very dangerous Errors, and the rather because the Contest was about the Faith which related to the Trinity, the Person of our Mediator, the Holy Ghost, the Grace of Jesus Christ, and the Sacrament of our Redemption; and because the new Notions which *Peter Abaelard* taught and writ, were spread through the World, and taught and maintain'd publicly, and had (as 'tis said) some Repute even in the Court of *Rome*. He exhorts *Geoffrey* and *St. Bernard* to undertake the Defence of the Faith, and tells them that he apply'd himself more particularly to them, because *Abaelard* fear'd them more than all the World beside. He afterwards relates thirteen Propositions, which he said he had taken out of the Writings of *Abaelard*: viz. 1. That he defin'd Faith to be the Idea of Things not seen. 2. That he asserts that the Names of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are not properly applicable to God: But that 'tis only a Description of the Plenitude of the Sovereign Good. 3. That the Father is a full Power, the Son a certain Power, and the Holy Ghost no Power at all. 4. That the Holy Ghost does not partake of the Substance of the Father and the Son, in the same Manner as the Son does of the Substance of the Father. 5. That the Holy Ghost is *Anima Mundi*, i. e. The Soul of the World. 6. That one may do either Good or Evil by one's own Free-will, without the Influence and Assistance of the Grace of God. 7. That Jesus Christ was not made Man, and did not suffer to deliver us from the Bondage of the Devil. 8. That Christ as God-Man is not one of the three Persons of the Trinity. 9. That in the Sacrament



The Life and Adventures of Abaelard. sacrament of the Altar, the Form of the Substance of Bread and Wine which was there before the Consecration, remains the same afterwards. 10. That he maintains that the Suggestions of the Devil are infus'd into Man by Physical Causes. 11. That we do not contract the Guilt, but the Punishment only of Original Sin. 12. That there is no Sin, unless in the Consent we give to Sin, and in the Contemning of God. 13. That there is no Sin of Concupiscence, Lust or Ignorance. These are the Articles which William Abbot of Thierry says, that he drew out of the Book of Abaelard's Divinity. He adds that he heard say, that he had written likewise several other *Opuscula*, whereof one was intituled, *the Yea* and the *No*; another, *Know thy self*, and several others, the Doctrine of which he was afraid was as monstrous as the Titles were extraordinary and singular. After this Letter William writes a Treatise level'd expressly against those Errors, which is to be met with in the Library of *Cîteaux*, and to which this Letter serves as a Preface.

St. Bernard return'd William this Answer, that he perceiv'd that the Zeal which he express'd against the Errors of Abaelard was reasonable and necessary, and that the Book which he had compos'd to refute him seem'd very useful, tho' he had not as yet time but only to read it cursorily, and not exactly; but that since this was a Business of great Consequence, he desir'd to have a Conference with him about it, which yet he thought could not be before Easter, for fear of interrupting his Devotions in the Season of Lent. That besides he would not have been so long silent, if he had had a perfect Knowledge of the Errors of Abaelard.

When he was inform'd of them and had examin'd Abaelard's Book himself, he very charitably admonish'd him to retract his Errors and to correct his Books, and advis'd his Disciples to read them no more. This Admonition serv'd only to exasperate Abaelard, who made loud Complaints against St. Bernard: So that this Saint perceiving that the private Admonition which he had given him prov'd ineffectual, he thought it his Duty to tell it to the Church, and wrote against him to Innocent II. and to several Prelates of the Court of Rome, accusing him of making Degrees in the Trinity with Arius, of preferring Free-Will before Grace with Pelagius, of dividing Jesus Christ with Nestorius, by excluding him out of the Number of the Persons of the Trinity. He exhorts them warmly to oppose those Errors and condemn them. This is the Subject Matter of the hundred and eightieth, the three hundred and thirtieth, the three hundred and thirty first, thirty second, thirty third, thirty fourth, thirty fifth, and thirty sixth Letters of St. Bernard.

The De- cisions of the Council of Sens against Abaelard. Abaelard seeing himself thus accus'd, made his Application to Henry Archbishop of Sens, and intreated him that he would summon St. Bernard to the Council which was to be held, that so he might enter into dispute with him about the Principal Errors which he imputed to him. The Archbishop of Sens wrote to St. Bernard to come on the Day appointed on the Octave of Pentecost in the Year 1140. to the Synod, that he might enter into a Conference with Abaelard in presence of the Bishops. St. Bernard made some Scruple at first of coming thither, whether he thought (as he said) that he was too strong for him in Disputes, or whether he thought that the Truths of the Christian Faith ought not to be expos'd to the Argumentation of Humane Reasonings. He at first answer'd that the Writings of Abaelard were sufficient to convince him, and that it was not his Business, but the Bishops to whom of right did belong the Determination of the Doctrines of Faith. Abaelard made an Advantage of this Refusal, and spread abroad that he would be at Sens on the Day appointed to answer St. Bernard. Upon this, St. Bernard's Friends fearing that his Absence would prove an Offence to the People, and create a Confidence in his Adversary, and confirm his Error, advis'd him to go to the Council of Sens. He advertises the Bishops and his Friends of it in a Circular Letter, which is his hundred and eighty seventh, and exhorted them to undertake the Defence of a Cause which was more properly theirs than his own.

The Bishops met at Sens on the Octave of Whitsuntide, when the Relicks were to be shewn in the Cathedral Church of that City. All the Bishops of the Province of Sens met there, except the Bishops of Nevers and Paris viz: Geoffrey of Chartres Legate of the Holy See, Elias of Orleans, Hugh of Auxerre, Hatto of Troyes, Manasses of Meaux. Sampson Archbishop of Rheims was likewise there with three of his Suffragans, viz: Joffelin Bishop of Soissons, Geoffrey of Chalons, and Alevis of Arras; a great many Abbots, Deans and Persons of Learning and Piety were likewise there. The King himself (Lewis the Young) was likewise present with William Count of Nevers. The Council being set, St. Bernard produc'd there Peter Abaelard's Book, recited the Erroneous or Absurd Propositions which he had extract-ed thence, and urg'd Peter Abaelard either to disown that he had writ them, or if he would acknowledge them to be his, to prove or retract them. Peter Abaelard had recourse to Shifts, and would not answer expressly, tho' he had Li-

erty given him to do it, had very favourable Judges, and was in a place where he needed not to fear any Thing: But whether he fear'd an Insurrection of the People, if *Urbey* of *Frisingen's* Word be to be taken in the Case, or whether he thought he should have greater Advantage at Rome, where were Cardinals and Prelates who thought it an Honour to be his Disciples, he appeal'd to the Pope, and afterwards withdrew from the Assembly attended with those of his Party. Tho' the Bishops were of Opinion that this Appeal was not Regular, because he appeal'd to Judges of his own Choosing; yet out of Respect to the Holy See, they would not pronounce any Sentence against his Person; but they condemn'd his Opinions after they had been read over several times, and refuted publicly by St. Bernard. This Sentence being pass'd, the Archbishop of Sens and his Suffragans, and the Archbishop of Rheims with his three Suffragans who were at the Synod wrote severally to Pope Innocent II. to desire him to confirm the Sentence which they had pass'd against the Errors of Abaelard, and to intreat him to prevent his teaching any longer, and his having any Countenance at the Court of Rome. Their Letters are the hundred and ninety first, and the three hundred and thirty seventh among the Letters of St. Bernard, who doubtless compos'd them himself. He wrote likewise in his own Name to the Pope the hundred and eighty ninth Letter wherein he earnestly exhorts him to proscribe the Errors of Abaelard, and to hinder him from having any Countenance in the Court of Rome. He likewise sent him the Heads which he had found fault with in Abaelard's Book, with an ample Refutation of his Errors. This is the hundred and ninetieth, or ninety first *Opusculum*. Lastly to prevent Abaelard from making Use of that Credit which he had at Rome in his Favour, he wrote to three Cardinals his Friends, to do what they could, that Abaelard might not succeed in his Designs. This is the Subject Matter of the hundred and second, the hundred and third, and three hundred and thirty eighth Letters.

The Pope return'd Answer to the Prelates of the Council of Sens, and to St. Bernard, that he commended the Zeal which they had express'd against the Errors of Abaelard: That after he had advis'd with the Bishops and Cardinals he had condemn'd the Heads which they had sent him, and all the Errors of Peter Abaelard with the Author of them, on whom he impos'd a perpetual Silence as on a Heretick, and that he had adjudg'd that all the Followers and Defenders of his Errors ought to be excommunicated. This Letter which is the hundred and ninety fourth among St. Bernard's bears date July the 16th. in the Year 1140. In an Order of the same or the foregoing Day, directed to the same Bishops and St. Bernard, he joyns Peter Abaelard to Arnalpheus of Breffe, and orders the Bishops to imprison them, and to burn their Books where-ever they found them.

Abaelard to justify himself compos'd an Apology, or rather a Confession of Faith, wherein after he had taken Notice, that it was a hard matter, when one writ, to avoid Reproach; he protests in the presence of God, that he is not at all Sentible of being Guilty of those Things whereof they accus'd him; and that if he were satisfied of his having advanc'd any Error, he was resolv'd to maintain it no longer: That it might happen that by carelessness he might have writ what he ought not to have writ; but that he calls God to Witness, that as to those Points whereof he was accus'd, he had advanc'd nothing out of an ill Design, or Pride; That he always spoke in Publick, and never conceal'd his Writings: That if in that great Number of Lectures which he had held, he had falln into any Extravagancies, he would never be stiff in the Maintenance of them, but would be always ready to give Satisfaction by correcting or blotting out what he might have advanc'd improperly: But that as it was his Duty to correct the Faults which he had committed, he was likewise oblig'd to refute those Accusations of Error which had been falsly laid to his Charge, because as St. Augustine says, *he who is negligent of his Reputation is an Enemy to himself*, and Silence is a kind of Confession: That 'tis for this Reason that he Answers those Heads which are publish'd against him, to let all the Faithful know that he is a true Son of the Church; that he receiv'd whatever it receiv'd; that he rejected whatever it rejected, and that he always continu'd in the Union of the Church, tho' he were not equal to others in the Sanctity of his Life. He thereupon in this Apology rejects the Errors whereof he was accus'd, and professes the contrary Truths, by declaring (1.) That he abhor'd the Proposition which had been maliciously imputed to him, that the Father had a perfect Power, that the Son had only a certain Power, and that the Holy Ghost had no Power at all; and he professes that he believes that the Son and Holy Ghost are of the same Substance with the Father, and that they have the same Power, and the same Will, and pretends that it was either out of Malice or Ignorance that they had accus'd him of having said that the Holy Ghost was not of the same Substance with the Father. (2.) That he professes to believe that the Only Son of God was made Man to deliver

The Confirmation of the Sentence pass'd by the Council of Sens, by the Pope.

Abaelard's Apology.



*The Life and Adventures of Abaelard.* us from the Slavery of Sin and from the Bondage of the Devil, and to open an Entrance to us to Heaven by his Death. (3.) That Jesus Christ is the true and only Son of God, Born of the Substance of the Father before all Worlds; and that the Holy Ghost is the third Person of the Trinity who proceeded from the Father and the Son. (4.) That the Grace of God is so necessary to all Men, that neither Nature, nor Free-will are sufficient to Salvation, because Grace prevents us that we may Will, follows that we may do what we Will, and accompanies us that we may persevere. (5.) That God cannot do any Thing but what is agreeable to his Nature for him to do, and that he has indeed Power of doing a great many Things which he will never do. (6.) That there are Sins of Ignorance, especially when it proceeds from an Omission of having learn'd what we are oblig'd to know. (7.) That God often hinders Evils, either by preventing the evil Wills of wicked Men, or by changing them. (8.) That we have all contracted the Guilt and Punishment of Adam's Sin, which has been the Cause and Original of all our Sins. (9.) That those who crucified Jesus Christ committed a notorious Sin by nailing him to the Cross. (10.) That the Perfection of Charity was in Jesus Christ. (11.) That the Power of Binding or Unbinding was granted to the Apostles and their Successors, and that all Bishops be they Worthy or Unworthy have that Power, so long as the Church acknowledges them as Bishops. (12.) That all those who are equal in Charity, are equal likewise in Perfection and Merit. (13.) That the Father is as Wise as the Son, and the Son as Beneficent as the Holy Ghost, because the Glory of the three Persons of the Trinity is coequal. (14.) That one cannot attribute to the Father the last Judgment or Advent. (15.) That the Soul of Jesus Christ did not only descend into Hell in Power, but likewise really and substantially. (16.) That he had not maintain'd, that neither Action, nor the Will, nor Lust, nor Pleasure were Sins, and that we ought not to pray for the quenching of our Lusts. Lastly he asserts that they did him wrong in attributing a Book of Sentences to him which he had never compos'd; and conjures all the Faithful not to injure his Innocence, which the Truth shelters from all the Faults ascribed to him, and the rather because Charity requires us to put the best Sense on doubtful Matters.

*The Retreat of Abaelard to Cluny and his Death.*

After he had publish'd this Apology, he set out on his Journey towards Rome; but being arriv'd at Cluny, he was detain'd there by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny. Whilst he was there, the Abbot of Cîteaux coming thither likewise, endeavour'd to bring him to make his Peace with St. Bernard. Peter the Venerable urg'd the same Thing to him also, persuading him to go and wait upon him with the Abbot of Cîteaux, and advis'd him that in case he had said or writ any thing which might be Offensive to the Ears of the Catholics, to advance no such such thing for the future, and to strike it out of his Books. He took his Advice, waited upon St. Bernard, and was reconcil'd to him by the Mediation of the Abbot of Cîteaux. He return'd afterwards to Cluny, where he resolv'd to spend the rest of his Days in Repose free from the Hurry and Fatigue of the Schools. Peter the Venerable thought himself oblig'd to allow this Favour to his Age, to his Weakness and to his Piety: Not Questioning withal but that his Learning would be very Advantageous for the Instruction of his Monks. He wrote about it to Pope Innocent and pray'd him to grant that Abaelard might spend the remainder of his Life with them. 'Tis to be believed that the Pope granted him that Favour; for Abaelard resided in that Community till he dy'd, and behav'd himself with a great deal of Piety and Humility for two Years together. Towards the End of his Life he found himself very much oppress'd with Infirmities, and was sent to the Monastery of St. Marcellus of Chalons upon the Seyne, as being a more healthful and pleasant Place, where he dy'd in the Year 1142. in the sixty third Year of his Age. Peter the Venerable acquainted Heloissa of his Death by a Letter, wherein he gives her an *Excomium* of his Manner of Living ever since he had retreated to their Society, annexes thereto an Epitaph in his praise, and sent his Body to the Abby of Paraclete to be there interr'd. He afterwards went himself to visit that Abby, where he said Mass, made an Exhortation to the Religious in the Chapter House, gave them the Eucharist, and promis'd Heloissa to put up Prayers to God for her in the Society of Cluny for thirty Days together after her Death. She thank'd him for all those Favours in a Letter which she sent to him, and at the same time intreats him to send her Abaelard's Absolution, and to procure a Prebend for her Son Astrolabe. Peter the Venerable sent her this Absolution, and promis'd her to do his best for the procuring a Prebend for her Son, tho' the Bishops were very Scrupulous in granting those Sort of Benefices.

*The Works of Abaelard.* The Works of Abaelard which are now extant are the Letters which we have mention'd in the Course of his History, Expositions of the Lords Prayer, of the Apostles Creed, and of the Creed of St. Athanasius, a Reply to the

Questions or Problems propos'd by Heloissa, a Book about Heresies, a Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans divided into five Books, thirty two Sermons on the Festivals of the Year, an Introduction into Theology divided into three Books, the last of which is imperfect. Those which are lost, or have not as yet been printed, are his Logick, of which he makes mention in his first Letter and in the third Book of his Theology; his Notes upon Ezekiel, his Morals intituled *Nosce Teipsum, Know thy self*; another Book intituled, *Sic Et Non, Yea and No*, which is to be met with in Manuscript in the Library of St. Germain of Prez, so intituld, because 'tis a Collection of such Sentences out of Holy Writ, as are in Appearance contrary to each other, and a Treatise of the Creation of the World, dedicated to Heloissa, which is likewise a Manuscript in the same Library.

In abstracting his Works we will begin with his Introduction into Theology; which is the Book which has made so great a Noise in the World, it being that which contains the Principles of his Doctrine, and the Heads upon which he was reprehended and condemn'd.

He begins the first Book with the Explication of Faith, Hope and Charity; he says that there are three Things necessary to Salvation, Faith, Charity, and the Sacrament; for he believes that Hope is comprehended in Faith, as a *Species* in its *Genus*. He defines Faith to be the Estimation or Idea of invincible Things; and Hope the Expectation of some Good Faith, according to him, has Respect to Good and Evil, both present and future; whereas Hope has only regard to future Good. He defines Charity to be an honourable Love directed to its due End or Object; and Lust on the Contrary to be a shameful and dishonourable Love. Love in General is that Good Will and Affection which one has for another, whereby one wishes to an other some Good upon the Sole Esteem which he has for him: Charity is the Love of God; Lust or Concupiscence is the Love of the World: God is the Ultimate End or Object of the Former, Man is the Ultimate End or Object of the Latter. He observes that Man is the Cause, but ought not to be the End of his Actions, and that what he does for himself ought to have a Respect to God. As for the Sacrament he defin'd it to be an outward and visible Sign of the invincible Grace of God: Thus for instance (says he) when a Man is baptiz'd, the outward washing of the Body which we behold, is the sign of the Inward Washing of the Soul. Faith is the Foundation of other Virtues, because we only hope for what we believe: For which Reason 'tis defin'd by the Apostle Heb. 11. 1. to be the Substance, i. e. the Foundation and Origin of Things hop'd for; Things invisible or future are properly the Object of Faith, tho' sometimes we apply this Term to Things which are seen. Among the Things which may be believ'd, there be some which 'tis no Matter whether they be believ'd or no; such as whether it please God it should or should not rain to morrow: But when one speaks of Faith, one means only that which relates to such Things which we are oblig'd to believe under the Pain of Damnation; and which belong to the Catholick or Universal Faith, the which is so necessary that without it no Man can be sav'd. This Faith has for it's Object the Nature of God and his Benefits shewn to mankind. In the first place 'tis requisite to treat of that which relates to the Nature of God, and to explain how there is but one God and three Persons.

After he had establish'd the Unity, Simplicity, and Immutability of God, he treats of the Trinity of Persons. He says that one of the Divine Persons is not the Other; That the Father, for Instance, is not the Son, nor the Son the Holy Ghost, because they are of the same nature and distinguish'd only personally; That the Property of God the Father is, not to be begotten: That of the Son, to be begotten, but not made nor created; That of the Holy Ghost, to proceed from the Father and the Son, but not made nor created. The Names of the three Persons comprehend the Essence which is supremely or infinitely perfect. The Power of God is denoted by the Name of Father, the Wisdom by that of the Logos or the Son, and the Love of God towards Men by that of the Holy Ghost, the three Things which make up the Supreme Good. The Distinction of these three Persons serves to persuade Men, to render to God the Worship and Adoration which they owe to him; for two Things inspire into us Respect, viz. Fear and Love: The Power and Wisdom of God make us to fear him, because we know that he is our Judge; that he can punish us, and that nothing is hid from his Eyes; and his Goodness makes us to love him, because 'tis but just and reasonable to love him who does us so much Good. This likewise serves to render the Works of God the more admirable; since he can do whatsoever he pleases; that he knows how to preserve what he has made, and Wills that every Thing should be made and subsist in its Order. He takes notice that yet we ought not to believe that those Attributes do so agree to each of the Divine Persons, but that they may be common to them all; so that we are not to believe that

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*The Life and Adventures of Abaelard.* the Father is only Powerful, the Son only Wise, and the Holy Ghost only Merciful; But on the contrary, that these three Persons have the same Power, Wisdom and Mercy: That these three Properties are only attributed to the three Divine Persons in an especial Manner, as their particular Operations are attributed to them, tho' all the Divine Operations which relate to the Creatures, are common to all the Three Persons, namely the Creation to the Father, the Incarnation to the Son, and the Regeneration to the Holy Ghost. Afterwards he proves the Mystery of the Trinity by several Passages out of the Old Testament, and by the Testimonies of the Heathen Philosophers, of whom he quotes a great many.

He foresees that these Citations out of the Heathen Philosophers concerning the Mystery of the Trinity would seem extraordinary, and displease a great many People, therefore he makes use of Part of the second Book to justify himself in this Particular. 1. By the Example and Testimonies of St. Jerome and the other Fathers. 2. By demonstrating that Logick and the other Sciences are not useless to Religion; provided a right Use be made of them. 3. By showing that 'tis useful to explain Mysteries as well as one can, by Instances and Comparisons, and to demonstrate that they are not contrary to Reason, especially when they were to treat with Jews, Heathens, and Hereticks. 4. By refuting those who maintain'd that one ought not to make use of Reason, but only Authority to prove the Mysteries of Faith. 5. By maintaining that one might have some Knowledge of Mysteries, and that as we have Terms whereby to explain them, 'tis requisite likewise that we have Ideas to answer those Terms. 6. Because without taking any Notice of Jews and Pagans, there are likewise some Hereticks or Persons erroneous about our Mysteries; viz. a certain Laick nam'd *Tacheline* in *Flanders*, who caus'd himself to be stil'd by the People, *The Son of God*: And *Peter of Brui* in *Provence*, who had so far subverted the Order and Discipline of the Church, as to oblige a great many People to be rebaptiz'd, and taught that one ought not to celebrate the Sacrament of the Altar any longer, nor make use of the Cross; That it was not requisite any longer to pass by in Silence the publick Professors who taught Errors contrary to the Catholick Faith and sound Doctrine, among whom he opposes four, one in *France*, another in *Burgundy*, a third in *Angers*, and a fourth in *Bourges*. He gives a particular Account of their Errors, which it may not be amiss to insert here. The first (says he) asserts that several of those who liv'd before the Coming of Jesus Christ were sav'd without having believ'd his future Coming; That our Saviour proceeded out of the Virgin's Womb after the same Manner as other Men; and that God begat himself. The second teaches that the three Properties which distinguish the three Divine Persons, are three distinct Essences of the same Person, and of the Divine Nature: That the Body of our Saviour did not increase, but was of the same Bigness in the Virgin's Womb and in the Manger, as it was upon the Cross. That the Marriages of Monks or Nuns are valid, and that one ought not to divorce them, but only to injoin them Penance. The third not only maintains that the Attributes of the Divine Persons are Things distinct from the Godhead, but likewise that all the other Attributes, such as Justice, Mercy, &c. are Qualities and Things distinct from God. The fourth has been so extravagant, as to assert that since Things may happen otherwise than God foresees they would, 'tis possible for him to be deceiv'd.

From this Digression he returns to his Subject, and treats of the Divine Nature. He says that God is not an Accident, nor properly a Substance, if you take that Word to signify an Essence which supports Accidents; that he may be call'd an Essence; that he is not comprehended under any of *Aristotle's* ten Categories; that we want proper Terms whereby to express his Nature and Perfections, but that we make use of enetical and figurative Terms, and give Examples and Similitudes to explain imperfectly what agrees to this ineffable Nature: He produces several of these about the Mystery of the Trinity, and in the first Place observes that Things may be One, either by Resemblance, or in Number, or in Propriety, and that as in one and the same Thing there are a great many Properties, so in one and the same Divine Essence there are Three distinct Persons who have distinct Properties, because the Father begets, the Son is begotten, and the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son. That 'tis true indeed, that we have not among created Beings any Instance wherein one and the same Essence are three Persons; but that we are not to seek for a perfect Resemblance, since 'tis sufficient to bring some Comparisons. He produces that of a Seal, compos'd of the Material, and the Figure engraven thereon. The Seal is neither the simple Material, nor the simple Figure, but a sort of an Integer compos'd of both, and yet in Reality the Seal is nothing else but the Material, thus or thus engraven, though the Figure is not the Material, nor the Material the Figure.

After this he distinguishes between the Procession of the

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This gives him an Occasion of refuting the Opinion of the *Greeks* concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son alone, and of shewing that one might add something to the Creed, provided it were not contrary to the Faith. He explains the Co-eternity of the three Divine Persons, by the Instance of the Light and Rays which proceed from the Sun, and which exist the same Moment with the Sun. Lastly, he pretends that the Heathen Philosophers have acknowledg'd the Trinity.

In the third Book he treats particularly of the Power of God, and maintains that God cannot do any Thing but what he does do; and cannot do all that he does not do; because God can only do what he wills; but he cannot Will to do any Thing but what he does do, because it is necessary for him that he should Will whatever is convenient; from whence it follows, that whatever he does not do is not convenient; that he cannot Will to do it, and consequently cannot do it. He himself owns, that this is his own particular Notion, that scarce any Body else is of this Opinion, that it seems contrary to the Doctrine of the Saints and to Reason, and to derogate from the Greatness of God. Hereupon he starts a very difficult Objection: A Reprobate (says he) may be sav'd; for he knows no Being but what God does save, wherefore God may save him; and consequently do something which is not necessary to be done. To this he replies, that one might very well assert that such a Man may be sav'd by the Relation to the Possibility of Human Nature, which is capable of Salvation; but that it could not be affirm'd that God could save him, if we have respect to God himself, because 'tis impossible that God should do any Thing but what he ought to do. He explains this by several Examples: A Man who speaks may hold his Tongue, but that 'tis impossible for one who speaks to be at the same Time silent. A Man's Voice may be heard, but one who is deaf cannot hear it. A Field may be cultivated and till'd, though a Man may not cultivate it, &c.

From the Power of God he proceeds to his Immutability; he says that God does not change himself when he produces new Effects, because in him there are not such new Motions and new Inclinations as are in us, but only new Effects proceeding from an eternal Will; that he cannot change Places; since he is Omni-present, and that when 'tis said that he descended into the Virgin's Womb, 'tis to denote his Humiliation; but that in being made Man, he was not chang'd, because the Divine Substance is united to the Humane Nature without a change of its Nature; and that the Person of Jesus Christ is a Compound of the Divine *Logos*, the Soul, and of the Flesh; That those three Natures are united in such a Manner as that they retain each their own Nature; and that as the Soul is not chang'd into Flesh, so the Divine Nature is not chang'd, though it be personally united to the Soul and the Flesh. Lastly, he treats of the Divine Knowledge and Wisdom. He says that God has foreseen and pre-ordained all Things; and so with respect to God nothing happens by Chance, though his Prescience does not destroy Free-will. He defines it to be a free Determination of the Will, and asserts that it has been frequently experienc'd, that the Will is not constrain'd by any Violence; and that it has a Power of doing or not doing a Thing. He observes that this kind of Freedom in the Will does not relate to God, but only to Men, who may alter their Will, and do or not do a Thing. He produces the Opinion of some who believ'd that this Freedom consists in a Power of doing both Good and Evil; but he maintains that those who are so happy as to have no Power of sinning, are nevertheless free, and are so the more because of their being delivered from the Servitude of Sin. From hence he concludes, that generally and properly speaking Free-will is when one may voluntarily and without Constraint accomplish that which it has resolved upon; a Liberty which is in God as well as in Men, and in all who are not destitute of the Faculty of Willing. He adds several Philosophical Niceties about the Prescience and Determination of Propositions concerning future Contingencies.



The Explications of the Lord's-Prayer, and of the Creeds of the Apostles, and of St. *Athanasius*, contain nothing in them which is very remarkable. The Problems or Questions which were propos'd to him by *Heloissa*, are almost all of them upon hard Texts of Scripture, which *Abaelard* explains with a great deal of Justice and Accuracy.

The Book of Heresies is a summary Account of the principal Errors of the Hereticks, against which he produces several Passages out of the Holy Scriptures. He therein particularly refutes the Errors against the Sacraments of the Eucharist and of Baptism, against the Administration of Penance, against the Ceremonies of the Church, and against the Invocation of Saints. Some have thought that this Piece was not *Abaelard's*, but 'tis not unworthy of him, and there is nothing to hinder us from thinking it to be his.

The Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, is a literal Explication of that Epistle, wherein he shews the Coherence and Consequence of the Apostle's Discourse, and renders his Terms intelligible by paraphrasing upon them.

*Abaelard's* Sermons are not very eloquent, but such Discourses as contain in them Reflections upon the Words of Scripture, which agree to the Mysteries whereof he treats, together with several Moral Instructions. The Sermon upon St. *John the Baptist*, is a very sharp Satyr against some Monks, and several Canons of his Time, and particularly against St. *Norbert*.

*Abaelard's* Doctrine examin'd. St. *Bernard* in the general, accuses *Peter Abaelard* of treating of the Trinity like *Arius*, of Grace like *Pelagius*, and of the Incarnation like *Nestorius*; of having bragg'd that he was ignorant of nothing, and of being never willing to say, *Nescio*, i. e. I do not know; of being willing to expound inexplicable Things, and to comprehend incomprehensible Mysteries: Of giving a Reason for that which was above Reason; of believing nothing but what Reason discovers to us; of placing Degrees in the Trinity, Terms and Limits to the Majesty of God, and Numbers in Eternity. These are the general Reflections which he cast upon him.

In particular, he finds fault with those Expressions of *Abaelard* concerning the Holy Ghost, viz. That he is not of the same Substance with the Father, as the Son is. He is astonish'd to find him on one side, owning that he is consubstantial to the Father and the Son, and on the other side, denying that he proceeds from the Substance of the Father and the Son. He maintains that the absolute Attributes of God, such as his Omnipotence, Wisdom and Mercy, does not agree more to one than to another of the Three Divine Persons. He opposes *Abaelard's* Comparison taken from a Seal and the Material whereof 'tis made. He finds fault with the Definition of Faith which *Abaelard* makes use of, because he therein gives to Faith the Name of Estimation, which is of too loose a Signification.

He omits speaking to several other Propositions of *Abaelard*; That Jesus Christ had not the Spirit of Fear: That the Fear of God will not subsist in the other Life: That the Accidents of the Bread and Wine after the Consecration are in the Air: That the Demons do not tempt Men, but only by the Virtue of some Stones, and of some Herbs, which they know and make use of: That the Holy Ghost is the Soul of the World. Proceeding afterwards to what relates to the Incarnation, he in the first Place cites the Proposition wherein *Abaelard* maintain'd that Jesus Christ did not come into the World on Purpose to redeem Mankind; upon this he urges the Business very home to him, and shews, that neither Scripture nor Tradition acknowledge any other End of the Incarnation, beside the redeeming of Mankind from the Bondage of the Devil, into which they had fallen by the Sin of their first Parent. He charges him with such Things as he only advanc'd in his Commentary by Way of Query. He demonstrates in Opposition to *Abaelard*, that the End of Redemption does not consist in the Love of Jesus Christ, since Infants are redeem'd by Baptism, before they arrive to the Use of Reason, and consequently before they are capable of loving at all. Lastly, he considers three Things in the Incarnation; The Example of Humility which God has given us by thus abasing himself; The Measure of Charity, which he extended so far as to the Death upon the Cross; and the Sacrament of Redemption, whereby he has deliver'd Men from Death by his Death. These are the Heads whereof St. *Bernard* treats in his large Letter against *Abaelard*, directed to Pope *Innocent II.* which makes the eleventh of his Opuscula.

But to come to an exact Knowledge of all the Errors charged upon *Peter Abaelard*, 'tis sufficient only to consult the Collection of the Propositions extracted out of his Works, which was read in the Council of *Sens*, and sent to the Pope. It consists of fourteen Propositions. The first is the Comparison which he makes of a Seal of Copper, to explain the Mystery of the Trinity. The second is that which he says of the Holy Ghost, viz. That the Holy Ghost is not a Power, nor of the Substance of the Father, though the Three Per-

sons of the Trinity are of the same Substance. The third, that God cannot do any Thing else but what he does do. The fourth, that the End of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, was not only to redeem Mankind, but to enlighten the World with the Lustre of his Wisdom. The fifth, that speaking properly and without a Figure, we cannot say that Jesus Christ is a third Person of the Trinity. The sixth, that God has not given more Grace to him who is sav'd, than to him who is not, before the former has co-operated with his Grace; that he offers his Grace to all the World, and that it depends on the Freedom of Men's Will, whether they will make use of it or reject it. The seventh, that God ought not nor cannot hinder Evil. The eighth, that when 'tis said that Infants contract Original Sin, this ought to be understood of the Temporal and Eternal Punishment which is due to them because of *Adam's* Sin. The ninth, that the Accidents which remain after the Consecration of the Eucharist, are not join'd to the Substance of the Body of Jesus Christ, as they were to the Bread and Wine, but are in the Air: That the Body of Jesus Christ retains its Figure and Lineaments, and that what we see are false Appearances under which the Body of Jesus Christ is hid. The tenth, that 'tis not the outward Action, but the Will and the Intention which render Men either good or bad. The eleventh, that the *Jews* who crucified Jesus Christ in Ignorance and out of Zeal for the Law, did not commit any Sin in so doing, and shall not be condemn'd for this Action, but for their former Sins which merited this Blindness. The twelfth, that those Words, *Whatsoever you shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven*, are to be understood thus: Whatsoever you shall bind in this present Life, shall be bound in the present Church: That none but the Apostles had this Power, and that if it had been communicated to their Successors, 'tis to be understood only of those who have the Holy Ghost. The thirteenth, that neither the Suggestion nor the Pleasure which follows it are sinful, but the Consenting to an evil Action, and the Contempt of God. The fourteenth, that Omnipotence belongs only to the Father as a Personal Attribute.

*Abaelard* in his Apology disowns the Heretical Meaning of those Propositions, but the Question which still remains is to know in what Sense he advanc'd them. It cannot be deny'd, but that he had Catholick Notions about the Mystery of the Trinity, and did believe that the Three Divine Persons were of the same Nature. The Comparison of a Seal which he makes use of to explain this Mystery is not altogether exact, nor does he pretend that it is; but he owns that we can find nothing among the Creatures, which perfectly resembles this incomparable Mystery. Nor does he deny that Power, Wisdom and Love are such Attributes as are common to the Three Divine Persons; he declares the contrary even in express Terms; but he attributes Power to the Father, Wisdom to the Son, and Love to the Holy Ghost, only by Way of Appropriation; wherein he seems not to disagree from the Doctrine of the Fathers and Divines. But in the third Proposition, he does not agree with others in the Manner of thinking and expressing his Thoughts; wherein he says that God can only do what he does do, and cannot do what he doth not do. This does not proceed from his disbelieving, that the Power of God in its own Nature can extend it self to other Objects; but he pretends that it being consider'd as joyn'd to the Wisdom and Will of God, he could not do any Thing beside what he Wills, nor does any Thing besides what he Wills and actually does.

As to that which relates to the End of the Incarnation, (which is the fourth Proposition) 'tis not to be believ'd that he deny'd that Jesus Christ had redeemed and deliver'd Men from the Slavery of Sin by his Death; he asserts the contrary in several Places; but he might have pretended that this Redemption of Mankind from the Captivity of Sin and the Devil, was not the only Motive of the Incarnation, nor the only Advantage which Men reap'd from thence, and the Divine *Logos* was likewise come into the World to enlighten the Nations thereof, and to give them an Example of Virtue; the Holy Fathers have said the same Thing in a great many Places of their Writings.

The fifth Proposition is only a Question about a Name. He owns that the Divine *Logos* is one of the Persons of the Trinity; but disapproves of this Expression, viz. That Jesus Christ is a Third Person in the Trinity, a Way of speaking which is not usual in the Fathers or the Schoolmen.

The sixth Proposition about Grace, is not agreeable to St. *Augustine's* Principles, nor is it Pelagianism nor Semi-pelagianism, since he acknowledges the Necessity of Grace for the producing of any Good in us, and only maintains that God has given equal Grace to all Men, whereof every one might make a good Use, or reject.

The seventh Proposition is a Consequence from his Way of speaking in the third.

The eighth is not to be met with in *Abaelard's* Writings which are now extant; he acknowledges on the contrary in his Apology, that Original Sin consists in the Guilt.

The



The ninth depends upon a Philosophical Dispute about the Nature of Accidents, and is of no Prejudice to the Faith about the Mystery of Transubstantiation, which *Abaelard* own'd; and when he says that they are false Appearances, by this he understands that they resemble Bread which is not there.

The tenth may be taken in a good Sense, so that by Works we understand only the external Actions, which are not expressly good or bad, but as they become voluntary.

The eleventh Proposition is insufferable.

The twelfth is an extraordinary and intolerable Exposition of our Saviour's Words about the Power of Binding and Loosing.

He disowns the thirteenth as that which he never writ.

With Respect to the fourteenth we have explained in what Sense he attributes Power to the Person of the Father. He declares in his Apology; that when he deny'd the Fear of God to be in Jesus Christ and in his Elect, he thereby only understood a servile Fear and not a filial Fear, which he owns will last to all Eternity: And he therein main-

tains, that he had never deny'd that the Soul of Jesus Christ descended really into Hell. By the Name of Estimation *The Life* which he applies to Faith, he does not mean an uncertain and Ad- Opinion, but an Idea which we form to our selves of the ventures of Mysteries which are reveal'd to us, and which we firmly *Abaelard* believe.

As to the general Reflections which are cast upon him, it must be own'd that his Way of speaking and explaining the Mysteries was novel; that he rely'd too much upon his own Reasonings; and that he was for prying too curiously into incomprehensible Mysteries. But at the same time it must likewise be own'd that he happen'd to be in such Times when this Kind of Learning was in its Infancy; and that if in some Places he swerv'd from the Truth, yet he argues very justly and very solidly on a great many Subjects. In a Word, no body can deny but that he had great Parts, much Learning and Logick, a profound Genius and Penetration of Thought. We have only one Edition of his Works publish'd by the Care of *Francis Ambroise* Counselor of State, and printed at *Paris* in 4to. in the Year 1616.

## C H A P. VIII.

### An Account of the Errors and Condemnation of Gillebert de la Porree, Bishop of Poitiers.

*Gillebert de la Porree*, a Native of *Poitiers*, after having been Professor of Divinity in that City, was chosen Bishop of the same Diocese, *A. D.* 1141. He had the most able Divines of his Time for his Tutors, viz. *Hilary* at *Poitiers*, *Bernard* at *Chartres*, *Anselm* and *Radulphus* at *Laon*; but forasmuch as it is difficult, when one takes too great a Latitude in philosophizing on the Mysteries of the Christian Religion, not to wander out of the right Way; he maintain'd in his Commentaries on the Book of *Psalms*, on *St. Paul's* Epistles, and on the Works of *Boethius*, certain Propositions about the Godhead, which gave Offence to those who were not accustomed to handle Theological Matters after such a Manner. He was more especially censur'd for asserting four Points concerning the Godhead, viz. 1. That the Divine Essence was not God. 2. That the Properties of the Divine Persons were not the Persons themselves. 3. That the Divine Persons were not an Attribute in any Proposition. 4. That the Divine Nature was not incarnate; as also upon account of two other Articles, which were look'd upon as less considerable, viz. That there is none that merits but Jesus Christ, and that the Elect only are truly baptiz'd.

*Gillebert* continuing to maintain this Doctrine, even when advanc'd to the Episcopal Dignity, and not forbearing to assert those Propositions, in a Discourse that he made to his Clergy; an Information was brought against him by his two Archdeacons, *Arnold* and *Calon* to Pope *Eugenius* III. who was then at *Sienna*, ready to set forward in his Journey to *France*. The Pope deferr'd the taking Cognizance of the Affair till his Arrival in that Kingdom; and the Archdeacons in the mean while engag'd *St. Bernard* on their Side.

The Examination of *Gillebert's* Doctrine was begun at *Auxerre* in an Assembly conven'd there in the Beginning of the Year 1147. and continued in another held at *Paris* on the Festival of *Easter* in the same Year. *Gillebert* appear'd in the latter before the Pope, the Cardinals, the Bishops and the other Prelates of the Assembly, whilst two Doctors, viz. *Adam de Petit Pont* Canon of *Paris*, and *Hugh de Champfleuri*, the King's Chancellor vigorously oppos'd him, deposing upon Oath, That they had heard him justify some of the Errors of which he was accus'd; but *St. Bernard* was the first and principal of his Accusers. *Gillebert* deny'd that he maintain'd those Opinions that were laid to his Charge, and some of the Bishops, who had been his Pupils, were call'd to witness on his Behalf, among whom were *Raoul* or *Radulphus* Bishop of *Evreux*, and *Ives* Doctor of *Chartres*, who declar'd that they never heard him assert any Thing of the like Nature. Therefore to convict him, his Adversaries demanded that his Commentary on *Boethius's* Book of the Trinity might be produc'd, in which (as they averr'd) those Errors were laid down in divers Place. But this Book not being to be found, certain Propositions were alledg'd, taken out of the loose Papers of his Scholars, and amongst others, That as Man is call'd Wisdom, by reason of the Form of Wisdom; after the same Manner, God is said to be his Goodness, his Wisdom, &c. *St. Bernard* oppos'd that Expression, and *Gillebert* continu'd to deny, that he ever taught or wrote, That the Godhead was not God, or that there was in God any Form or any Essence that was not God himself. He prov'd what he said, by the Testimony of the two Persons but now

mention'd, and nevertheless maintain'd in the Heat of the Dispute, That that which constituted God the Father, was different from that which constituted him God: This Expression gave Offence to *Josselin* Bishop of *Soissons*. *Gillebert* was likewise censur'd for calling the Three Divine Persons, in a Prose or Hymn on the Trinity, Three Singulars; and *Hugh* III. Archbishop of *Rouen* on the contrary affirm'd, that it ought to be said, That God was a Singular. The Pope wearied with these Disputes, which continued two Days, and not having at Hand, *Gillebert de la Porree's* Book, that was call'd in question, thought fit to refer the Determination of that Affair to the Council of *Rheims*, which was held in *Lent* in the following Year.

In the mean while *Gillebert* sent his Commentary on *Boethius's* Book of the Trinity to Pope *Eugenius*, who deliver'd it to be examined by *Goteschalchus* Abbot of Mount *St. Eloy*, of the Order of *Premonstre*, afterwards ordain'd Bishop of *Arras*, who having carefully perus'd it, made an Extract of some Propositions, which he judg'd to be erroneous, and annex'd to them certain Passages of the Fathers contrary to those Opinions: He presented this Memorial to the Pope with *Gillebert de la Porree's* Book. *Alberic* Cardinal Bishop of *Ostia*, and Legate of the See of *Rome* in *Aquitaine*, in like Manner made an Enquiry into *Gillebert's* Life and Conversation, and about the Errors that he had spread abroad; but he died before the meeting of the Council of *Rheims*. In that Council, the Propositions contain'd in the Memorial which the Abbot *Goteschalchus* had drawn up were examin'd, but in regard that he had not a ready Tongue, the Pope caus'd the said Paper to be put into *St. Bernard's* Hands. The Council was compos'd of the Pope, the Cardinals, and divers Bishops of *France*, *Germany*, *England* and *Spain*; the chiefest among those of *France* were *Geffrey de Loroux* Archbishop of *Bourges*, *Gillebert's* Metropolitan, *Milo* Bishop of *Terouane*, *Josselin* Bishop of *Soissons*, and *Suger* Abbot of *St. Denys*, who had the Administration of the Government in the Absence of King *Lewis* the Young, during his Expedition in the Holy Land. These Prelates publicly condemn'd *Gillebert de la Porree's* Propositions, except *Geffrey*, who acted more cautiously, because he had heard it given out, that the principal Cardinals were inclin'd to be favourable to the accus'd Party.

On the first Day of the Assembly, *Gillebert* caus'd large Volumes of his Works to be brought, saying, That his Adversaries only produc'd a few mutilated and mis-interpreted Passages taken out of them. Then a certain Proposition found in his Book, was alledg'd, viz. That the Name of God does not signify the Substance that is, but that by which he is. When that Proposition began to be debated, *St. Bernard* told *Gillebert de la Porree*, That 'twas not necessary to enter upon such Disputes, and that the Scandal proceeded only from hence, that many were persuaded that he was in an Error, and that he gave it out, That the Essence or the Nature of God, his Godhead, Wisdom, Goodness, and Omnipotence is not God, but the Form by which he is God. Now declare, said he to him, whether this be your Opinion or not? *Gillebert* had the Boldness to reply, That the Form of God, or the Godhead by which he is God, is not God himself. Then *St. Bernard* said, we have an Answer to our Question, let this Declaration be committed to Writing: The Pope order'd the same Thing, and *Henry* of *Pisa* Cardinal, brought Pen, Ink and Paper.

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*Gilleberts*



Gillebert, as he was writing, cry'd out to St. Bernard, *Write that the Godhead is God: St. Bernard answer'd without any Hesitation, Yea, let it be written with a Steel Pen and on a Diamond, or let it be engrav'd on Stone, That the Divine Essence, Form, Nature, Godhead, Goodness, Wisdom, Virtue, Omnipotence and Greatness is truly God.* Afterwards that Proposition was debated, and St. Bernard press'd Gillebert de la Porree, telling him, *That if the Form of God were not God, it would be more perfect than God.* He likewise cited divers Proofs out of St. Augustine's Works, which he sent for from the Library of the Church of Rheims, in which that Saint assures us, That the Goodness, Omnipotence, and other Attributes of God, are not different from God himself. Geffrey, afterwards Abbot of Clairvaux, objected against Gillebert, that he disown'd the preceding Year the same Proposition that he now asserted. Gillebert reply'd, That whatever he said then, he maintain'd it at present.

Afterwards they pass'd from that Proposition to a second, viz. That one God is not the three Persons, nor the three Persons one Thing; altho' they be one God by the same Godhead, as far as they are one by the same Thing. This Proposition was likewise committed to Writing, and St. Bernard oppos'd divers Passages of the Fathers. The next Day, they continued to produce many other Testimonies of the Fathers contrary to that Doctrine; and then the other two Articles were propos'd and written, viz. That the Personal Properties and the Eternal Attributes of God, are not God, and that it cannot be said, That the Divine Nature assum'd the Humane Nature, but that it ought to be said, That the Person of the Son took our Nature. When they had disputed for a long Time about those Propositions, the Cardinals declar'd in the End of the Assembly, that after having duly consider'd what was alledg'd on both Sides, they would decide the Matter, and determine what ought to be believ'd. The Archbishops and Bishops being justly offended, that the Cardinals should take upon them arbitrarily to pass their Judgment in that Affair, and fearing lest they should acquit Gillebert de la Porree, whom they apparently favour'd; went the next Day to meet St. Bernard: Then they drew up with his Advice, a Writing that contain'd Gillebert's Propositions, as also a contrary Confession of Faith; and after having sign'd it, put it into the Hands of Hugh Bishop of Auxerre, and of Milo of Terrouane, with Orders to make Application to the Abbot Suger, to get it presented to the Pope and the Cardinals; and to acquaint them, that they had patiently heard several Discourses which ought not to have been made, purely out of Respect to their Character; but being inform'd that they design'd to proceed to Sentence, they thought fit to offer them their Confession of Faith, to the end that they might be enabl'd to pass a right Judgment between both Parties: Lastly, That their Eminences already had Gillebert's Confession, who deliver'd it with a Protestation to correct it, if they should judge it expedient; but as for their Parts, they protest'd that they would not suffer any Alteration to be made in their Form. The Cardinals at first took it very ill, that the Bishops and St. Bernard had prepar'd a Confession of Faith before-hand, and by that Means prevented their Judgments; imagining, that it belong'd only to the Holy See to make such Forms, and to judge definitively of Matters of Faith. But St. Bernard qualify'd their Resentments, by remonstrating to them, That neither he, nor the Bishops pretended to exhibit a final Decision, but only an Explanation of their Sentiments. Whereupon the Pope declar'd, That they all approv'd the Doctrine contain'd in

the Bishops' Confession of Faith; and that if some of the Cardinals were favourable to Gillebert's Person, yet none approv'd his Errors. However, he did not confirm this Determination by a solemn Decree, but contented himself only to cause Gillebert to appear in an Assembly held in the Archbishop's Palace at Rheims; and after having oblig'd him to retract his four Propositions, he condemn'd them, and forbid the reading or the transcribing of his Book, till it were corrected by the Church of Rome. Gillebert promis'd to do it, but the Pope answer'd, that he should not be left at Liberty to correct it at his Pleasure: But nothing was decreed against his Person, so that he return'd to his Diocese reconcil'd with his Archdeacons. St. Bernard was satisfy'd, that his Recantation was sincere, and that he really acquiesc'd in the Judgment of the Synod; nevertheless, some of his Followers could not be persuaded to abjure his Opinions, but still persisted to maintain them, and therefore St. Bernard endeavours to confute these Miscreants, in his 80th. Sermon on the Canticles, and treats them as Hereticks. Those erroneous Doctrines were likewise impugned by Geffrey Abbot of Clairvaux, in a Treatise written purposely on that Subject, in which he collects divers Passages of the Fathers, directly opposite to Gillebert's four Propositions.

Some other Errors were also attributed to him, but forasmuch as they were not found in his Books, 'twas judg'd sufficient to tear in Pieces the loose Papers that were in the Hands of his Scholars or Pupils, and in which they were written. Geffrey cites a Passage taken out of this Author's Gloss on the Psalms, in which he asserts, that the Humanity of Jesus Christ ought not to be ador'd with a Worship of Latria, but with that of Dulia; as also another extract'd out of his Gloss on St. Paul's Epistles, where he says, That the Name of God, and of the Son of God, is not attributed to the Humane Nature in Jesus Christ, unless by Adoption.

The Works of Gillebert de la Porree were never yet printed, except one Letter on the Eucharist, publish'd by Father Luke Dachery in the Notes on Guibert de Nogent. His Commentaries on the Psalms, and on St. Paul's Epistles, and his Theological Treatise of the Trinity, are extant in Manuscript in divers Places; but we may judge by the Passages that are cited out of them, that the too great Subtlety of that Man's Genius, caus'd him to fall into Expressions contrary to the simplicity of the Faith; a Misfortune that very frequently happens to those, who deviate from the Scripture and Tradition, to philosophize on the Mysteries of the Christian Religion. He died, A. D. 1154.

The Letter but now mention'd, is directed to Matthew Abbot of St. Florin, who had consulted him to know what ought to be done, in reference to a certain Priest, who thro' Inadvertency had perform'd the Consecration, when there was no Wine in the Chalice, and having perceiv'd his Mistake, made a new Consecration of the Bread and Wine. He returns for Answer, That 'twas requisite that that Priest should forbear saying Mass for some Time, and that he should do Penance for his Transgression. For the rest, that he had done ill, in making a new Consecration of the Bread and Wine, because the Body of Jesus Christ is altogether entire under each Species, and in regard that his Body and Blood was under the Species of Bread, altho' no Wine were consecrated: And that therefore the Communion might have been administer'd with the consecrated Bread; as Children receive it under the single Species of Wine, and sick Persons under that of the Bread. This Letter is very remarkable.



## C H A P. IX.

## An Account of the Lives and Letters of the Popes who posses'd the See of Rome from Eugenius III. to the end of the Century.

*Of the  
Popes of  
Rome.*  
**A** Anastasius IV. was a Citizen of Rome, and was called Conrad before his promotion to the Papal Dignity. He was at first Abbot of St. Anastasius, in the Diocese of Velitri, afterwards Cardinal Bishop of St. Sabina, and succeeded Pope Eugenius, July 10. A. D. 1153. He posses'd the See of Rome only during one Year, four Months and some Days, and died December, 4. 1154.

*Anastasius  
IV.*  
*Adrian IV.* He had for his Successor Adrian IV. an English-Man by Nation, who was nam'd Nicolas Break-spear, before he attain'd to that Station, and was Cardinal Bishop of Albany. Eugenius III. sent him in quality of a Missionary into Norway, where he converted a great Number of Infidels. He was generally reputed to be a Man of a gentle and liberal Disposition. In the Beginning of his Popedom, Arnold of Brescia and his Followers excited some troubles in Rome, and wounded Cardinal Gerard. Whereupon the Pope having suspended the City from Divine Service till the Romans had expell'd him and his Adherents, so that the latter were forc'd to make their escape by flight, and retir'd to Otricoli in Tuscany, where they were favourably receiv'd by the People; who look'd upon Arnold as a Prophet, but he was apprehended soon after, and notwithstanding the Opposition made by the Viscounts of Campania, who had rescu'd him, he was deliver'd up to the Prefect or Governor of Rome, who caus'd him to be burnt at a Stake, and his Ashes to be thrown into the River Tiber, lest the People should honour him as a Saint. This Pope pronounc'd an Anathema against William King of Sicily, who had refus'd to receive his Letters, because he did not give him the Title of King, and who had seiz'd on some Territories belonging to St. Peter's Patrimony. Then his Holiness went as far as Sutri to meet Frederick, who was arriv'd in Italy, accompany'd him to Rome, and set the imperial Diadem on his Head. A little while after, he made Peace with William King of Sicily, and granted him the Royal Style of King of both Sicilies. In writing to the Emperor Frederick about the Affair of the Bishop of London, he incurr'd the displeasure of that Prince, by insinuating that the Empire was a Donation receiv'd by him from the Holy See; inso-much, that the Pope was oblig'd to explain himself in a second Letter, and to say, that he meant only with respect to his Coronation and Consecration. However this did not fail to set them at variance, and their Quarrel was inflam'd, because his Holiness refus'd to confirm a certain Person, whom the Emperor had nominated to be Archbishop of Ravenna. 'Tis also reported that the Pope design'd to excommunicate the Emperor if he had liv'd longer, but he died of a Quinsie in the City of Anagnia, September 1. A. D. 1159. But his Body was translated to Rome, and interr'd in St. Peter's Church.

*Alexander  
III.* After the Solemnization of his Funeral Obsequies, 23 Cardinals met together, and chose at the End of three Days, Roland Cardinal Priest, with the Title of St. Mark, and Chancellor of the Church of Rome, who was nam'd Alexander III. But there were three Cardinals, viz. Octavian, John of St. Martin, and Guy of Crema, who undertook to carry on another Election, and Octavian having obtain'd the Suffrages of the two others, assum'd the Quality of Pope, and the Name of Victor III. Afterwards he caus'd himself to be cloath'd in the Pontifical Habit; took possession of St. Peter's Church by force, and set a Guard of Senators over Alexander and his Cardinals, who were confin'd in the Fort during nine Days. The latter was remov'd to a Castle on the other side of the Tiber, and after having been shut up therein three Days, the People began to raise a Mutiny, inso-much, that he was conducted with divers Bishops and Cardinals across the City, to a Place call'd Nero's Victory, and was there consecrated. The Emperor Frederick was then in Italy besieging Cremona, and the two Competitors having made application to him to get their Interest maintain'd, he order'd them both to repair to Pavia, to take their Trial in a Council. Alexander not thinking fit to go thither, retir'd to Anagnia; and the Emperor in the mean while caus'd the Parties to be summon'd to the Council which he had conven'd: The former refus'd to appear, but Octavian presented himself according to Order. Then the Emperor after having inform'd the Bishops, that the Right of calling Councils belong'd to Princes, referr'd the Decision of that Quarrel to their Judgment. The Coun-

cil was compos'd of fifty Archbishops and Bishops; and of a great Number of Abbots. Victor, who was present there without an Adversary, carry'd the Cause without any difficulty, upon making Proof, that he was first invest'd with the Pontifical Mantle; put in possession of the Holy See; and acknowledg'd by the Clergy. Thus his Election, notwithstanding its irregularity, was confirm'd by the Council, and that of Alexander declar'd null: The next Day, the latter and his Adherents were solemnly excommunicated. We have still in our possession the Acts of that Council, held, A. D. 1160. with the Synodical Letter of the Fathers assembled therein, that of the Emperor, that of the Bishop of Bamberg, and that of the Canons of St. Peter at Rome, concerning the Election of Victor, and the Judgment pass'd in his favour. They accuse the Cardinals, who chose Alexander, of having met together even in Pope Adrian's Life-time, to substitute Roland in his Room, and of having carry'd on the last Election in a tumultuous Manner. Alexander being inform'd of what was transacted against him in the Assembly of Pavia, excommunicated the Emperor Frederick.

The other Princes of Europe were ready to do more Justice to Pope Alexander; for Henry II. King of England and Philip II. King of France, being persuaded by their Prelates of the Equity of their Cause, favour'd him under the Hand; but not to do any thing rashly in an Affair of that land and importance, they call'd Assemblies of the Prelates of their France, respective Kingdoms, viz. the former at Newmarket in England, and the other at Beauvais in France. It was agreed in those Conventions that Alexander's Right was most preferable; but the Princes before they openly declar'd their Sentiments, solicited Frederick to own him as Pope, and to abandon Octavian. But perceiving him to be altogether inflexible to authorize their Declaration to the best advantage, they call'd a general Assembly of the Prelates and Noblemen of their Kingdoms, in which the Legates of the two Competitors were also present, in order to take a full cognizance of the Cause, and afterwards to declare for him, who should be acknowledg'd as lawful Pope in that Assembly, for hitherto out of respect to the Emperor they did not think fit publicly to espouse Alexander's Cause, altho' they were well inform'd of the Validity of his Right. The matter being debated for some time in the Council, it evidently appear'd, from the Relation of the Cardinals, the Testimony of many Witnesses, and even the Confession of those of Victor's Party, That the latter seiz'd on the See of Rome by force; was cloath'd in the Pontifical Vestments by Lay-men, without any Canonical Form; was excommunicated before his Consecration; and was chosen by three excommunicated Persons: On the other side, That Alexander was elect'd by all the other Cardinals; that he might have been immediately invest'd with the Pontifical Ornaments, if he had not at first refus'd to accept of them thro' Humility; that he afterwards assum'd them in a solemn Manner; and receiv'd Consecration from the Hands of those, who had a right to administer it. It was also made appear, That the Emperor declar'd for Octavian, a long time before the meeting of the Assembly of Pavia; that that Convention was not compos'd of 153 Bishops, as his Imperial Majesty gave it out, but only of 44; that the Prelates had taken a Resolution to suspend their Judgment, and not to own either of the two Competitors as Pope, till a general Synod were call'd, consisting of the Prelates of divers Kingdoms, or till they knew which of them was approv'd by the sound part of the Church; that they agreed to give the same Advice to the Emperor, but that he could not be induc'd to follow it; and that on the contrary, he had compell'd the Bishops, to confirm him whom he had already receiv'd; except 24, among whom was the Bishop of Pavia, in whose City, that Assembly was held: Therefore the Prelates of England and France, being well satisfied with these Reasons, acknowledg'd Alexander as lawful Pope, at the same time Excommunicating Octavian with his Adherents, and the two Kings in like Manner follow'd the Judgment of the Council.

The Emperor being inform'd of the Transactions in France, held a second Assembly at Lodi, in which assisted Pilgrim Archbishop of Aquileia, Guy elect Archbishop of Ravenna, divers Bishops, a great Number of Abbots and some Noble-men. He caus'd the Election of Octavian to



be confirmed therein, and several Letters of Excuse were read, that (as it was given out) were sent by the Kings of Denmark, Norway, Hungaria and Bohemia, as also by six Archbishops, twenty Bishops, and many Abbots, as well of the Order of *Clairvaux* as of other Congregations, and in which they acknowledg'd *Ottavian* as Pope: *Hubert* Archbishop of *Milan*, the Consuls of that City, and the Bishops of *Placentia*, *Brescia*, *Bononia* and some others were excommunicated in that Council, which was held in the Month of *June*, A. D. 1161. and continu'd during some Days.

In the mean while *Alexander* took Sanctuary in the Dominions of *William* King of *Sicily*, because the Emperor *Frederick* was Master of a great part of *Italy*, and waited for a favourable Opportunity to pass over from thence into *France*, where the distress'd Popes always met with a Place of Refuge, during the Persecutions that were rais'd against them. At last he found means to set out to Sea, and arriv'd in *France* on the Festival of *Easter*, A. D. 1162. where he was receiv'd by the Kings of *France* and *England*, who went to meet him as far as *Torcy sur Loire*, alighted in his presence, and conducted him on the Road, each of them holding the Reins of his Horse's Bridle. *Frederick* perceiving that *Alexander* retir'd to a place of safety, and was own'd by all the Christians of *Europe*, except the *Germans* and some *Italians*, caus'd a Proposal to be made to the King of *France*, that there should be an Interview between them at *Avignon*, or in some other Frontier-Town; that he would bring *Victor* along with him, and that the King should in like manner cause *Alexander* to appear there; that the Election of both should be thoroughly examin'd in an Assembly compos'd of the Prelates of *Germany*, *France*, and *Italy*, and that all Parties should entirely submit to their final Decision. His Design was to cause both Competitors to be reject'd, and to procure the Election of a third Person. However, the King of *France* approv'd his Proposal, and went to the Place appointed; but *Alexander* being more mistrustful than that Prince, refus'd to accompany him, and contented himself only to send some Cardinals thither to maintain his Right. The Emperor was highly offended, that the King had not brought *Alexander*; and forasmuch as he was the stronger, 'twas much to be fear'd lest he should hem him in on every side, and take him Prisoner, if the King of *England* had not speedily caus'd his Troops to march on purpose to rescue him. This unexpected Recruit having broken *Frederick's* Measures, he caus'd another Proposal to be made to the King, viz. that he should come to meet him with the Prelates of his Kingdom, to receive the Sentence that should be pronounc'd by the Prelates of the Empire, as to the Contest between the Competitors to the Popedom; affirming, That they only had a right to judge of the validity of the Election of a Pope. The King reply'd, That his Prelates and Clergy being the Sheep of the Pope of *Rome*, 'twas their Interest to take Cognizance of the Person, who was to be their supreme Pastor. Whereupon the Intercourse was discontinu'd, and the King retir'd with his Forces.

Pope *Alexander* arriv'd at *Paris*, A. D. 1163. and at his departure from that City, held a Council at *Tours*, where he renew'd the *Anathema's* published against *Ottavian* and *Frederick*. The Antipope *Ottavian* died the next Year at *Lucca* on the Festival of *Easter*, and his Followers substituted in his room, *Guy* of *Crema*, who took the Name of *Paschal* III. The Death of *Ottavian* weaken'd his Party, and the *Italians* wearied with the Emperor's tyrannical Government, began to incline towards *Alexander's* side; besides that *Conrad* chosen Archbishop of *Mentz*, and many other Bishops of *Germany*, declar'd in his favour. Therefore *Alexander* taking the Advantage of so favourable a Conjunction return'd to *Italy*, and made his publick Entry into the City of *Rome* in the Month of *November*, 1165. after having resid'd three Years in *France*. He was joyfully receiv'd by the People: But on the other side, *Frederick* us'd his utmost Endeavours to maintain *Paschal* the Antipope, and to that purpose call'd an Assembly at *Wurtzburgh*, A. D. 1166. in which he himself took an Oath, and caus'd the like Oath to be given to the most part of the Lords and Prelates of the Assembly, that they would not acknowledge any other Pope but *Paschal*, and that they would cause all those who depended on them, to submit to his Authority. The Deputies of the King of *England*, who was at variance with Pope *Alexander*, by Reason of the Contests he had with *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, took the same Oath.

Afterwards *Frederick* appear'd at the Head of an Army, and pass'd into *Italy* to put *Paschal* in possession of the Papal See: He enter'd *Lombardy*, besieg'd *Ancona*, and the next Year encamp'd near *Rome*; then he defeated the *Romans* in Battel; took part of the City; seiz'd on *St. Peter's* Church, and would have made himself Master of the whole City, if a Dilemper, that rag'd in his Army had not oblig'd him speedily to retire to *Lombardy*. *Alexander* being thus deliver'd from so imminent a Danger, had recourse to his

thundering Bulls, and pronounc'd a Sentence of Deposition against *Frederick* in a Council held at *Lateran*, A. D. 1168. The *Italians* animated by that Sentence, revolted against the Emperor, submitted to *Alexander*, and expell'd the Schismatical Bishops. *Frederick* having attack'd the *Milanese* Troops, lost twenty thousand Men, and was forc'd to shut himself up in *Pavia*, but not believing himself to be safe there, in regard that the whole Country of *Lombardy* had declar'd against him, he at last found Means to escape into *Germany*, not without much Difficulty. In the mean While *Paschal* continu'd in Possession of *St. Peter's* Church, and *Alexander* resid'd at *Benevento*: The latter return'd from thence in the End of the Year 1169. and receiv'd the City of *Frescati* under his Protection: Whereupon the *Romans* were incens'd against him, and only promis'd to give him Admittance into *Rome*, as their Sovereign, on Condition that he should cause the Walls of *Frescati* to be demolished. He did it accordingly; but the *Romans* not having kept their Word, he caus'd that Place to be fortified again, left a Garrison therein, retir'd to *Anagnia*, and from thence pass'd to *Benevento*, where he receiv'd in 1170. the Proposal made to him by *Manuel Comnenus* Emperor of the East, to reunite the *Greek* Church to the *Latin*, and to own the supreme Authority of the See of *Rome*, on Condition that he should crown him Emperor of the West. The Pope commended his Design about the Re-union of the two Churches, and promis'd to contribute, as far as 'twas possible towards the carrying it on; but as for the Demand of the Empire, he answer'd, That the Matter appear'd to him to be too difficult, and that it did not lye in his Power to grant what he desir'd.

Some Time after, *Paschal* the Antipope died at *Rome*, and those of his Party chose for Pope, *John* Abbot of *Struma*: Altho' *Frederick* had own'd his Authority, yet he did not forbear to send the Bishop of *Bamberg* to *Alexander* to negotiate a Treaty of Peace with him. That Prelate had a Conference with *Alexander* in *Campania*, and told him that his Master did not design any longer to act contrary to his Interest, but forasmuch as he refus'd to declare plainly, that he would acknowledge him as lawful Pope, or to promise Obedience to him, they parted without concluding any Thing. Altho' *Alexander's* Affairs prosper'd every Day more and more; nevertheless the *Romans* could not be induc'd to receive him into their City, and he usually resid'd either at *Frescati* or in *Campania*.

*Frederick* carry'd on a War in *Italy*, A. D. 1175. but not being successful in his Enterprizes, he renew'd the Negotiations of Peace; so that the Pope sent Legates to treat with him about it, but they were not able to come to any Agreement. The next Year *Frederick's* Army was entirely defeated by the *Milanese* Forces, insomuch that he was constrain'd to send Ambassadors to *Alexander* to conclude a Treaty of Peace: The Conditions were propos'd, and were at last ratify'd in 1177. at *Venice*, where the Emperor and the Pope had an Interview: The former abandon'd the Party of *Ottavian*, *Guy* and *John* of *Struma*, and promis'd Obedience to *Alexander*, who took off the Excommunication denounc'd against *Frederick*, and re-admitted him to the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. Some Authors relate divers fabulous Circumstances concerning this Reconciliation, and amongst others, that the Pope made an Escape to *Venice* in a Disguise; that he was forc'd to implore the Assistance of the Doge; that the Emperor sent his Son *Ozbo* with a Fleet to oblige the *Venetians* to deliver up the Pope into his Hands; that they defeated him and took him Prisoner; that the same Son agreed upon certain Articles of Peace with the Pope; that *Frederick* came in Person to confirm the Treaty; that he prostrated himself before all the People, at the Feet of the Pope, who set his Foot on his Neck, pronouncing these Words; *It is written, thou shalt tread upon the Basilisk, and trample under Foot the Lion and the Dragon*; that *Frederick* answer'd, *I do not obey you but Peter*; and that *Alexander* reply'd, *Both me and Peter*. All these Particulars are so many Fables, the Falshood of which is prov'd by *Alexander's* Letters, and by the Testimony of the Historians of that Time. 'Tis worth the while to observe, after what Manner *Alexander* speaks upon Occasion of that Peace in his Letter.

' On the 21<sup>st</sup>. Day of *July* (says he). by the Emperor's Order, the Son of the Marquis *Albert*, and his Imperial Majesty's Chamberlain, took an Oath, in the Presence of divers Ecclesiastical and Secular Princes of the Empire; that upon the Emperor's Arrival at *Venice*, he should ratify by Oath, the Articles of the Peace of the Church, that were already agreed upon; that he should grant Peace to *William* King of *Sicily* for fifteen Years, and a Truce for seven, to the *Lombards*. On the 24<sup>th</sup>. Day of the same Month, the Emperor came to the Church of *St. Nicolas*, at the Distance of a Mile from *Venice*, and having abjur'd the Schism, as well as all the Bishops and German Princes, he receiv'd Absolution with them; afterwards

Of the  
Popes of  
Rome.

Alexander  
III. passes  
over into  
France.

A Con-  
ference at  
Avignon.

A Council  
held at  
Tours by  
Alexander  
III.

Alexander  
III. re-  
turns to  
Rome.

An As-  
sembly at  
Wurtz-  
burgh in  
1166.

Of the  
Popes of  
Rome.



terwards being arriv'd at *Venice*, he gave us the Marks of his Obedience, with all Manner of Humility, at the Entrance of *St. Mark's Church*, in the Presence of an innumerable Multitude of People; receiv'd from us the Blessing of Peace; gave us the Right-hand; and conducted us with Devotion to the Altar. The next Day, being the Festival of *St. James*, we went to *St. Mark's Church* to celebrate Mass; the Emperor came to meet us without the Church; gave us the Right-hand; re-conducted us when Divine Service was ended; held the Stirrup, whilst we got up on Horse-back; and perform'd all the Devoirs and Respects due to us, that his Predecessors were wont to do. The Matters of Fact are thus related by the Pope himself in three Letters.

Of the  
Popes of  
Rome.

The next Day, the Emperor went to pay a Visit to the Pope, and on *August 1st.* he himself took an Oath, the same Thing being likewise done by the German Lords, to observe the Peace that was concluded. Afterwards Absolution was given to those that had taken Part with the Antipopes, and who promis'd for the Future, to obey Pope *Alexander* and his Successors. On *September 16.* the Pope held a Council of the Bishops of *Italy* and *Germany*, in which the Treaty of Peace was confirm'd, and the Anathemas renew'd against the Schismatics, who were not as yet return'd to the Bosom of the Church, and the Emperor ratify'd it by publick Letters. Lastly, the Emperor before he left *Venice*, concerted with the Pope Matters relating to the Restitution of the Revenues of the Church of *Rome*; and set forward in his Journey to *Lombardy*, whilst the Pope went to *Anagnia*, where he arriv'd *December 14.* and from whence the next Year, he was recall'd to *Rome* by the Clergy, Senate and People of that City. Thus an End was put to the Schism of the Church of *Rome*, and *Alexander* continu'd in the peaceable Possession of that See till his Death, which happen'd in the Month of *August*, *A. D. 1181.*

*Lucius III.* Cardinal *Humbald*, a Native of *Lucca*, was chosen in his Place, and surnam'd *Lucius III.* He was expell'd *Rome* by the Senators, and retir'd to *Verona*, where he died, *November 25. A. D. 1185.*

*Urban III.* *Lambert* Archbishop of *Milan*, succeeded him under the Name of *Urban III.* These two Popes had several Conferences at *Verona* with the Emperor *Frederick*, about the putting of the Treaty of Peace in Execution, and the Election of the Archbishop of *Trier*. The latter had also some Contests with the Emperor, about certain Territories left by the Princess *Matilda* to the Church of *Rome*; the Disposal of the Estates of the Bishops after their decease, which the Emperor claim'd as his Right; and the Taxes that were allotted to be paid to the Abbesses. And indeed, Matters were carry'd to that Height, that *Urban* threaten'd to excommunicate the Emperor, and that Prince call'd an Assembly of the Prelates and Princes of *Germany* at *Geinlenhusen*, *A. D. 1186.* to maintain his Rights, in which it was determin'd to write to the Pope about that Affair. Their Letter extremely incens'd his Holiness, and caus'd him to take a Resolution to denounce a Sentence of Excommunication against the Emperor, which would have been actually put in Execution, if the Inhabitants of *Verona* had not entreated him not to do it in their City. Therefore he departed from thence with that Design, but was prevented by Death, which happen'd *October 17. A. D. 1187.*

An Assem-  
bly at Ge-  
inlenhu-  
sen in  
1186.

The next Day, *Albert*, Cardinal Priest of *St. Laurence*, and Chancellor of the Church of *Rome*, was plac'd on that See, and bore the Name of *Gregory VIII.* His Popedom did not continue during two entire Months; for he died *December 16.* in the same Year.

Gregory  
VIII.

After a Vacancy of twenty Days, the See of *Rome* was fill'd up by *Paulinus* Cardinal of *Palestrina*, chosen *Jan. 26. A. D. 1188.* and nam'd *Clement III.* Under his Popedom the Christian Princes undertook a Crusade for the recovering of the Places that *Saladin* had taken from them in the *Levant*. The Emperor *Frederick*, *Richard I.* surnam'd *Cœur de Lion* King of *England*, and *Philip II.* King of *France*, were engag'd in that Expedition. The first was drowned in 1190, as he was washing himself in a small River between *Antioch* and *Nice*, and his Son *Henry* succeeded him in the Imperial Dignity. Pope *Clement III.* died *April 10. A. D. 1191.*

Clement  
III.

*Hyacinthus*, Cardinal Deacon with the Title of *St. Mary*, was chosen in his Place, under the Name of *Celestin III.* and after having been ordain'd on Holy *Saturday*, was plac'd in *St. Peter's Chair* on *Easter-day*. At that Time, *Henry* arriv'd with an Army near *Rome*, and determin'd to enter the City to be crown'd Emperor. Forasmuch as the Pope put him off from Time to Time, the *Romans* sent Deputies to promise him, That if he would engage to preserve their Rights and Privileges, and to demolish the Castles that were built at *Frescati*, they would admit him, and would oblige the Pope to solemnize his Coronation. He accordingly consented, and took an Oath before the Pope, at the Door of *St. Peter's Church*, that he would maintain the Ecclesiastical Rights; restore *St. Peter's Patrimony*;

Celestin  
III.

and raise the Citadel of *Frescati*. Afterwards the Pope caus'd him to enter the Church, and actually crown'd him Emperor, and *Constance* his Wife, the Daughter of *Roger King of Sicily*, Empress. *William* surnam'd the Good, King of *Rome*, *Sicily*, the Nephew of that Princess, dying, she laid Claim to the Crown; but *Tancred* her bastard Brother excluded her, and got Possession of the Throne, which gave Occasion to the War that *Henry* undertook to subdue that Kingdom. He march'd into *Italy* with a formidable Army, *A. D. 1196.* and treated the Nobility of *Sicily* in so outrageous a Manner, that his own Wife being sensibly afflicted with the Calamities of her Nation, join'd with them against her Husband, and compell'd him by Force to grant them reasonable Terms of Peace. *Henry* did not long survive that Reconciliation, for he dy'd at *Messina* in 1197. Pope *Celestin* excommunicated him some Time before, for detaining Prisoner, *Richard* King of *England*, whom *Leopold* Duke of *Austria* had sold to him, after having seiz'd on that valiant Prince in his Territories, as he was returning from his Expedition to the Holy Land. Upon Account of that Excommunication, the Archbishop of *Messina* refus'd to bury him in consecrated Ground, till he had consulted the Pope. Therefore he went to meet his Holiness, and requested of him three Things, viz. 1. A Licence to inter the Emperor's Body according to due Form. 2. The Deliverance of *Marcwald* his Imperial Majesty's Chief Justice, who was besieg'd by the *Romans*. And 3. That *Frederick* the Son of *Henry*, might be crown'd King of *Sicily*. *Celestin* reply'd as to the first Article, That the Emperor could not be bury'd without the Consent of the King of *England*, and till the Money were restor'd to that Prince, which he had exacted from him for his Ransom: As to the second Article, That the setting of *Marcwald* at Liberty depended on the Pleasure of the *Romans*. He granted the last Article, on Condition that the Sum of a thousand Marks of Silver should be paid to him, and as many to the Cardinals; and after that the Empress had taken an Oath upon the Holy Gospels, That *Frederick* was begotten in lawful Wedlock of her and *Henry*: As for the Succession to the Empire, it was contested between *Philip* the Brother of *Henry* deceased, and *Otho* the Son of the Duke of *Saxony*, as we shall have Occasion to shew hereafter. Pope *Celestin* did not long survive the Emperor *Henry*; for he fell sick on the Festival of *Christmas* in the same Year, and died *Jan. 8. A. D. 1198.*

Of the  
Popes of  
Rome.

It remains only for completing the History of these Popes, to give some Account of their Letters.

The Letters of *Anastasius IV.* are few in Number. In the first, he reprehends *Engelard* Archbishop of *Tours*, for neglecting to acquaint him with the high Misdemeanours of which the Bishop of *Treguier* is accus'd, and orders him incessantly to summon that Prelate to appear in his Court; and if he find him guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge, that is to say, of having riotously wasted the Revenues of his Church; of having conferr'd Orders contrary to the Canonical Constitutions; and of having committed Simony and Perjury; to send him to the Holy See, to the end that he might be punish'd according to the Severity of the Canons.

Anastasius  
IVth's  
Letters.

In the second, he writes to *Hugh* Archbishop of *Sens* and to his Suffragans, to look upon the Inhabitants of *Vezelay*, as under a Sentence of Excommunication, by reason of the Persecutions that they rais'd against *Ponce* Abbot of the Monastery of that Place. He writes the same Thing to the Count and Lords of *Burgundy* in the third, which only differs from the former in the Supercription.

By the fourth, he orders *Peter* Archbishop of *Bourges* to excommunicate the Count of *Nevers* and the Inhabitants of *Vezelay*, unless they gave Satisfaction to the Abbot and Monastery of *Vezelay*, within thirty Days after the Monition is exhibited to them.

He writes again on the same Subject to *Lewis VII.* King of *France*, to the Bishops of that Kingdom, and to *Ponce* Abbot of *Vezelay*, in his fifth, sixth and seventh Letters.

In the eleventh, he confirms the Statutes of the Regular Canons of *St. John* at *Lateran*.

In the twelfth, he takes into his Protection, the Order of the Knights of *St. John* at *Jerusalem*, and ratifies their Privileges.

The first of the Letters attributed to Pope *Adrian IV.* is a Privilege granted to the King of *England*, to make himself Master of *Ireland*, referr'd to by *Matthew Paris*. But it is a very doubtful Piece, and there are no Grounds to rely upon it.

Adrian  
IVth's  
Letters.

The second, is the Letter that gave Offence to *Frederick*, and in which the Pope complains, That the Bishop of *London* was misus'd in the Emperor's Dominions, as he was returning from the Holy See, and that he did not take Care to revenge that Indignity. To induce him to do it, he entreats him to call to mind, with what Kindness he was receiv'd at *Rome* the preceding Year, as also the Honour and Dignity that he had conferr'd upon him in setting the Imperial Crown on his Head. He declares at the same



Of the  
Popes of  
Rome.

Time, That he does not repent of having given him Satisfaction, and that he should be very glad to find an Opportunity, to bestow on him greater Favours if it were possible.

This Letter being deliver'd to *Frederick*, by *Bernard* Cardinal of *St. Clement*, and by *Roland* Cardinal Priest of *St. Mark*, whom the Pope had sent on Purpose to bear it: That Prince at first entertain'd them very honourably, but at the second Audience, having read that Passage of the Letter, in which it was express'd, That the Pope had conferr'd on him the notable Benefit of the Crown, he fell into so great a Passion, that he could not forbear reviling the two Legates who had brought it, ordering them immediately to retire out of his Dominions. After their Departure, he prohibited all his Subjects to go to *Rome*, and set Guards on the Frontiers, to stop those who were about to travel thither. *Adrian* having heard this News, wrote the third Letter to the Bishops of *France* and *Germany*, in which after having related the Matter as it happen'd, he entreats them to use their utmost Endeavours to oblige *Frederick* to return to his Duty. At the same Time he wrote to him in the fourth Letter, That it was not his Meaning that the Word *Beneficium* should be taken for a Fee, but for a good Action; that in that Sense, it might well be said, That he had done him a Favour in conferring on him the Imperial Crown, because he perform'd an Act of Kindness in so doing; and that when he wrote, that he gave him the Imperial Crown, *Giving* denotes no more than that he set it upon his Head: That they who had otherwise interpreted those Terms, were spiteful Persons, that only sought for an Opportunity to disturb the Peace of the Church and of the Empire: Lastly, if that Expression were offensive to him, he ought not nevertheless to have acted as he had done, nor to forbid all his Subjects in general to go to *Rome*, but he might have given him Notice of it by his Ambassadors. He gives him to understand that he sent two other Cardinals, by the Advice of *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*, and entreats him to receive them favourably, to the end that the Business might be accommodated through the Mediation of that Duke.

The Letter in which *Frederick* desires the Confirmation of *Guy* the Son of the Count of *Blandrata* chosen Archbishop of *Ravenna*, follows the former. It is written in very respectful and submissive Terms.

The Pope denies him that Favour in the fifth Letter, under Pretence, that he was unwilling to remove *Guy* from the City of *Rome*; and in the sixth, complains of *Frederick's* Letter, because he set his own Name before that of the Pope, exacted Homage and Fidelity of the Bishops; refus'd to admit his Legates to Audience, and hinder'd his Subjects from going to *Rome*.

The seventh is written to the Archbishop of *Thessalonica*, whom he exhorts to be reconcil'd with the Church of *Rome*, and to procure the Re-union of the *Greek* Church.

The eighth is a Confirmation of the Treaty made with *William* King of *Sicily*.

The fifteen following, are taken out of the fourth Tome of the Historians of *France* by *Du-Chesne*. The ten first, and twenty fourth, are written in Favour of *Hugh*, Chancellor of that Kingdom, to whom he grants an Archdeaconry of *Arras*, and the Revenues of a Prebend in the Cathedral of *Paris*: He likewise wrote to the Bishops of *Arras* and *Paris*, and to some other Persons on the same Subject. The three other Letters are directed to King *Lewis*; and in the twenty first, he advises him to bring the Inhabitants of *Vezelay* under Subjection to the Abbots of that Place, and to oblige them to restore what they had taken from him.

The twenty fifth, twenty sixth, twenty seventh and twenty eighth, relate in like Manner to the Abby of *Vezelay*.

By the twenty ninth, he renders the Abby of *Baume* in the Diocess of *Besancon*, subject to the Jurisdiction of that of *Cluny*, as a Priory that ought to depend on it.

The six following, relate to the Primacy of *Toledo*, and the Affairs of *Spain*.

The thirty sixth, thirty seventh, thirty eighth, thirty ninth and fortieth, treat of Matters concerning the Primacy, Patriarchate and Rights of the Archbishop of *Grado*.

In the forty seventh and last, publish'd by *M. Baluzius* and directed to *Berenger* Metropolitan of *Narbonne*, he confirms the Declaration made by *Ermengarda* Lady of the Mannor of *Narbonne*, by which she prohibited the Alienation of the Revenues and Estates of the Archbishop of that Province after his Decease, and denounces an Anathema against those who should presume to do it.

Father *Dachery* has inserted in the first Tome of his *Spicilegium*, a Privilege granted by Pope *Adrian* IV. to the Monastery of *Casauere*.

Alexander III's Letters. The first Letter of *Alexander* III. is written to the Canons of *Bononia* about his Election.

The second to *Arnulphus* Bishop of *Lisieux* on the same Subject, and about the Assembly of *Pavia*.

The third is the Bull for the Canonization of *Edward* I. King of *England*.

The following relate to the Affair of *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, except the thirty second, which is an Instruction to the Sultan of *Iconium*, who was desirous to embrace the Christian Religion.

The forty fifth, forty sixth, and forty seventh, are the Letters which were written by him, concerning the Treaty of Peace, that he made at *Venice*, with the Emperor *Frederick*.

In the forty eighth, he recommends to a certain *Indian* King, commonly call'd *Prester John*, the Legate, whom he sent into his Country.

In the forty ninth, he returns Thanks to *Hugh*, for a Book which he had sent to him, and entreats him to endeavour to procure the Reconciliation of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, with the Church of *Rome*.

The fiftieth, is the Letter for the calling of the General Council at *Lateran*.

The fifty first, is a Letter about the Opinion of *Peter Lombard*, who maintain'd, That *Jesus Christ*, *quatenus* Man, is not a Thing.

The fifty second, is a Confirmation of the Rights and Privileges of the Archbishop of *Colen*.

The two following, relate to the Erection of the Bishoprick of *Alexandria della Paglia*, a City newly built in the *Milanese* Territory. He nominated the first Bishop, but to the end that that Nomination might not be prejudicial to the Inhabitants, he left them the Liberty of proceeding to an Election for the Future.

The fifty fifth, fifty sixth, and fifty seventh, contain the Confirmation of the Promotion of *John* to the Bishoprick of *St. Andrew* in *Scotland*, against *Hugh* who was nominated by the King.

By the fifty eighth, directed to *Casimir* Duke of *Poland*, he ratifies certain Constitutions made by that Prince for the Preservation of Church Revenues.

The fifty ninth, is a circular Letter directed to all the Christian Princes, in which he exhorts them to afford Succours to the Christians of the Holy-Land, and renews to those that do so, the Privileges and Immunities granted by *Urban* and *Eugenius* his Predecessors, and puts their Estates, Wives, and Children, under the Protection of the Holy See.

The sixtieth, is directed to all the Bishops of Christendom on the same Subject, to the end that they might publish the preceding Letter in their respective Diocesses, and induce the Princes and People to so pious an Undertaking.

In the three following Letters, directed to certain Prelates of *England*, he gives them an Account after what Manner he concluded a Treaty of Peace with the Emperor at *Venice*.

These are the Letters of Pope *Alexander* III. that are contain'd in the first Collection, to which three Additions have been since annex'd; the first of those Additions comprehends fifty six Letters, publish'd by Father *Sirmondus*, in the End of the Works of *Peter* Abbot of *Celles*.

In the first eighteen, which are almost all directed to *Peter* Abbot of *St. Remy* at *Rbeims*, he nominates him in a Commission with others to determine divers particular Affairs.

The nineteenth, directed to the Archbishop of *Upsal* in *Sweden* and his Suffragans, contain several Constitutions against Simony, and against the Privileges of Clergymen, taken out of the Councils and the Decretals of the Popes.

In the twentieth, he recommends to the Charity of the Northern Christians, *Falsus* Bishop of the *Estons*, a People of *Sweden*.

In the twenty first, he exhorts the Northern Kings and Potentates, to perform the Duties of Christian Princes, to endeavour to procure the Advancement of the Church by encountering its Enemies.

In the twenty second, directed to the Archbishop of *Upsal* and his Suffragans, he specifies the Penances that they ought to impose for the Crimes of Incest and Uncleanness, and inveighs against two Abuses that prevail'd in their Country, *viz.* the first, That the Priests were wont to celebrate Mass with the Lees of Wine, or with Crumbs of Bread steep in Wine; and the second concerning clandestine Marriages, that were contracted without the Benediction of the Priest.

The following relate to many particular Affairs of Churches or Monasteries, which he himself decides, or for the Determination of which he grants a Commission to other Persons in the respective Places.

In the second Addition, are compris'd 109 Letters directed to *Lewis* VII. King of *France*, or to the Prelates of his Kingdom, the greatest Part of which relate to the Affairs of the Churches of *France*; as also some to the Contest between *Alexander* and *Victor*, and others are only recommendatory Letters or full of Compliments. They are taken out of the Collection of the Historians of *France*, by *Du-Chesne*.

The last Addition contains 22 Letters, of which the six first are written on the Schism rais'd by *Victor*; the two following

Of the  
Popes of  
Rome.



Of the  
Popes of  
Rome.

following treat of the Privileges of the Canons of *Challon*: In the ninth, he acquaints *Henry* Archbishop of *Rheims*, after what Manner he was receiv'd in *Rome*: The five following were written in Favour of the Church of *Vezelay*: In the fifteenth, he commends *Hugh* Bishop of *Rhodes*, for establishing a general Peace in his Diocess: The seventeenth and eighteenth, are the Bulls for the Canonization of *Edward* King of *England* and *St. Bernard*: The twentieth, twenty first and twenty second, are Acts of Approbation of the Order of the Knights of *St. James* in *Spain*; of that of the Monks of the Abby of *St. Saviour* at *Messina*; and of that of the *Carthusians*, and of their Constitutions: There are also in the Addition to the tenth Tome of the Councils, five other Letters attributed to *Alexander III.* of which the four first relate to the Immunities of the Schools and Chapter of *Paris*, and the last to those of the Chapter of *Anagnia*.

*Lucius III.* having possess'd the See of *Rome* but a little While, has left us only three Letters.

By the first, he takes off the Excommunication of *William* King of *Scotland*, and the Suspension of his Kingdom, denounced by the Archbishop of *York*, in Pope *Alexander's* Life-time, for opposing the Consecration of *John*, elected Bishop of *St. Andrew*.

The second Letter is directed to *Henry II.* King of *England*, in which he exhorts that Prince to permit a Tax to be rais'd in his Kingdom, for the Relief of the Holy-Land.

The third is a Decree against the Hereticks of that Time, in which he pronounces a perpetual *Anathema* against the *Cathari*, the *Patarians*, those that style themselves the *Humbled* or the *poor People* of *Lyons*, the *Passagians*, the *Josepins* and the *Arnoldists*, and prohibits all Sorts of Persons to profess Divinity or to preach publicly, unless they have obtain'd a License from the Holy See, or from the Diocesan Bishop. He likewise condemns all those who presume to maintain any Doctrines or Practices different from those of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*, Baptism, the Remission of Sins, Marriage, or the other Sacraments, with their Abettors and Adherents: He ordains, That Clergymen, convicted of those Errors shall be depos'd, and Laicks deliver'd up into the Hands of the Secular Judges to be punish'd, unless they immediately adjure them, without allowing any Pardon to Relapses: He enjoyns the Archbishops and Bishops to make a Visitation every Year, either personally or by their Archdeacons, in order to discover such Miscreants: He exhorts the Counts, Barons, Lords and Magistrates vigorously to aid and assist the Clergymen in the Prosecution of those Hereticks, under Pain of Excommunication, and Privation of their Dignities: And in that Case, he grants a peculiar Jurisdiction to the Archbishops and Bishops, over such Persons as enjoy certain Immunities, and are subject only to the Holy See, provided they be obey'd as the Pope's Delegates, notwithstanding all Manner of Privileges.

*Urban III.* gave Notice to all the Bishops, of his Election by a circular Letter, dated *January 11. A.D. 1186.* which is the first of his Letters.

The second, dedicated to *William* King of *Scotland*, relates to the Contest between the Bishops of *St. Andrew* and *Dunkell*, the Trial of which was referr'd to the See of *Rome*, in the Time of his Predecessor, but could not be determin'd, till the Popedom of *Urban*, who entreats the King in this Letter to take the Bishop of *Dunkell* into his Protection, and makes the same Request in the following, to *Jocelin* Bishop of *Glasco*.

In the fourth, he writes to *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, about the building of a new Church in Honour of *St. Stephen* and *St. Thomas*.

In the last, he approves the Foundation of a House of Hospitallers at *Bononia*, and ratifies their Constitutions and Privileges.

*Gregory VIII.* was no sooner advanc'd to the Papal Dignity, but he wrote a circular Letter to all the Faithful, to exhort them to relieve the Holy Land. He gives a lively Description of the most deplorable Calamities that befel the Christians, when the City of *Jerusalem* was taken by *Saladin*, and earnestly presses the Faithful to undertake an Expedition for the Recovery of it out of the Hands of that implacable Enemy of Christianity. He grants Indulgences to those, who shall take upon them the Cross for the holy War, and renews in their Favour, the special Privileges that were allow'd by his Predecessors in the like Case.

In the second Letter, he ordains, That to deprecate the Wrath of God, the Faithful should be oblig'd to fast du-

ring five Years, on all *Fridays* from *Advent* to *Christmas*, and that they should abstain from Flesh on *Wednesdays* and *Saturdays*.

By a third Letter, he confirms the Orders that his Predecessors had given to all the Ecclesiastical Judges to determine the Law-suits of private Persons.

The five first Letters of *Clement III.* relate to the Contest that arose between *John* and *Hugh* about the Bishoprick of *St. Andrew* in *Scotland*.

In the sixth, he confirms the Rights and Immunities of the Church of that Kingdom.

The seventh, is the Act for the Canonization of *Otto* Bishop of *Bamberg*.

The first Letter of *Celestin III.* is directed to the Prelates of *England*, whom he orders to excommunicate all those, who shall refuse to obey *William* Bishop of *Ely*, Legate of the Holy See and Regent of the Kingdom in the Absence of King *Richard*, who was engag'd in the Expedition to the Holy-Land.

By the second, he takes off the Excommunication denounced by *Geffrey* Archbishop of *York*, against *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*.

The third is the Act for the Canonization of *St. Ubald* Bishop of *Engubio*.

The fourth, is an elegant Exhortation to induce the Christian Princes to make Peace, that they may be in a Condition to regain the Holy-Land.

In the fifth, directed to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, he gives him a Commission to take Cognizance of the Misdemeanors and Crimes of which the Archbishop of *York* was accus'd.

The sixth, sent to the Dean and Archdeacon of the Church of *Lincoln*, is written on the same Subject.

In the seventh, he constitutes *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, his Legate in *England*; and in the eighth, orders the Bishops of *England* to acknowledge and obey him in that Quality.

The ninth, is a Fragment of a Letter directed to the Archbishop of *Sens*, in which he declares null the Divorce that *Philip* King of *France* had made with Queen *Batilda*, the Daughter of the King of *Denmark*, under Pretence of nearness of Kin, and enjoyns him to re-take her.

In the tenth, he entreats *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to levy Recruits to be sent into the Holy-Land to King *Richard*.

The three following Letters are written about the Disorders caus'd in the Church of *York* by the Archbishop: He commits the Care and Reformation of that Church to *Simon* Dean of the Chapter; and forasmuch as the Archbishop had appeal'd to the holy See, before the Bishop of *Lincoln* exhibited an Information against him, he allows him Time to come to *Rome* till the Festival of *St. Martin*; but in case he do not then appear, he orders the Bishop of *Lincoln* to proceed against him, and in the mean While suspends him from the Government of his Province.

In the fourteenth, he orders *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to oblige those who had taken upon them the Cross for the Expedition to the Holy-Land, to set forward on their Journey, at least, unless they were prevented by a lawful Impediment.

This Letter is follow'd by that of *Philip* Bishop of *Beauvais*, written to Pope *Celestin*, in which that Prelate complains, That the King of *England* enter'd the Territories of *Beauvaisis* with his Forces in a hostile Manner, and took him Prisoner. The Pope return'd an Answer in the following Letter, That he had no Reason to make a Complaint of the Misfortune that befel him, since he presum'd to take up Arms contrary to the Duty of his Profession; besides, that the Conduct of the King of *England* ought not to be blam'd, in regard that the King of *France* had unjustly taken from him divers Towns, contrary to the solemn Promise that he had made to that Prince not to commit any Hostilities against him, till his return to his Dominions: That instead of performing that Promise, he determin'd to take the Advantage of his Confinement: And that the King of *England* being at last set at Liberty, had good Reason to oppose the Enterprizes of the King of *France*.

In the sixteenth, he enjoyns the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and the Abbot of *St. Edmund*, to re-establish in one of the Churches of *England*, the Monks that were turn'd out under Colour of the Pope's Bull got by Surprise, upon a false Exhibition.

In the last, directed to *William* King of *Scotland*, he confirms the Rights and Privileges of the Churches of that Kingdom.

Of the  
Popes of  
Rome.

Clement  
III's Letters.

Celestin  
III's Letters.

Lucius  
III's  
Letters.

Urban  
III's  
Letters.

Gregory  
VIII's  
Letters.



## C H A P. X.

## A Relation of the several Contests that Thomas Becket Archbishop of Canterbury, had with Henry II. King of England.

Contests  
between  
Thomas  
Becket and  
Henry II.  
King of  
England.

His Life  
before he  
was Arch-  
bishop.

**T**homas Becket was a Native of the City of London, the Capital of England: His Father was nam'd Gilbert and his Mother Matilda. Gilbert, in his Youth, took upon him the Cross for the Holy War, but upon his Arrival at Jerusalem, he was taken Prisoner and made a Slave by the Saracens. During his Imprisonment, he found Means to obtain the Favour of the Admiral's Daughter, in whose House he was confin'd, and she conceiv'd so great an Affection for him, that Gilbert having at last made his Escape, she travell'd to London on purpose to meet him; was baptiz'd there, and afterwards marry'd to Gilbert, by whom she had our Thomas, who was born A. D. 1119. Before his Birth, Gilbert return'd to the Holy-Land, where he continu'd three Years and a half, having left his Wife in England: This Gentlewoman took great Care of the Education of her Son, who in the very first blooming of his Youth, shew'd the Marks of what might be expected from him in a riper Age. He began his Studies at London, and after having lost both his Father and Mother, compleated them at Paris. Upon his return to England, he was employ'd in the Management of Affairs, and put himself into the Service of Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury. At that Time, Henry Bishop of Winchester, Brother to King Stephen, was Legate in England, who abus'd his Quality and Authority, treating the other Bishops, and even his Metropolitan, with intolerable Arrogancy. Thomas advis'd Theobald to shake off the Yoke, and was sent by him to Pope Celestin II. to obtain a Revocation of Henry's Commission; insomuch, that being arriv'd at Rome, he negotiated that Affair so successfully, that the Pope depriv'd Henry of his Dignity, and conferr'd it on the Archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas was no sooner return'd to England, but Theobald entrusted him with the Management of the Affairs of his Church, made him Archdeacon of it some time after, and bestow'd on him many Benefices. Afterwards King Stephen dying, and Henry II. Duke of Normandy succeeding him, Thomas was constituted Chancellor of England, A. D. 1153. and obtain'd the Administration of the publick Affairs of the whole Kingdom.

His Election  
to the  
Archbishop-  
rick of  
Canter-  
bury.

At last he was nominated by the King to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury in 1161. After the Death of Theobald, and was ordain'd on Whitsunday in the same Year. This Prelate was no sooner advanc'd to that high Station, but he vigorously apply'd himself to the maintaining of the Interests and Liberties of the Church. In the Beginning of his Government, he found Means to wrest the Ecclesiastical Revenues out of the Hands of the Noblemen who had usurp'd them, and persuaded the King to fill up the Episcopal Sees of Hereford and Worcester, which had been vacant for a long Time. But it was difficult for him who had undertaken stily to maintain the Rights of the Church, to avoid falling out with his Prince about particular Interests; upon which Account, he was obliged to resign the Office of Chancellor. After that Step, he made a Demand again, with much Resolution, of the Revenues and Rights which he pretended to belong to the Church of Canterbury, and which were in the Possession of the King and of the Nobility: He vehemently oppos'd the Outrages and Exactions, with which the great Lords were wont to oppress the People and the Clergy: He endeavour'd to abolish the Custom that was introduc'd in England, of adjudging to Princes the Revenues of vacant Churches, and of deferring to supply those Churches with Ministers, in order to enjoy them longer; and he asserted, That Clergymen, guilty of Misdemeanours, were not under the Jurisdiction of Civil Magistrates; but that they ought to be brought before the Bishop, to be degraded and condemned to Ecclesiastical Penalties, without delivering them up to the Secular Power; nevertheless, if in Process of Time they committed new Crimes, the Secular Justice might then apprehend them, because they were no longer to be look'd upon as Clergymen.

The Original  
of the  
Contests  
between  
the King  
and him.

The obstinate Defence of the last Article, chiefly caus'd Thomas to incur the King's Displeasure, and gave Occasion to the Quarrel: For a Canon of Bedford, nam'd Philip Brock, having abus'd one of the King's Officers, before whom he was summon'd, that Prince determin'd to bring him to condign Punishment. The Archbishop suspended the Canon from his Ecclesiastical Functions and Benefice for several Years, but the King not being satisfied with those Proceedings, requir'd that he might be put into the

Hands of the Secular Justice: Upon the Archbishop's Refusal to do it, the King held an Assembly of the Bishops of his Kingdom, in the Abby of Westminster; where he made a Remonstrance, that it was expedient for the publick Benefit, that Clergymen should be try'd by the Civil Magistrates, and condemned to afflictive Punishments, by reason that the Scandal of Degradation did not at all move those, whom the Sanctity of their Function could not restrain from the committing of Crimes. Thomas, who was at the Head of that Assembly, after having debated with the other Bishops, reply'd to the King, That the Bishops could not relinquish a Right, which was granted to them by Henry I. his Grand-Father, and confirm'd by the solemn Promise of King Stephen; and that they entreated his Majesty to call to mind the Oath that he took on the Day of his Coronation, to maintain the Church in its Liberty and Rights. Whereupon the King demanded whether they were disposed to observe the Customs and Constitutions of his Kingdom? Thomas reply'd, that they were ready to do it, provided their Rights were secur'd, *Salva ordine suo*, and all the Prelates made the same Answer, except the Bishop of Chichester, nam'd Henry, who chang'd the last Words, and said, that he would punctually observe those Customs.

King Henry was extremely incens'd at the Restriction they put on their Promise, after he had so often press'd them to no Purpose, to engage absolutely to observe the Customs of the Kingdom without any Limitation, and left the Assembly, quite transported with Anger. The next Day, he sent to demand of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Grants for all the Governments that were conferr'd on him, whilst he was Chancellor of England, and speedily departed from London, shewing evident Marks of his high Displeasure against the Bishops. Insomuch that their Dread of his Anger and of the ill Effects that it might produce, and the Sollicitations which that Prince caus'd to be made, induc'd many of them to yield to give Satisfaction to his Majesty, and these us'd their utmost Endeavours to bring the others to the same Temper. Thomas stood to his Resolution for a long Time, but being at last overcome by the frequent and pressing Entreaties of the Prelates and of his best Friends, he suffer'd himself to be prevail'd upon; went to meet the King at Oxford, and promis'd to observe the Customs of the Kingdom for the Future, without any Manner of Restriction.

The King to render this Declaration more authentick, call'd an Assembly of the Bishops and Noblemen of the Kingdom at Clarendon, A. D. 1164. in which he oblig'd the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other Prelates to take an Oath, that they would carefully observe the Customs of the Kingdom, and at the same Time, caus'd a verbal Process to be drawn up containing the Articles of those Customs that were to be acknowledg'd by the Bishops, and which were sixteen in Number. The first imports, That when any Contests arise between the Laity and Clergy, about the Presentation to Benefices, they ought to be regulated in the King's Court: The second, That the Revenues of Mannors depending on the King's Demesnes cannot be made over to Churches, without his Majesty's Concession: The third, that the Clergymen accus'd or impeach'd by the King's Officers, shall be oblig'd to repair to his Court, to the end that Enquiry may be made, whether they ought to be tried there, or whether they ought to be sent back to the Ecclesiastical Courts of Judicature; and that being thus sent back, the King's Chief Justice shall depute a Person to be Witness of the Proceedings of that Court: That if the Clergyman be convicted, or confess his Crime, the Church cannot have a Right any longer to protect him. The fourth Article declares, That the Archbishops, Bishops, and the King's other Subjects cannot depart the Kingdom, without his Majesty's Leave, and in case it be granted, they shall give him good Assurance, that they will not act contrary to his Interest: The fifth, That excommunicated Persons shall not be oblig'd to give Security, for their continuing in the Country, but only to stand to the Judgment of the Church, when it shall be thought fit to grant them Absolution: The sixth, That no other Informers or Witnesses shall be admitted against Laicks but such as are allow'd by the Laws. The seventh, That all those who hold any Lands of the King, or are of the Number of his Officers, cannot be excommunicated, nor their Territories suspended from Divine Service, unless due



due Notice be first given to the King or to his Chief Justice, to the end that that which belongs to the Jurisdiction of the King's Court, may be tried there, and that which ought to be tried in the Ecclesiastical, may be refer'd to it: The eighth, That an Appeal may be brought from the Archdeacon's Court to the Bishop's, and from the latter to that of the Archbishop, and if the Archbishop has not done Justice, Application may be made to the King; to the end that the Cause may be decided in the Archbishop's Court, without Liberty to enter an Appeal, unless by his Majesty's special allowance: The ninth, That in case a Contest arise, between a Clerk and a Layman, about an Estate, which one asserts to depend on the Church, and the other on a temporal Lordship, the Chief Justice shall send for twelve Assistants, to examine to what Jurisdiction it ought to be appropriated; that if they judge it to belong to the Church, the Cause shall be tried in the Ecclesiastical Court, but if they find it to belong to the Lay-Fee, it shall be refer'd to the Cognizance of the Lord of the Manor. The tenth, That if any Person be cited by his Archdeacon or his Bishop to answer to an Accusation, and he refuse to appear, he may be suspended, but cannot be excommunicated, till the Chief Justice of the Place has summon'd him to make his Appearance; and that if that Judge should neglect to do his Duty, the King shall take the Matter in Hand: The eleventh does not relate to Ecclesiastical Affairs: The twelfth ordains, That the King shall enjoy the Revenues of the Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, Abbies and Priories during a Vacancy; that to fill it up the King shall issue out a *Compte d'Elire* to the most eminent Men of the Place, who shall carry on the Election in his Chappel, with the King's Consent, and by the Advice of the Lords, who shall be conven'd for that Purpose, and that the Person elected shall do Homage to the King before he be ordain'd: The thirteenth Article imports, That the King shall cause Justice to be done to the Bishops, and the Bishops to the King: The fourteenth, That Cattle seiz'd on for a Trespass shall not be detain'd by the Clergy, but put into the Custody of the Officers of the Royal Court: The fifteenth, That Courts of Judicature shall be kept by the King's Justices: The sixteenth, That the Sons of the Peasants shall not be ordain'd, but with the Consent of their Lords. These Articles were not sign'd by the Bishops, but were acknowledg'd in the Assembly, and three Copies of them were taken, viz. one for the King, the second for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the third for the Archbishop of *York*.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* being retir'd, his Friends and Domesticks began to murmur: Some of them excus'd him, in regard that he could not act otherwise, by reason of so unhappy a Conjunction of Affairs, and others complain'd on the contrary, That all the Immunities of the Church of *England* were ruin'd by that Compliance. His Cross-bearer who was more bold than the rest, presum'd to make a Remonstrance to that Effect, and the Archbishop being perswaded that he had done ill, was affected with a sensible Grief, took a Resolution to do Penance, and abstain'd from celebrating Divine Service, till Pope *Alexander III.*, who then resided at *Sens*, wrote to him not to do it any longer, and gave him Absolution for the Offence he might have committed, upon Condition that he should confess it to a Priest.

As soon as the King understood, that the Archbishop repented of what he had done, he fell into a strange Passion against him. In the mean While *Thomas* being inform'd thereof, retir'd to his Abby of *Alintere* situated near the Sea-shore, and embark'd twice to pass over into *France*; but the Wind continuing contrary, he return'd to *Canterbury*, and presum'd even to present himself before the King, by whom, he was very ill treated. At last that Prince despairing to bring over the Archbishop to his Interest, made Application to the Pope, to compass his Design; to which Purpose, he sent the Bishop of *Lisieux* and the Archdeacon of *Poitiers* to prevail with him to constitute the Archbishop of *York* his Legate in *England*, and to order *Thomas* and the other Prelates to observe the Customs of his Kingdom. The Pope having refus'd to do both, the King sent new Deputies to demand the same Thing again with greater Importunity, and to entreat him to confirm the Customs and Privileges of his Kingdom, by the Authority of the Holy See. The Pope absolutely deny'd the latter Request, but to amuse him, he conferr'd the Dignity of Legate on the Archbishop of *York*, nevertheless upon Condition, that he should not have any Jurisdiction over the Person or Archbishoprick of *Thomas*, and without exempting the Bishops of *England* from the Obedience they ow'd to their Primate. Forasmuch as this Restriction render'd the Authority of the Archbishop of *York* useless with respect to the King's Design, which was to depose *Thomas*, he sent back the Letter to the Pope, with Indignation.

The Pope wrote another Letter to divert him from making any further Attempts on the Rights of the Churches

of his Kingdom; but that Prince instead of submitting to his Admonitions, caus'd the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to be summon'd to appear in Person before his Majesty; to answer to divers Informations that were brought against him. *Thomas* on the other side, entreated the King not to take it ill, that he stood to the Privileges of his Dignity, which exempted him from appearing before Secular Judges. The King being much more exasperated by that Excuse, gave Orders to the Bishops and Temporal Lords of his Kingdom to meet together in his royal Castle at *Northampton*, and compell'd the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to repair thither in Quality of a Criminal rather than of a Judge. The first Thing done in the Assembly, was to pronounce Sentence against him for neglecting to make a personal Appearance, when he receiv'd a Summons from the King, and his Estate, Goods and Chattels were confiscated; upon Condition nevertheless, that the Execution of that Sentence should depend on his Majesty's Pleasure. Afterwards he was convey'd into one of the Halls of the Court; where he being lock'd in, an Account was demanded of him of the Revenues of the vacant Bishopricks and Abbies, that he had enjoy'd for several Years; when he was Chancellor: He reply'd, That he would take Advice about the Matter. *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* said, that he remember'd, that when *Thomas Becket* was chosen Archbishop, he had a general Discharge. *Gilbert* Bishop of *London* propos'd that he should resign his Archbishoprick to appease the King's Anger, and the other Prelates, except the Bishop of *Winchester*, were of the same Opinion. *Thomas* would not hearken to that Proposal, but to be set at Liberty, he express'd his Desire to speak with two Lords, who were with the King; when they were come, he desir'd that he might be allow'd Time till the next Day, and said, that then he would make such an Answer as God should direct him. Whereupon the Assembly deputed the Bishops of *London* and *Rocheſter* to deliver that Message to the King; but the former said, that the Archbishop was desirous to have Time, in order to look over his Papers, and to prepare to give an Account to his Majesty. The King being satisfy'd with that Declaration, sent him Word by the two Lords, with whom he desir'd to speak, That he was willing to grant him the Time he sued for, provided that he kept his Word, in giving an Account of the Things that were committed to his Charge. *Thomas* forthwith declar'd that he never made such a Promise: However, he was permitted to depart, and that very Night he was seiz'd with a violent fit of the Colick, which hindred him from rising the next Morning.

The King sent two Lords of his Court to enquire whether he were sick, and at the same time to give him a Summons. He excus'd himself for the present, by reason of his Indisposition, of which they were Witnesses, and promis'd to appear the next Day. In the mean While a Report was spread abroad, that if he went to the Royal Palace, he would be assassinated or arrested, the next Day several Bishops us'd their utmost Endeavours to persuade him to make a Resignation of his Archbishoprick and of all his Possessions to the King, in regard that they were much afraid lest he should lose his Life if he did not submit. He did not seem to be at all concern'd at their Remonstrance, but forbid all the Bishops to assist at the Proceedings that were to be carry'd on against him, and declar'd that he appeal'd to the Holy See. The Bishop of *London* protested against the Prohibition he then made, and retir'd with all the Bishops, except those of *Winchester* and *Salisbury*, who continu'd with *Thomas Becket*. However that Prelate, after having celebrated Mass, went to the Palace bearing his Crosier Staff himself. The King refus'd to admit him into his Presence, and retiring into a private Chamber, sent for the other Bishops, and made great Complaints to them against *Thomas Becket*. The Bishops approv'd the King's Repentments, avouching that that Archbishop was a perjur'd Traitor, and that it was requisite to proceed against him as guilty of High Treason. However they durst not bring him to a formal Trial, but only sent him Word by *Hilary* Bishop of *Chicheſter*, That forasmuch as after having promis'd Obedience to the King, and sworn to observe the Customs of the Kingdom, he acted contrary to his Oath, they did not take themselves to be any longer obliged to obey him; that therefore they put their Persons and Churches under the Pope's Protection, and cited him to his Tribunal.

The King likewise sent him Word by *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, that he expected an Account of the Things committed to his Charge. *Thomas* protested that he was discharg'd by the King's Son, when he was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Afterwards he refus'd to submit to the Judgment of the King, Bishops and other Lords of the Kingdom; declar'd that he would acknowledge no other Judge but the Pope; and cited the Bishops before him. After having made this Declaration, he went out of the Palace, the Doors of which he open'd, with the Keys that were found hanging on the Wall, and was accompanied to his House



by a Crowd of poor People. On that very Night he took a Resolution to retire, and to the end that it might be done more secretly, he feign'd an Inclination to lie in the Church, and made his Escape, having chang'd his Cloaths and Name, but before he embark'd he took some turns about the Coasts of England to avoid being apprehended: Then he pass'd over into Flanders, arriv'd at Graveline, and retir'd from thence to the Abby of St. Bertin, where he discover'd himself and sent Deputies to Lewis VII. King of France, to inform him of his present Distress, and to entreat his Majesty to permit him to stay in his Kingdom. They were prevented by the Deputies of the King of England; but the French King did not receive them favourably, and declar'd on Behalf of Thomas Becket, even before the Arrival of his Deputies. These last were kindly entertain'd, and the King promis'd all Manner of Protection to the Archbishop, in his Kingdom, and said that in that Point, he only follow'd the Custom of the Kings his Predecessors, who by a very peculiar Privilege, were always in a Capacity to afford a Sanctuary in their Dominions, to persecuted Bishops, and to defend them against all their Enemies.

The Deputies of the King of England, and those of the Archbishop, went to the Pope, who was then at Sens: The former brought over some of the Cardinals to their side, but the Pope stood for the Archbishop, nevertheless he gave Audience to the Deputies of the King of England, who press'd him to oblige the Archbishop to return to England, and entreated him to send a Legate à latere to take Cognizance of that Affair, and to accommodate it, or to determine it without Appeal. The Pope refus'd to do any Thing till the Archbishop arriv'd in Person; and having declar'd his Resolution to the Deputies, they departed very much dissatisfy'd. A little after, Thomas Becket accompanied by the Archbishop of Trier, and the Abbot of Berthine came to Soissons, where King Lewis admitted him into his Presence, and reiterated the Promises he had made to his Deputies. Afterwards he went to Sens to meet the Pope, whom he soon made sensible of the Justice of his Cause, by shewing him the Articles that were drawn up at Clarendon, which with common Consent were found contrary to the Interest and Liberty of the Church. The next Day, he propos'd to quit his Metropolitanical Dignity, and entreated his Holiness to nominate another Person to supply his Place. But the Pope would by no Means allow it, order'd him to keep his Archbishoprick, and recommended him to the Abbot of Pontigny, into whose Monastery he retir'd.

The King of England being inform'd of the Pope's Answer by his Deputies, confiscated the whole Estate and Goods of the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, with those of his Relations and Friends; banish'd them from his Kingdom, and publish'd new Ordinances more prejudicial to the Liberty of the Church, than the former. Thomas Becket wrote to him, as also to some Bishops of England about that Matter; but those Remonstrances prov'd ineffectual. However he propos'd a Conference in which the Pope was to assist; but his Holiness being return'd to Rome, the King sent Deputies to him, whom he caus'd to pass through Germany, where they assisted in the Assembly of Wurtzburg against Pope Alexander, and bound themselves by an Oath, with the Bishops of Germany, to stand for Paschal the Antipope; nevertheless they did not forbear to continue their Journey, and to meet Alexander, to whom they deliver'd the Letter of their Prince, who threaten'd to withdraw himself from his Obedience, if he did not give him satisfaction as to the Affair of Thomas Becket.

The Pope to advance a Person, whom the King thought fit to depress, constituted him Legate of the Holy See throughout the whole Kingdom of England, except the Province of York. Thomas being invested with this new Dignity, thought himself obliged to shew the Effects of it. Therefore he condemn'd and abolish'd the Customs, that were publish'd at Clarendon; excommunicated all those who observ'd 'em, or caus'd 'em to be observ'd by others; sent Word to the Bishops, that they were by no Means oblig'd to the Oath they had taken, and threaten'd the King of England with an Anathema. On the other side, the King to prevent him, appeal'd to the Holy See, by the Advice of the Prelates of Normandy, and dispatch'd John of Oxford to Rome, to entreat the Pope to send a Legate à latere into England, to the end that they might determine or make up the Business. However, he threatn'd the Monks of Cîteaux to destroy all the Monasteries that they had in his Dominions, if they entertain'd the Archbishop any longer at Pontigny. Therefore he was forc'd to depart from thence, and made Choice of the Monastery of St. Columba in the City of Sens for the Place of his Abode. He excommunicated many Persons in the Kingdom of England and some Bishops, more especially the Bishop of London his greatest Enemy.

In the mean while John of Oxford having gain'd the favour of part of the Court of Rome, by his Presents, assur'd the Pope, that the King of England, would no longer insist upon the Customs that he caus'd to be receiv'd in the Assembly of Clarendon, and procur'd William Cardinal Bishop of Pavia, to be nominated Legate, to determine the Affair of the Archbishop of Canterbury; but in regard, that he might be surpris'd, by reason of the intimate Correspondence that there was between him and the King of England, the Pope appointed Cardinal Otto to be his Colleague. He also gave Absolution in particular to John of Oxford, whom Thomas Becket had excommunicated, granted him the Deanry of Salisbury, and suspended Thomas's Authority, till the Arrival of his Legates. These advantages, which it seems, the King of England obtain'd at the Court of Rome, startled the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Friends; insomuch that Peter Lombard wrote about it to the Pope, as well as Thomas Becket, who excepted against the Judgment of the Cardinal of Pavia. These two Legates being arriv'd in France, inform'd the Archbishop of the occasion of their being sent by the Pope, and the Cardinal of Pavia told him, that he came to put an end to the Difference between him and the King of England. Thomas had prepar'd a very sharp Answer, but he suppress'd it by the Advice of William of Salisbury, and wrote to him with greater Moderation.

The two Legates could not immediately execute their Commission, by reason that they were oblig'd to mediate a Peace between the Kings of England and France. The Cardinal of Pavia openly maintain'd the Interest of the former, and gave occasion of Complaint to the other; nay the Pope upon his Solicitation prohibited Thomas to pronounce any Sentence of Excommunication against the Person of the King of England, or of Suspension against his Dominions. At last the Legate gave notice to the Archbishop, to make his appearance on Novem. 10th. A. D. 1168. on the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms; but he desir'd and obtain'd a delay for seven Days, to get together again the Companions of his Exile. At last he appear'd with a numerous Retinue at Gisors, the place appointed for the Conference, and there met with the two Legates, accompanied by the Archbishop of Rouen, who represented to him the inflexibility of the King of England, and the Calamities that the Church endur'd by the Persecution, of which he was the Cause. Afterwards they insist'd upon the Grandeur and Power of that Prince, the Kindness and Respect that he always express'd for the Holy See, and the extraordinary Favours that he had conferr'd on the Archbishop of Canterbury: They related with exaggeration the Complaints that he made against him, accusing him of having induc'd the King of France and the Count of Flanders to make War with his Majesty. Lastly they exhorted the Archbishop to humble himself, and to testify his Obedience to his Sovereign, by making a voluntary Submission, and by suppressing his Anger, and the fierceness of his natural Disposition.

Thomas Becket resolutely made his defence, and clear'd himself from the Suspicions, that the King of England had conceiv'd against him, and more especially, as to the particular Accusation, that he had excited the War between that Prince and the King of France, who condescended so far as to give Testimony to his Innocence, by declaring upon Oath, that it was not true, that he sollicit'd him to undertake that War. The Archbishop of Canterbury added that he was well persuad'd, that a Bishop ought not to have recourse to those Sorts of Means; That he was ready to shew to the King all manner of Submission and Deference, provided that the Glory of God, the Honour of the Apostolick See, the Liberty of the Church, the Dignity of the Priesthood, and the Church-Revenues might receive no detriment. They propos'd that he should promise the King to observe all the Customs that were in Use in the time of the Archbishops his Predecessors, or at least that he should tolerate them; and conceal his resentments: But he would not engage to do either, no not so much as to keep silence. Then they insist'd that he should resign his Archbishoprick, in case the King could be prevail'd with to renounce the Customs that were contested, but he likewise reject'd that Proposal. Lastly the Legates asked him, whether he were willing to acknowledge them as competent Judges for the deciding of the Differences between him and the King or not. He was somewhat perplex'd at this Demand; for on the one side, he was unwilling openly to disown their Authority, and on the other side, he did not look upon it as safe, that he should be try'd in any other Tribunal but that of the Pope himself. Therefore he reply'd; That when the Goods and Chattels, of which he was depriv'd, were restored to him, he would readily submit to the Judgment of the Pope, or to that of any other Persons to whom he should grant a Commission to be his Judges. Thus ended this Conference, which had no effect.



*Contests between Thomas Becket and Henry II. King of England.* Thomas Becket gave an Account of all these particular Circumstances to the Pope in a Letter, and the two Legates went to communicate them to the King of England: Whereupon that Prince and the Prelates of his Kingdom demanded of the Legates, whether they had not receiv'd Orders from the Pope to bring Thomas Becket to his Trial, or whether they were not empower'd to do it, by Virtue of their Office? They declar'd that they had no such Power, and that all that they could do, was only to cause the Pope's Letters to be read publicly; by which he prohibited the Archbishop of Canterbury, to excommunicate the King, or to pass any Sentence of Suspension on his Kingdom; as also to inform him of the purport of them, with a prohibition to attempt any thing to the prejudice of that Order; and to confirm the Absolutions that were given to the Bishops, and other excommunicated Persons, under pretence, that the Pope allow'd that such Absolution should be granted them, in case they were in danger of Death, and that those Persons being constrain'd by the King's Orders to pass over the Sea, ran the hazard of losing their Lives. But the Pope having permitted it only upon Condition, that they should restore the Church-Revenues, and the greatest part of them not having done it, Thomas Becket wrote to the Legates, that they ought to oblige them to make restitution, if they were desirous that their Absolution should be ratify'd. The Pope himself likewise wrote to the same Effect; but the Cardinal of Pavia eluded that Order; alledging, that he could not put it in execution without offending the King.

In the mean while Thomas Becket made great complaints against those Proceedings, and sent word to the Court of Rome at the same time, entreating the Pope to recall those two Legates, who shew'd too much partiality; insomuch that his Holiness not being able to withstand the importunity, of those who adher'd to the Interest of that Archbishop at Rome, immediately sent for the Legates and depriv'd them of all Manner of Authority. Cardinal Orso before his departure us'd his utmost Endeavours to induce the King of England to do Justice to the Archbishop, whereupon his Majesty reply'd that he would consent that that Prelate should return to Canterbury, and possess his Church in Peace, and that he for his part would renounce the Customs, that were not in use in the time of his Predecessors; but that he would not hear talk of doing him Justice, and those of his Party, as to the Estates they enjoy'd for a long Time, pretending that they had put them to a good Use. The Cardinal in like manner spoke to the King much to the same effect, but all their Remonstrances serv'd only to draw upon them the displeasure of that Prince, who complain'd when they came to take leave of him, that he was betray'd by the Pope and threaten'd to yield him Obedience no longer, if he did not take care to do him Justice with respect to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

*An Interview between Thomas Becket and King Henry I. in the presence of the King of France.* Afterwards, the King of France interceded at the Solicitation of the Pope to accommodate that Business with the King of England, and procur'd an Interview, during which the Archbishop of Canterbury threw himself at King Henry's Feet, and after having implor'd his Clemency, declar'd that he would resign to him, every thing that had occasion'd the Differences between them, provided that the Glory of God might be indemnify'd. His Majesty receiv'd that Restriction, with a great deal of Dissatisfaction, and propos'd to the King of France, that he would leave Thomas in the quiet possession of the See of Canterbury, saying, That he expected to enjoy the Rights that were enjoy'd by the Kings his Predecessors in the time of the Predecessors of the Archbishop; who should likewise enjoy the Immunities that his Predecessors had actually enjoy'd. This proposal seem'd reasonable to the Assistants, and even to the King of France; nevertheless Thomas Becket, would not accept of it, alledging, that his Predecessors had tolerated some Abuses, which his Adversaries would fain compel him to approve against his Conscience. This refusal caus'd a murmuring among the Lords of both Nations, and gave no manner of Satisfaction to the two Kings. The Enemies of the Archbishop accus'd him of Arrogancy, and even many of his Friends did not approve his Inflexibility. However the King of France soon alter'd his Mind, commend'd the Constancy of that Prelate, and instead of banishing him out of his Dominions, as it was expected, he admitted him into his Presence, suffer'd him to reside at Sens, and continu'd to assist him. King Henry sent Envoys to complain to that Prince, that he treated a Rebel so kindly, who had refus'd to accept of Peace upon reasonable Terms; but perceiving that the French King, was resolv'd not to abandon him, he solicited the Pope again by two Deputations, and prevail'd with the King of Sicily, and the Estates of Italy to joyn their Entreaties to his against the Archbishop of Canterbury.

However all that could be obtain'd of the Pope, was, that he would send two other Legates to endeavour again

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to procure a Reconciliation between them. Gratian the Nephew of Pope Eugenius III. and Vivian Advocate of the Church of Rome, were chosen for that Purpose. The Pope deliver'd to them the Articles of the Agreement ready drawn up, and oblig'd them to take an Oath, not to go beyond the Orders he had given them. He prohibited them to receive any Thing of the King of England, till the Conclusion of the Treaty, and order'd them to declare to that Prince, that if he neglected to make Peace upon the Conditions prescribed by him, he would enjoin the Archbishop of Canterbury, to make use of the Authority of the Church against him. These Legates manag'd divers Negotiations in the Year 1169. but none of them took Effect. King Henry offer'd to permit Thomas Becket to return to England, and to re-establish him in his Archbishoprick, and in the Possession of his Estate, but would have this Condition annexed, *Provided always that the Rights of the Kingdom be maintain'd*; but the Legates refus'd to admit that Clause, unless this were also inserted, *Provided that the Liberties of the Church be not infringed*. There was also an Interview at St. Denis between the two Kings, the Legates, and the Archbishop, which prov'd ineffectual. So that the Legates return'd without coming to any Manner of Agreement. The King of England, who was not well satisfy'd with these Legates, demanded others of the Pope, with much Importunity, and even with Menaces. His Holiness was not of Opinion that his Request ought to be deny'd; and even suspended the Archbishop's Authority till the Differences were finally determin'd. He nominated Simon Prior of Mont Dieu and Bernard de Corila, to be his Legates, on that Occasion, and gave them two Letters for King Henry, viz. one full of Exhortations and gentle Admonitions, and the other of severe Reprimands and Threats, with Orders to deliver the former at first; and in case he obstinately persisted in his Resolution, to add the second. These two Legates conducted the Archbishop to the Place appointed for the Interview, where the two Kings were present, and admonish'd him to humble himself before his Sovereign: He followed their Advice, and only insisted that the Glory of God might be secur'd in these Terms, *Ad honorem Dei*. King Henry was offended at that Expression, and requir'd, That the Archbishop should promise and bind himself by Oath, as a Priest, and a Bishop in the Presence of the whole Assembly, sincerely to observe the Customs, that were follow'd by the reverend Archbishops, under the Kings his Predecessors, which he had also engag'd to do upon another Occasion. The Archbishop promis'd to be faithful to him in every particular, as far as it was possible, *Salvo ordine suo*, and added, That for Peace sake, he would engage to observe, as far as his Dignity would allow, such Customs as were in use amongst his reverend Predecessors. The King peremptorily insisted, That he should promise to observe the Customs of his Kingdom, without any Manner of Restriction; but the Archbishop would by no means consent to it, and upon that Refusal his Majesty departed out of the Assembly. The Legates having exhorted him to re-admit the Archbishop to his Favour, and to restore him to his Church, he reply'd, That perhaps he might one Day be prevail'd upon to do the latter, but that he would take care never to make him his Confident. During a second Interview between the two Princes, they presented to King Henry, the Pope's menacing Letter, but he was not at all concern'd at it, and always insist'd upon the Promise that the Archbishop of Canterbury had made to act conformably to the Customs of the Kingdom, which the Archbishops his Predecessors had observ'd before him: Thomas Becket made Answer, That he was ready to obey his Majesty, as far as it could be done, without infringing the Privileges of his Dignity, and thus this Negotiation took no more Effect than the others; insomuch, that the Pope being wearied with the Delays of the King of England, revok'd the Suspension of the Archbishop's Authority, and left him at Liberty to act as he should think fit.

Some Time after, King Henry designing to crown his eldest Son, appointed the Archbishop of York to perform that Ceremony; but the Pope being inform'd of his Intention, prohibited that Archbishop and all others, under Pain of Suspension, to make any Attempt upon a Right that apparently belong'd to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas Becket likewise wrote to the Archbishop of York and to his Collegues to notify to them the same Prohibition; whereupon the King was so extremely incens'd, that he took a Resolution to oblige his Subjects to take an Oath, That they would not obey the Pope, nor the Archbishop of Canterbury, and caus'd his Son to be actually crown'd by the Archbishop of York at Westminster, in a Church belonging to the Jurisdiction of Canterbury. The young King in like manner took an Oath, to observe the Customs of the Kingdom, that were publish'd at Clarendon: In the mean while the Pope being press'd by the Remon-

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frances of the King of France, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and of William Archbishop of Sens, declar'd the Archbishop of York suspended from all Manner of Ecclesiastical Functions, and pronounc'd the same Sentence against all the Bishops who assisted at that Ceremony. He sent Word at the same Time to Rotron Archbishop of Rouen, and to Bertrand Bishop of Nevers to meet the King of England, in order to admonish him the last Time in his Name to make Peace; and in case he refus'd to do it, to suspend all his Dominions from Divine Service, that were situated on the hither side, or beyond the Sea. At the same Time, he dispatch'd a smart Reprimand to the King of England, requiring him in the Name of God, and by Virtue of the Apostolick authority, to be reconciled with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to give Peace to the Church, if he design'd to avoid an Anathema, like to that which was pronounc'd against the Emperor Frederick; insomuch, that those urgent Threats oblig'd King Henry to bethink himself seriously of an Accommodation, and personally to entreat the Legates to use their utmost Endeavours to procure it.

The King of England reconciled to Thomas Becket.

Whereupon Thomas Becket went to meet the King, accompanied with the Archbishop of Sens; and his Majesty receiv'd him with such particular Marks of Kindness, as he never shew'd him since their falling out. The Archbishop demanded Justice for the Indignities put upon the Church of Canterbury, and more especially for the Injury he had lately done him, by the Coronation of his Son: The King promis'd to give Orders that that Prince should be crown'd again, and then Thomas Becket caus'd Intercession to be made by the Archbishop of Sens (who began to speak,) that his Majesty would vouchsafe to restore to him the Church of Canterbury, with all the Revenues belonging to it, and to do him Justice, as to what relates to the Coronation of the Prince his Son; he for his part, engaging at the same Time, to yield to his Majesty, all the Respect, Obedience and Submission, that is due from an Archbishop to his Sovereign Prince, according to the Ordinance of God. The King accepted of those Terms, and thus the Peace was at last effectually concluded. Afterwards the Archbishop of Canterbury humbly entreated the King his Master, that he might have Liberty to take Leave of the King of France, to return Thanks for the many signal Favours he had receiv'd from him. He also continu'd some Time longer in France, with a Design not to pass over into England, till he had receiv'd Information, that those Persons were actually put in Possession of the Revenues of the Church of Canterbury, whom he sent thither for that Purpose. In the mean While, the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Salisbury, us'd all possible Means to break off the Agreement, and further to incense King Henry against the Archbishop. At that Time, one Renulphus, who was the Minister of the Archbishop of York's Fury, made no Difficulty to pillage the Revenues of the Church of Canterbury; but neither that Injury, nor the Coldness with which the King then treated Thomas Becket, were sufficient to divert him from the Resolution he had taken to return to England, notwithstanding the Advice of his Friends to the contrary, and the Threats of his Enemies.

Thomas Becket's Return to England.

New Enrols

Therefore he embarked at Calice in the End of the Year 1170. and arriv'd at Sandwich; but before his Departure, he sent into England, the Letter that the Pope had directed to him, and which he kept till that Time. By Virtue of that Letter, his Holiness suspended the Archbishop of York with the Bishops, who assisted at the Coronation of the young King, and excommunicated or suspended for divers Causes, a great Part of the Prelates of the Kingdom. The Publication of that Sentence extremely exasperated the Minds of the Prelates and English Nobility. The Archbishop upon his Arrival, met with divers Persons who attempted to take away his Life; and he was no sooner at Canterbury, but some of the King's Officers accompanied with Renulphus and three Clergymen, came (according to the Order they had receiv'd from the Archbishop of York and two other Prelates) to require him in his Majesty's Name to absolve all the Bishops who were suspended or excommunicated; alledging, That what he had done against them, was prejudicial to the King himself, ruin'd the Customs of the Kingdom, and was contrary to the Tranquility of the State. They promis'd at the same Time, That when the Suffragan Bishops of the Metropolitan See of Canterbury were absolved, they would readily submit to his Injunctions, as far as they could do it, without impairing the Dignity of the Crown. The Archbishop reply'd, That it did not lie in his Power to repeal a Sentence pass'd by the Holy Apostolick See; but they persisted in pressing him more earnestly, and threaten'd that if he refus'd to do it,

the King would revenge the Indignity on the whole Church. Thomas Becket proffer'd, That if the excommunicated or suspended Bishops would take an Oath in his Presence, in due Form, to submit to what he should think fit to ordain, for the Sake of Peace and upon Account of the Respect that he bore to his Majesty, he would do all that he could in their Favour. But they could by no Means be persuaded to take such an Oath, without informing the King of its purport, nor to submit in such a Manner to the Will and Pleasure of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Then the three Prelates above-mention'd, went to meet the King, implor'd his Assistance, and represented to him, that the Archbishop of Canterbury had disturb'd the Peace of the Kingdom by his Arrival, openly accusing him of Arrogancy and Tyranny. The King being highly provoked by that Discourse, said in a Passion, That he was unfortunate in meeting with none that could take Vengeance of one single Prelate, who created him more Trouble, than all his other Subjects, and endeavour'd by all Manner of Means to make void his Royal Authority. The letting fall of these Words, gave Occasion to four of his Courtiers to form a Conspiracy against the Archbishop's Life: For they immediately set out, and being arriv'd in England, shew'd him an Order from the King, to absolve the excommunicated or suspended Bishops, and to take an Oath of Allegiance. But the Archbishop having refus'd it, they took up Arms, enter'd the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, where he was officiating, and assassinated him at the Altar, one of the last Days of the Year, 1170. which was the 52 of his Age, and the 9th since his Promotion to the Metropolitan Dignity. As soon as the News of that base Act was brought to King Henry, he express'd a great deal of Trouble for his Death, and sent Deputies to Rome to assure the Pope, That he was by no means consenting to the Fact. The Pope was transported with Grief and Indignation; but the King's Deputies having depos'd upon Oath, that their Master was not at all accessory to that Murder, and that he was ready to clear himself by Oath; his Holiness contented himself only to excommunicate the Assassins and their Accomplices, and sent the Cardinals Theodin of St. Vitalis, and Albert of St. Laurence, to receive the King's Oath, and to oblige him to give Satisfaction to the Church.

A Conspiracy against Thomas Becket, His Death.

These two Legates being arriv'd in Normandy, found the King altogether dispos'd to submit to every thing that the Church should enjoyn him. He took an Oath upon the Holy Gospels, That he neither commanded nor was desirous, that the Archbishop of Canterbury should be kill'd, and that he was more sensible of Grief at his Death, than at that of the King his Father; but he confess'd, that he had been in some Measure the Cause of it, by reason of the Animosity which he so often express'd against his Person, and that therefore he was ready to undergo such Penance, as the Legates should think fit to impose on him. The two Cardinals order'd him, 1. To maintain 200 Soldiers during a whole Year, for the Defence of the Holy Land. 2. To revoke all Customs and Ordinances introduc'd under his Reign to the Prejudice of the Church, and to reform by the Pope's Advice, such as were establish'd. 3. To restore to the Church of Canterbury all its Revenues and Territories, and to make the same Restitution to all others that were pillaged. 4. And lastly, To deliver Spain from the Oppression of the Infidels, in case it were requir'd by his Holiness. They likewise privately enjoyn'd him, Fasting, Alms-giving and some other particular Penance. The King accepted of all those Conditions, with the Marks of an extraordinary Humility, and the Legates gave him Absolution at the Church-door. The young King took an Oath to observe the same Things, obliging himself, that if his Father died without fulfilling his Penance, to perform, what was ordain'd, in his stead.

Afterwards Thomas Becket was canoniz'd for a Saint, A. D. 1173. and King Henry being attack'd by his unnatural Son, who rebell'd against him, implor'd his Assistance, going bare-footed to his Tomb, as it were an humble Suppliant.

The Canonization of Thomas Becket.

There are still extant six Books of the Letters of this Prelate, and of those that were written to him during his Troubles, which were collected by John of Salisbury, published by Christianus Lupus, and printed at Bruxelis in 4to, A. D. 1682. with a Relation of his Life, taken out of four contemporary Authors, viz. Herbert his Clerk, William of Canterbury, the Abbot Alanus and John of Salisbury. The Life and Actions of that famous Man, sufficiently shew his Character, viz. That he was resolute, of an undaunted Courage, and inflexible to the highest Degree; and his Letters, that he was eloquent, had the Art of stirring up the Affections, and was endu'd with pious and generous Principles.



## C H A P. XI.

## An Account of the Lives and Writings of the principal Authors who flourish'd in the Twelfth Century.

## Geffrey Abbot of Vendome.

**G**effrey was a Native of Angers, descended of a noble Family, was educated by Garnier Archdeacon of that City, and enter'd very young into the Monastery of Vendome, which was founded A.D. 1050. by Godfrey Martel Count of Angers. A little While after, he was made Abbot in 1093. being as yet only a Deacon. Ives of Chartres gave him the Benediction, and exacted of him an Acknowledgment, that he should be subject to the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Chartres. However, that Abbot soon repented of what he had done, and caus'd himself to be freed from that Engagement by the Pope; neither could his Successors be induc'd to renew it, because the Monastery of Vendome depended immediately on the Holy See. To discharge that Obligation to his Holiness, Geffrey took a Journey to Rome, the same Year that he was constituted Abbot, where he did Pope Urban II. a very notable Piece of Service, in supplying him with Means for the Recovery of the Palace of Lateran, out of the Possession of Ferrucius, who kept it for Guibert the Antipope: He receiv'd the Order of Priesthood from the Hands of that Pope, who made him Cardinal of St. Prisca. Afterwards returning to France, in 1094. laden with Honour, he took upon him the Government of his Monastery of Vendome, and was employ'd in the Administration of the most important Affairs of the Church and State. He was invited by the Popes to divers Councils, and was chosen by Lewis the Gross, King of France, to be Arbitrator of a Difference that arose between that Prince and the Count of Angers. He vigorously maintain'd the Interests of the See of Rome; pass'd over the Alps twelve times for the Service of the Popes; was taken thrice by his Enemies, and at last for his own Part, was involv'd in many Law-suits, with Bishops, Abbots and secular Lords, about the Rights and Possessions of his Monastery, which he preserv'd entire, and even augmented considerably. 'Tis not precisely known in what Year he died, but he was still living in the Time of Pope Honorius II. A. D. 1129.

The first Book of the Letters of this Abbot contain 31. directed to the Popes Urban II. Paschal II. Calixtus II. and Honorius II. and to the Legates of the See of Rome. They are almost all written for the Preservation of the Immunities and Possessions of his Abby, demanding the Protection of it of the Popes, as a Right unquestionably belonging to him; in regard that all the Revenues of his Monastery by its Foundation, were an allodial Tenure of the Holy See, for which he paid a certain Duty.

In the second Book are compris'd 32 Letters, directed to Ives Bishop of Chartres, and to Geffrey his Successor, in the greatest Part of which he vindicates the Exemption of his Monastery, avouching that it depends solely on the Holy See; that the Bishop of Chartres has no Right either over their Persons or Possessions; that they are not to be look'd upon as *† Acephala*, because they have Jesus Christ for their Head, and after him the Pope; that the Promise he made to Ives Bishop of Chartres, was extorted by Surprise, and afterwards declar'd null by Pope Urban. Some of those Letters relate to the Contests that he had with the Monks of Marmoutier, and the Countess of Vendome. In the nineteenth, he discusses the Question concerning the Reiteration of Extreme Unction, and concludes with Ives of Chartres, that it ought not to be reiterated, by reason that it is a Sacrament.

The third Book comprehends 43 Letters written to several Bishops, more especially to those of Angers and Mans: Some of them purely relate to Morality, others to the Monastick Discipline, and many others to particular Affairs. 'Tis asserted therein, that a Monk accused by his Abbot, ought not to be left to his arbitrary Proceedings. This Author likewise vigorously opposes the Investitures; shews that Bishops are forbidden to exact a yearly Salary, for the use of the Altars, which they grant to Monks; and lastly observes, that 'tis reasonable, that those Churches which have Possessions in the Territories of other Churches, should pay the Tithes of them to the latter.

The fourth Book contains fifty Letters directed to Abbots or Monks, which for the most part relate either to Morality, or to particular Affairs; among which the 47th directed to Robert d'Arbrisselles has been much talk'd of. It is written to advertise that Abbot Founder of the Order of Fontevrault, that there was a Report concerning him, about a Business, which did not tend to his Credit, and which he ought speedily to reform, if that Report were really true, viz. That he convers'd so familiarly with Women; that he permitted them to cohabit with him; that he kept private Correspondence with them; and that he was not ashamed even to lye with them, under Pretence of mortifying himself by enduring the Stings of the Flesh, which is a new Kind of unheard of Martyrdom, but very dangerous, and of a very bad Example. We have also in our Possession another Letter written by Marbodius Bishop of Rennes, which passes the same Censure on Robert d'Arbrisselles. Indeed these two Letters plainly prove, that the Enemies of Robert had caus'd those false Reports to be spread abroad against him; but they are no Proof that he was guilty of such Enormities as were laid to his Charge, and his Conduct is sufficiently justify'd, by the advantageous Testimonies that are given of him by the Writers of that Time, who look'd upon him as a Man of great Sanctity.

However, the Monks of Fontevrault imagin'd, that the better to vindicate the Memory of their Founder, it was requisite to call in Question the Truth of those two Monuments, and to make them pass for spurious Pieces. Father Mainferme has exhibited this Charge against them in the Name of his Collegues, and has made it a Part of the Subject of his Book, call'd, *The Buckler of the Order of Fontevrault*. Amongst all the Conjectures alledged by him against Geffrey's Letter, there is only one direct, that deserves any Consideration, viz. That Abaelard in one of his Letters says, that Roscelin, of whom we have made mention in the preceding Century, wrote an invective Epistle against that excellent Preacher of Jesus Christ Robert d'Arbrisselles whence Father Mainferme concludes it to be that of Geffrey, or that of Marbodius, or perhaps both; but he has mistaken Abaelard's meaning: For that Author does not say, that Roscelin compos'd one or two Letters under the Name of another Person, to declaim against Robert d'Arbrisselles, but that he wrote a Letter against him and St. Anselm, so that this has no relation to those of Geffrey and Marbodius. As for that of Geffrey now in Question, it cannot be denied but it belongs to him; for, 1. 'Tis apparently his Style, and if it be never so little compar'd with the others, we shall soon be persuaded, that it was written by the same Author. 2. It is not only extant in the Manuscript of Mans, which Father Sirmond made use of; but also in two other Manuscripts, viz. one in the Library of Christina Queen of Sweden, and the other in that of Santa Croce at Florence, which are refer'd to the Time of Robert d'Arbrisselles; Father Mabillon having also seen and cited the latter in the Relation of his Voyage to Italy.

In the fifth Book are contain'd 28 Letters directed to divers particular Persons, which are full of moral Discourses and Compliments. In the sixteenth, he asserts the Necessity of making Confession of all Sorts of Sins; and in the last, he maintains, that a Man, who has once assum'd the Monastick Habit, and liv'd for some Time in a Monastery, cannot return to a secular Course of Life, altho' he made no express Profession, nor receiv'd the Benediction.

These Letters are follow'd by several Tracts about divers Ecclesiastical Affairs; the first of which is a Treatise of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, in which he endeavours to prove the changing of the Bread and Wine into our Saviour's Body and Blood in the Eucharist; so that after the Consecration, nothing remains of the Matter or Substance of the Bread and Wine, but only the outward Appearances, and that 'tis really the very same Body of Jesus Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary, and which suffer'd on the Cross. He adds, That the Wicked receive



it in the Sacrament, but do not receive the Effects nor Graces of it, which are only bestow'd on those, who are in a State of Righteousness.

Of the  
principal  
Authors.

The second is made about the Election of Bishops and against the Investitures: He maintains in the former, that as Baptism makes a Christian, so Election and Consecration constitute a Bishop; and as it is impossible to be a Christian without receiving Baptism, so it is likewise impossible to be a Bishop without Election and Consecration. That those two Qualifications are so absolutely necessary, that Consecration without Election, and Election without Consecration, are not sufficient to make a Bishop: That Consecration supposes a Canonical Election, and that whosoever receives it without being canonically chosen, is rather cursed than consecrated; by reason that nothing can disannul the Order of Election and Consecration establish'd by Jesus Christ, who himself chose and consecrated his Apostles: That the Clergy supply our Saviour's Place in the Election, and the Bishops in the Consecration: That all the other Christians have a Right to demand a Bishop, but they cannot elect nor consecrate him: That upon that Account, all those who aspire to Ecclesiastical Preferments, by any other Means, than Canonical Election, subvert the Order of the Church: That the Church of Rome cannot dispense with that Institution, or permit it to be done otherwise; because the Pope cannot do that, which St. Peter himself had no Power to do. Now Jesus Christ only empower'd St. Peter to bind that which ought to be bound, and to loose that which was of necessity to be loosed, and not to loose that which ought to be bound, or to bind that which ought to be loosed; and when St. Peter was about to act otherwise, St. Paul, tho' a Novice in the Faith, withstood him to the Face: Lastly, that the Church of Rome ought not to repeal the Laws established in the Holy Scripture, but to maintain them, nor to make use of the Power given by Jesus Christ, according to a capricious Humour, but according to our Saviour's Tradition.

Afterwards he passes to the Investitures, and says, That to know the Doctrine of the Catholick and Apostolick Church, as to that Point, 'tis requisite only to peruse the first Article of the Council, held under Gregory VII. in which that Pope excommunicates and treats as Hereticks all those Clergymen, who shall presume to receive the Investiture from the Hand of Laicks: That that sort of Heresy is a more heinous Crime than Simony, in regard that Simony is only practis'd in Secret, but the Investitures are always made publickly: That the Apostles forbid Laicks to assume the Power of conferring Ecclesiastical Orders, and that therefore the Investiture, which is a Sacrament or sacred Sign, by which the Bishop is distinguish'd from other Men, and put in Possession of the Government of the Church, ought not to be receiv'd from the Hands of Laicks, but from that of the Clerk, who perform'd the Consecration: And in fine, that Laymen, who cannot administer the Sacraments of the Church, ought not to deliver the Ring and the Pastoral Staff, which are Sacraments, such as the Salt and Water, the Chrism and the consecrated Oils, when they are administer'd by those who have a rightful Power, and with the requisite Ceremonies.

The third Tract is written in like Manner against the Investitures, in which he repeats the same Arguments, and concludes, that they are to be reputed no less Heresie, than Simony.

He continues to handle the same Matter in the fourth Tract, and proves that Kings cannot confer the Investiture even of spiritual Benefices, with the Ring and Staff; because it is an Ecclesiastical Ceremony, and that to speak properly they cannot bestow the Investiture of Ecclesiastical Possessions, by reason that they already belong to the Church. But he acknowledges that after a canonical Election and Consecration, they may grant the royal Investiture of Church Revenues, and put him that has the Title in Possession of them, affording him their Assistance and Protection, which may be done by certain outward Signs, that are not at all prejudicial to the Rights of the Church: And lastly, that it is not expedient to excommunicate Princes upon that Account, in regard that such Proceedings, would occasion a greater Mischief.

In the following Tract, he lays down a Principle, which also has relation to the Business of Investitures, viz. That the Condescension may be sometimes allow'd, and the granting of Dispensations; but 'tis requisite that it be done with a good Intention for the Benefit of the Church, or in case of Necessity, and not for Money or Favour; and that that which is absolutely evil, ought never to be tolerated or permitted.

In the sixth, he maintains three Principles, viz. That the Church ought to be catholick, free and chaste: That Quatenus Catholick, it can neither be bought nor sold; that as 'tis free, it ought not to be brought into Subjection to any secular Power; and that as 'tis chaste, it ought not to be corrupted with Presents.

The seventh Tract contains certain allegorical Explications of the Ark of the Covenant, and of the Tabernacle with Reference to the Church.

In the eighth he explains, what are the Effects of Baptism, Confirmation, Extreme Unction, and the Eucharist. He says, That Baptism remits Sins by the Vertue of the Holy Ghost, That in Confirmation the Holy Ghost is invoked, that he would vouchsafe to take up his Abode in the Habitation which he has sanctified; that he would also defend and protect it: That that Sacrament is administer'd by the Bishops to shew, that it gives the highest Perfection: That the Extreme Unction of sick Persons confers on them Remission of Sins; to the end that Christians may obtain Mercy both in their Life-time, and at the Hour of Death: And lastly, That in the Communion of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, the Christian Soul is healed of all the Diseases of its Vices, re-establish'd in a State of everlasting Salvation, and made one Body with Jesus Christ.

In the ninth, he treats of the Reiteration of the Sacraments, and says, That those are not reiterated, in which it seems, as if there were an Intention to begin again that which was already done; but the same Ceremony may be reiterated when 'tis perform'd for a different End, and has another Effect: That therefore the holy Chrism is put on the Fore-head, after having anointed the Top of the Head with it; because those several unctions produce different Effects: But that Extreme Unction cannot be reiterated by reason that it is a Sacrament.

In the tenth he proves, That the Bishops ought not to exact any Thing for Benedictions and Ordinations, and asserts it to be a kind of Simony in a Bishop, not only to receive Money for the Benediction of an Abbot, but also to exact of him an Acknowledgment, by which he binds himself by Promise to his Diocesan.

The eleventh is a Constitution about the Manner how Monks ought to proceed in accusing others, and in defending themselves in their Chapter.

In the twelfth, he explains in a few Words, three Vertues necessary for Pastors of the Church, viz. Justice, Discretion and Fore-sight.

The thirteenth and fourteenth, are certain Dialogues between God, who upbraids the Sinner with his Ingratitude, and the Sinner, who acknowledges his Offences, and implores the Mercy of God.

The fifteenth and sixteenth, are Prayers made by a Sinner to God, in which he humbly sues for his Mercy, and begs Pardon for his Transgressions.

These Tracts are concluded with four Hymns or Profes, viz. one directed to the Virgin Mary, and the three others on the Repentance of Mary Magdalene.

All these Works are follow'd by eleven Sermons on the Nativity, Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ; On the Purification and Festivals of the Virgin Mary; On Mary Magdalene, whom he confounds with the Sinner; On the penitent Thief; and on St. Benedict. These Sermons are dry and barren, containing nothing that is eloquent; and indeed, generally speaking, all the Pieces of this Author are not written with much Elegancy or Politeness. However his Compositions are very natural, and his Explications easy and familiar. Father Sirmond caus'd them to be printed at Paris, A. D. 1610. from two Manuscript Copies, and annex'd Annotations on the Letters, which are very serviceable to make known the Persons, and to illustrate many historical Matters of Fact that are mentioned therein.



## HILDEBERT.

Bishop of Mans and afterwards Archbishop of Tours.

**H**ildebert Born at Lavardin in the Diocese of Mans, of Parents of mean Condition, joyn'd the Study of the Liberal Sciences to that of Divinity, and was chosen Bishop of Mans, A. D. 1098. His first Exercises of the Episcopal Functions were disturbed by the War that broke forth between William II. surnam'd Rufus King of England, and Helie Count of Mans, who being taken Prisoner by that Prince, the City of Mans fell into the Hands of Foulques Count of Angers. The King of England was marching at the Head of an Army to take it, when the Bishop and Inhabitants, fearing lest the Count of Angers should make an Agreement at their Cost, surrendered it to him, on Condition that their Count should be set at Liberty. Afterwards the Count having got together some fresh Troops, re-enter'd the City of Mans, and besieg'd the Forts that were possess'd by King William's Forces; but he was repuls'd, and the King remain'd Master of the City. Hildebert was accused of having been concern'd in that Enterprize, and oblig'd to pass over into England to clear himself. The King enjoyn'd him to cause the Towers of his Church to be pull'd down, and Hildebert returning with that Order, found his Church laid waste by the Outrages that were committed against the Clergy, by the pillaging of its Revenues and the burning of the City. But the King of England dying a little while after, A. D. 1100. Count Helie re-took the City, granted a Composition to the King's Soldiers, who were in the Forts, and re-establish'd Order and Peace in those Parts. When Hildebert saw his native Country restor'd to its former Tranquillity, he undertook a Journey to Rome, and went to visit Pope Paschal II. by whom he was very kindly entertain'd, and returned from Rome laden with Honours and Preferments. Some Time after, he was apprehended at Nogent le Rotrou, where he went to bear the Last-Will and Testament of the Count of Rotrou, who was detain'd Prisoner at Mans. At last having procur'd his Liberty, he solemniz'd the Consecration of the Cathedral Church of Mans newly re-built, and continu'd to govern his Diocese in Peace, till the Year 1125. when he was translated to the Archbishoprick of Tours after the Death of Guillebert.

Hildebert, not long after his Promotion to that Dignity, fell out with Lewis the Gros, King of France, having refus'd to dispose of the Benefices belonging to that Church, more especially the Deanry and Archdeaconry at the Pleasure of his Prince, who caus'd the Revenues to be seiz'd on, and prohibited him to enter his Dominions. The Person who was nominated Dean, was at Variance with the Canons, who were maintain'd by the Court, which gave Occasion to Disturbances in the Church of Tours. At last these Diffensions being appeas'd, he was restor'd to the King's Favour, and died, A. D. 1132. after having possess'd the Episcopal See of Mans 27 Years, and the Metropolitan of Tours, six Years and as many Months.

The Letters of this Author are the most valuable Pieces amongst his Works. They are written in a fine Epistolary Style, after a very natural Manner, and contain divers important Points of Morality, Church-Discipline and History. We shall here produce the Extracts of those that treat of these Matters, omitting the others which relate to meer Compliments, or to particular Affairs, such as the six first.

Therefore we shall begin with the seventh, in which the Author determines, That a Virgin betrothed before she was marriageable, whose Husband died without knowing her carnally, cannot marry the Brother of her former Husband; because Marriage does not consist in Carnal Copulation, but in the Consent of the Parties. The seventeenth is likewise written on the same Subject.

In the ninth he declares, That he refus'd to assist at the Consecration of one who was chosen Bishop of Angers; because he was a young Man, and not as yet in Orders, and was not canonically elected by the Clergy, but proclaim'd in a popular Tumult, against whose Election, the Dean, the Chanter, the Archdeacons, and the greatest Part of the Chapter had protested. He declares the same Thing to that elected Person in the twelfth and thirteenth Letter, and exhorts him not to suffer himself to be consecrated.

By the fourteenth, he deposes a certain Person, who had given Money, to be ordain'd a Deacon.

The eighteenth, is a Letter directed to Paschal II. and compos'd with a great deal of Art, to excuse the Canons

of St. Martin at Tours, who had given Offence to the Pope, by insisting too much on their Privileges.

In the nineteenth, he excuses himself for not being able to be present in a certain Council, by reason that his Church and City were pillag'd and oppress'd by the Tyranny of the Councils; alledging also, that he was oblig'd to pass over into England, to give an Account why he refus'd to demolish the Towers of his Church; and that he was ready to undertake another Voyage to Rome, which would put him out of a Capacity of defraying the Charges, that were requisite for a Journey to the Council.

In the twenty first, he entreats a certain Bishop of England to furnish him with St. Anselm's Disputation against the Greeks in the Council of Bari concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and returns thanks to that Prelate, in the following Letter, for sending it to him.

In the twenty third, he intercedes with an Abbot, in behalf of a Monk who return'd to his Monastery, after he had left it, to treat him favourably.

In the thirtieth, he sharply reproves a Priest, who caus'd a Person to be put to the Rack, whom he suspected to have committed a Robbery.

In the thirty first, he gives excellent Instructions to a Lady who had forsaken the Vanities of the World, and in the thirty third, he reprehends a certain rich Lord for his Pride and Covetousness.

In the thirty fourth, he declares that he refus'd to approve the intended Marriage of a Count with one of his Kinswomen; altho' it might put an end to a War that was carry'd on between him and his future Father-in-Law.

In the thirty sixth, he represents to a Christian Virgin the advantages of a single Life, and gives her wholesome Advice, more especially relating to the Vertue of Humility.

In the thirty seventh, he comforts a certain Person who was much troubled, in regard that he was diverted from the Contemplative Life, to take upon him the Pastoral Charge, and shews, by Examples taken out of Holy Scriptures, that it is profitable to joyn the Active to the Contemplative Life.

In the thirty eight, he acquaints the Bishop of Angouleme the Pope's Legate, with the Irregularities of the Monks of St. Evron, to the end that he might send him Word, after what manner he ought to proceed against them.

The thirty ninth, is a Circular Letter written to the Bishops and Priests, and in general to all Christians concerning his Imprisonment. He was sent for by the Count of Rotrou, who was then a Prisoner; and having receiv'd his Confession, with his last Will and Testament by which that Noble-man bequeath'd his Estate to the Church, carry'd that Will to his Mother, who gave him good Entertainment. But the next day, Hildebert himself was taken Prisoner by Count Hubert Chancellor of Rotrou, who detain'd him, notwithstanding the Entreaties of the Inhabitants of the Country and the Sentence of Excommunication publish'd by the Bishop of Chartres, and would not release him till he paid his Ransom. He declares that such an Act is unworthy of a Bishop, and that he chose rather to lose his Life, than to redeem it with Money.

In the fortieth, he exhorts Serlo Bishop of Sees to excommunicate Hubert, who kept him in Prison.

The forty first contains wholesome Instructions to a Young Widow, who after having lead a disorderly Life for some time, devoted her self to God. He furnishes her with proper Remedies against Temptations.

In the forty second, he advertises a Bishop, that Lisard ought not to be excommunicated for committing Sacrilege and a Rape; since the Virgin whom he took to Wife, was only put in a Monastery, to be instructed, and in regard that she left it to marry him, by the Order of her Mother and Aunt.

In the forty fourth, he determines, that a Priest, who offer'd the Sacrifice of the Mass, with ordinary Bread, having no other at Hand, ought to be punish'd, rather upon the scandal he had given, than for the Fault, which was not great.

In the forty ninth, he commends the Action of a Bishop, who had hinder'd the removing of certain Persons out of the Church, who had taken Sanctuary therein.

The fifty first, is a large Confutation of a certain Person, who reviv'd the Error of Vigilantius; and maintain'd, that the Invocation of Saints was unprofitable, because they do



not hear our Prayers, and have no knowledge of Transactions on Earth. This Man gave it out, that *Hildebert* was of his mind; which oblig'd him not only to disown that Opinion, but also to shew, by the Testimony of the Fathers, that the Saints hear our Prayers, and that they make Intercession for us with God.

In the fifty third, he excuses himself to *Clarembaldus* Canon of *Oxford*; for not having sent to him sooner, the History of the Miracles which happen'd in that City, because they had slip't out of his Mind: He gives him to understand, that the second *Memorandum*, which he directed to him, contain'd some of the same Miracles, with different Circumstances; but nevertheless, he did not judge it expedient to alter his first Relation, yet he left him at liberty, either to correct or to suppress it according to his Discretion.

In the fifty fifth, he congratulates the Bishop of *Clermont*, for bestowing an Archdeaconry, on one of the Subdeacons of the Church of *Mans*, a Person very worthy to be promoted to that Dignity, upon account of his Learning and Virtue; and declaims against the Custom that was introduced to retain Spiritual Livings in a Family, as it were by right of Succession; citing divers Passages against that Abuse.

The fifty sixth, is a consolatory Letter to a King, upon occasion of the Death of his Son. It contains divers excellent Moral and Christian Maxims, touching the Constancy, with which Wise and Christian People ought to bear Afflictions.

In the fifty ninth, he dissuades a certain Count, from undertaking a Voyage to *St. James of Compostella*, because his Duty oblig'd him to continue in the Country, where his Presence was necessary.

In the sixtieth, he writes to the Bishop of *Chartres*, with reference to a Priest, who having been attack'd by a Robber, knock'd him on the Head with a Stone, so that he died of the Wound. His Bishop after having suspended him for seven Years from the Celebration of Divine Service; at last consulted *Hildebert*, to know whether he ought to restore him to his Functions. The latter declares, That it seem'd to him, that a Priest who has committed Man-slaughter, ought no longer to offer the Holy Sacrifice, although he did it in his own defence. He maintains with *St. Ambrose*, that it is not lawful for one Man to kill another, even in defending his own Life; and although it were permitted, yet it ought not to be done. He concludes, that if the like case had happen'd to one of his Diocefans, he would have referr'd the Matter to the Holy See.

In the sixty first, he reproves certain Monks, who refus'd to entertain the Bishop of *Chartres* at their Table: He shews, that the Perfection of the Monastick Life does not consist in performing the outward Duties, but in the Practice of Humility and Charity: As for what those Monks alledg'd as an Excuse for their neglect, viz. That they were not able to give Entertainment to the Bishop, by reason of their Poverty; he asserts, That they ought to sell or pawn the Ornaments of their Church, to exercise Hospitality towards their Diocesan.

In the sixty second, he recommends to a Widow, who had devoted her self to God, the giving of Alms to the Poor.

In the sixty third, he commends the Countess *Adela*, in regard that after her Conversion, instead of undertaking a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, she had embrac'd the Monastick Life.

In the sixty fourth, he censures the Custom of a Monastery, where both the Species of the Eucharist were not administer'd separately; but that of the Bread steep't in the other of the Wine. He maintains, that the soft Bread which our Saviour gave to *Judas* was not the Eucharist.

In the sixty fifth, written by *Hildebert*, as well as the next, after his Translation from the Bishoprick of *Mans* to the Archbishoprick of *Tours*; he acquaints the Pope, that he had taken a Journey to *Bretagne*, where he held a Synod at *Nantes*, A. D. 1127. for the Reformation of the Church, chiefly as to what concerns incestuous Marriages, and the Succession of Relations to Ecclesiastical Preferments: That the Prince had remitted in that Synod, the Right which was claim'd by the Lords to seize on the moveable Goods of deceased Persons, and even his own Royal Prerogative, by Virtue of which all manner of Wracks at Sea belong to his Demains: That it was also ordain'd, that the Bishops should publish in their Synods, and the Priests in their Churches, that those who presume to contract unlawful Marriages, for the future, shall be excommunicated; and that the Children born in such Wedlock were declar'd Illegitimate: That the Ecclesiastical Constitutions were reviv'd, concerning the Qualities requisite in Persons, who design to receive Orders: That it was prohibited to ordain the Sons of Priests, unless they

turn'd Regular Cations or Monks; and that as for those who were already ordain'd, they were not allow'd to serve their Fathers Parishes in that Quality, lest they should find means to succeed them: And lastly, That very strict Prohibitions were made that Benefices should be transmitted, as it were by Succession. He entreats the Pope to confirm what they had done, more especially the Resignation that the Prince had made of his Right to the Shipwracks. Pope *Honorius* II. grants him this Confirmation in the Letter which immediately follows that of which we have but now made Mention.

In the sixty seventh, he complains to that Pope, that the King of *France* had confiscated the Revenues belonging to his Church, and would not suffer him to enter the Territories of his Kingdom, because he refus'd to dispose of the Benefices according to the pleasure of that Prince. He likewise wrote to him about the Contests that happen'd in the Church of *Tours*, between the Dean and some of the Canons, which was carry'd on to that height, that one of the Canons was maimed, by one of the Collegues and by the Dean's Friends. The latter was accused of being accessory to the Fact, but he deny'd it, and no Proof being brought against him, he clear'd himself by his own Oath, and by that of seven other Priests.

In the sixty eighth, he tells the Pope, that he had done what his Holiness requir'd of him, having restor'd *Bracerius* to his Prebend, which he deserv'd to lose, by reason of the enormity of his Crimes, and in sending to him *Radulphus* Dean of *St. Maurice*, of whom mention is made in the preceding Letter. He justifies the Innocence of that Dean, and acquaints the Pope with the Judgment pass'd in his favour.

In the sixty ninth, he entreats the Pope to confirm a Donation, that the King of *England* made to the Church of *Fontevrauld*.

In the seventieth, he comforts the Queen of *England* for her Barrenness, and gives her to understand, that she ought not to look upon it as a disgrace, but as the means of procuring her Salvation, by adopting the Poor for her Children.

In the seventy first, he exhorts to perseverance, a Countess, who had quitted worldly Affairs to embrace the Monastick Life.

The seventy fourth, is a Reprimand given to a Clergyman, who did not lead a regular Course of Life.

In the seventy fifth, he complains that none of his Friends undertook to maintain the Interests of his Church, in the Court of the King of *France*.

In the seventy ninth, he determines, that Nuns who live in a Monastery, ought not to go out of it alone, but accompanied with one of their Matrons: He reproves those who act otherwise on Holy-days; and observes, that about thirty Years were pass'd since he wrote a Treatise of Virginity. Lastly, he declaims against some Nuns, who dwell in private Houses, to lead a more dissolute Course of Life.

The eightieth, is a Letter by *Marbodus* Bishop of *Rennes*, which we shall mention in its proper place.

The eighty second is an excellent Letter directed to Pope *Honorius*, in which he expresses himself with Submission and Freedom, against the Appeals made to the See of *Rome*, which were so frequent in that Age. He entreats him at first not to be offended at his Letter, nor to attribute that to Presumption, which he was oblig'd to do by Necessity, and lest the Church should be oppress'd by force of Arms, the effects of which he himself knew by Experience. He adds, that he has reason to hope that his Remonstrance will not be unacceptable to him, because it is written for the sake of Justice. Afterwards he declares, That that Custom was never approv'd on the hither side of the *Alpes*, and that it is not an Article grounded on the Ecclesiastical Laws that all sorts of Appeals should be receiv'd at *Rome*: That if that Innovation prevail, the Authority of the Popes will be disannull'd, and the whole vigour of Church-Discipline will be subverted: 'For (says he) where is the Oppressor that does not enter an Appeal, as soon as he is threatn'd with an *Anathema*? Where is the Clerk who will not continue in his exorbitant Courses, defending himself by a declinatory Appeal? Or by what means can the Bishops inflict any Punishment for the least Act of Disobedience? An Appeal will certainly put a stop to his Censure, weaken his Constancy, baffle his Resoluteness, impose Silence upon him, and cause all manner of Crimes to go unpunished. However, *Hildebert* owns, that the Church on the hither side of the *Alpes* has acknowledg'd some Appeals, and 'tis but reasonable that those who have lawful Grievances, should get them redress'd by that means, as also that those Persons, whose Judges are their Enemies, or suspected, or who fear the Outragiousness of the People, should have the same Liberty to secure themselves: But he maintains, that Appeals which are only enter'd on purpose



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to put a stop to the Course of Justice, and to procrastinate Affairs, ought not to be authoriz'd; and therefore he entreats the Pope no longer to admit any of that Nature.

The eighty third Letter, which is the last of this Collection, does not belong to *Hildebert* but is part of the Preface written by *Ives of Chartres* on his Decree. Therefore that Piece was only inserted amongst *Hildebert's* Letters by a Mistake.

Father *Dachery* publish'd in the fourth Tome of his *Spicilegium*, nine Letters of *Hildebert*, among which are three very eloquent ones about the Imprisonment of Pope *Paschal II.* and afterwards the same Author set forth fifteen others, which are annexed in the End of the thirteenth Tome. There are some amongst these last, that relate to the Persecution which *Hildebert* suffer'd by reason of the Displeasure of the King of *France*, and the Quarrel that arose between the Dean of *Tours* and his Canons. In the ninth, he entreats the Pope not to grant the Pall to the Bishop of *Dol*.

*Hildebert's* other Pieces, are two Hymns on our Saviour's Nativity; A Paraphrase on the Canon of the Mass in Verse; A Sermon on these Words of *Isaiah*, Chap. 35. *Then the Eyes of the Blind shall be opened*; Another on these Words of *Jesus Christ* in *St. Luke*, Chap. 12. *Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much requir'd*; A Synodical

Discourse to his Curates. All these Works and Letters are extant in the Collections call'd *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

There are also to be seen in different places, some other principal Works attributed to *Hildebert*, viz. The Life of *St. Hugh* Abbot of *Cluny*, in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, publish'd by *Du-Chesne*; The Epitaph of *Berenger*, refer'd to by *William of Malmesbury*; A Letter written to *Reginald* the Monk, and the Preface to the Life of *St. Radegonda*, set forth by Father *Mabillon* in the first Tome of his *Analecta*, with the beginning of that Life, of which that Father has a Manuscript Copy in his Possession. *Rosweida* makes mention of the Life of *St. Mary the Egyptian*, in Verse by *Hildebert*, which (as they say) is kept in the Library of *Lipsick*. There are also in the Libraries, several Tracts ascribed to *Hildebert*, but we have lost his Treatise of Virginity. Besides these Works, Father *Homney* has likewise published some in his Collection, which he attributes to *Hildebert*, but it is not probable, that they belong to that Author.

The other Works of *Hildebert*, fall very much short of the Elegancy and Politeness of his Letters. His Poetical pieces are gross; neither has he observ'd the Rules of Quantity. His Sermons are written in like manner, in a weak and very mean Style. However he was a noted Prelate, who shew'd a great deal of Prudence, Discretion and Constancy in the Management of Affairs, during the whole Course of his Life.

## GUIBERT Abbot of Nogent.

Guibert  
Abbot of  
Nogent.

**G**uibert Abbot of *Nogent sous Coucy*, was born in a Village belonging to the Diocese of *Beauvais*, of a rich and noble Family. He lost his Father *Eurard* in his Youth, and was brought up by his Mother, who took a particular care of his Education, but having afterwards retir'd to a Monastery, and being inform'd, that her Son did not follow the Instructions she had given him, she oblig'd him to take Lodgings in the Abby of *St. Germain* in the Diocese of *Beauvais*, to live under the conduct of his old Tutor, who became a Monk in that Abby. *Guibert* did not continue long there, before he had an inclination to assume the Monastick Habit, and actually put that Design in execution, contrary to the Advice of his Mother and Tutor. After having turn'd Monk, he was afflicted with many Temptations, but at last was deliver'd from them, by the means of Prayer and Study, and was chosen Abbot of *Nogent sous Coucy* in the most remote part of the Diocese of *Laon*, where he died in 1124.

A certain small Tract about Preaching, is usually prefix'd to *Guibert's* Works, being the Preface to his Moral Commentaries on the Holy Scripture, which is full of Instructions, and very methodical. He begins with observing, that it is very dangerous for a Person obliged to Preach by the Duty of his Function, to neglect the performance of that Duty, by reason that as it is a matter of pernicious Consequence to shew bad Examples; so it is a very great Offence, not to endeavour to contribute somewhat to the reclaiming of Sinners by wholesome Instructions. He adds, That Men have different Motives to abstain from Preaching; that some are induc'd to do it by Pride, for fear of passing for Preachers, a Quality commonly reputed contemptible in the World; others by Envy, not to communicate their Knowledge to others, and others by Disgust or Slothfulness, in regard that they do not think themselves to lie under any Obligation, because they have no cure of Souls. He maintains, that all Christians, who have attain'd to any Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, are oblig'd to Preach the Word of God, and that they ought to propose no other End of their Preaching, but God himself, who is the Subject of it: That Bishops, Abbots, Curates and all Christians in general, are not only obliged to abstain from doing Evil, and from giving bad Examples, but are also under an obligation to do all manner of Good that lies in their Power, both by their Example and Doctrine. He concludes from that Principle, that the practice of Virtues and the Instruction of others ought to be join'd together: Thus a Preacher ought to lead an innocent Life, and he who lives well, ought to apply himself to the instructing of others.

This Author advises that Preaching be preceded by Prayer, to the end that the Soul inspir'd with the Love of God, may ardently express the Sentiments it has of God, to inflame the Hearts of the Auditors with the same Zeal, with which it is transported itself. For (says he) a Discourse pronounced in a luke-warm and languid Manner, not being agreeable even to him that pronounces it, cannot give Satisfaction to the Hearers; and it would be wonderful, that a Discourse deliver'd by a Person who is not animated himself, should be capable of animating o-

thers. Care ought also to be taken (continues he) since the Word is spread abroad according to the effusion of the Heart, that the Discourse be not too tedious by reason of its length, and do not clog the Auditors: Therefore how fervent soever the Zeal of the Preacher may be, how copious soever his Subject, how strong soever his Memory, and how extraordinary soever his fluency of Discourse, yet he ought to have regard to the Weakness of his Auditors, and to consider, that 'tis more commendable to lay down a few Truths, which will be receiv'd attentively, than to deliver an infinite number of Things, that cannot be retain'd; and that 'tis expedient to leave off before his Auditors be tir'd, to the end when there shall be an occasion to Preach to them at another time, they may be disposed to hearken to his Doctrine. He likewise admonishes Preachers, that they ought to render their Sermons profitable both to the Ignorant and to the Learned, and to explain the Matters they handle in such a manner, as may be intelligible to all sorts of Capacities; and that it is requisite, to intermix some Sentences taken out of the Old Testament in their Discourses, because they appear new, and serve to stir up the Affections of their Auditors.

Afterwards he treats of the Subjects that ought to be chosen by Preachers, and refers them to the four Senses of Scripture, viz. the Literal, the Allegorical, the Tropological and Anagogical. He observes, that altho' Allegories mingled in the connection of a Discourse be agreeable, and it be sometimes convenient to explain the literal Sense of some Passages of Scripture; nevertheless the principal aim of a Preacher ought to be, to discover the inward disposition of the Man; that is to say, his Thoughts, Affections and Passions, and to make so natural representations of them, that every one may acknowledge therein the secret impulses of his own Mind. Furthermore, (says he) Admonitions ought not only to be given concerning the practice of Virtues, but also with reference to the correction of Vices, and the means of shunning them. Sometimes a Discourse on the Nature of Vice is no less profitable than one on Virtue: For how can a Man take delight in the beauty of Virtue, if he be not sensible of the deformity of Vice? Or how can he avoid the latter, if he have no Knowledge of the former? Therefore 'tis requisite to make known both, to cause a Man to be acquainted with himself, and to represent to him the inward Disposition of his Mind.

This inward Disposition of a Man is perfectly describ'd according to *Guibert* in *St. Gregory's* Treatises of Morality and in *Cassian's* Conferences, but it cannot be well learnt, but by Experience and the Exercises of a Spiritual Life. He would not advise those that are not accustomed to the practice of it, to venture upon new Allegories, and he gives Rules to those who have attain'd to Perfection in spiritual Exercises, to walk safely in a Path, from whence without due circumspection they may easily go astray.

He admonishes Preachers, to deliver their Sermons after such a Manner, as it may appear that they have no other Intention, but to instruct, and to promote the Salvation of

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their Auditors, and that they do not seek for vain Glory by their Eloquence: 'For nothing, says he, gives greater Offence to an Auditor, than when he is persuaded that the Preacher is only induc'd to speak by Ostentation or private Interest; so that a Preacher, that has such a Character, exasperates rather than instructs, and by how much the more his Discourses abound with Rhetorical Ornaments, he renders himself so much the more contemptible to his Auditors.

Lastly, he treats of the principal Matters, that ought to serve as a Subject for Preachers, and advises them not only to represent to Sinners the everlasting Punishments that they shall undergo hereafter in the future State, but also the Troubles, Torments, Vexations and other Calamities, to which they are obnoxious in this Life. This is the Subject of the Preface, which he apparently made to serve in stead of an Apology against the Opinion of his Abbot, who was unwilling to permit him either to preach or to write. It is followed by ten Books of moral Commentaries upon *Genesis*, written in Imitation of those of St. Gregory on *Job*, and by ten other Books of Commentaries of the same Nature on the Prophecies of *Hosea* and *Amos*, and on the Lamentations of *Jeremiah*, on which he impos'd the Title of *Tropologia*.

*Guibert's* Treatise against the *Jews* is a Confutation of a certain Piece full of Blasphemies against Jesus Christ. He discourses particularly of our Saviour's Conception in the Womb of a Virgin, and upon occasion of that Question, proceeds to treat of Original Sin and Concupiscence. There is a remarkable Passage about Images, in which he says, 'That we honour the invisible Things in the visible Signs; or rather, that we fix our wandering Mind on the Contemplation of spiritual Things, by looking upon Pictures, which serve as it were to admonish us of our Duty.

In his Treatise of the Reality of the Body of Jesus Christ, he debates two Questions, *viz.* one on the Sop that was given by him to *Judas*, and the other about the Reality of our Saviour's Body in the Eucharist. As to the first, he determines, that *Judas* receiv'd the Sacrament with the other Apostles, but that the Sop which our Lord gave him, was not a Sacrament, or sacred Sign, but the Sign of his Treason. In discussing the second Question, he confutes the Opinion of those, that deny the real Presence, and who believe, that the Body of Jesus Christ is only a Figure in the Eucharist.

The Treatise of the Praises of the Virgin *Mary*, contains many *Encomiums* on the blessed Mother of our Lord, and the History of some Miracles wrought by her Intercession. He concludes with a Prose or Hymn in her Honour.

In the Tract about Virginity, he does not only treat of its Excellency, but also of the Means of preserving it; of the Vertues that ought to accompany it, and of the Vices that are destructive of it.

In the Treatise of the Pledges or Relicks of the Saints, *Guibert* after having justified himself in the Preface, as to the Expression utter'd by him that the Eucharist supplies the Place of Jesus Christ, he proceeds to treat of the Honour due to Saints, of their Relicks, and of the Abuses committed upon that Account; alledging, 1. That the Customs of Churches may be different, as to Matters of Discipline, as about Fasts, the Manner of Singing, &c. 2. That it is necessary to receive the Sacrament of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper; in such Manner nevertheless, that one cannot be sav'd without being baptiz'd, and yet one may attain to Salvation without actually receiving the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, as it appears by the Examples of some Martyrs, who never receiv'd the Communion, and of some Hermits, who receiv'd it very seldom. 3. That there are some Customs, which are not necessary for Salvation, and yet are observ'd in the Churches, as the Relicks of Saints, and certain Things that serv'd for their Use, which we respect and honour to follow their Example, and to obtain their Protection. 4. That they only ought to be taken for Saints, who are acknowledged as such either by an ancient Tradition, or by authentick Records, and not those to whom that Quality is attributed by Fancy or in some fabulous Relations. 5. He censures those who invent false Tales, and requires that the Histories of the Lives and Actions of the Saints be carefully examined, and that those only be honour'd of whose Holiness we have a certain Account, and who undoubtedly died the Death of the Righteous. 6. He distinguishes several Sorts of Persons, by whom God thinks fit to work Miracles; some of them being as it were the Canals or Instruments that he makes use of in the performing of preternatural Operations, which tend to the Advantage of others, and are unprofitable to themselves: God bestows special Graces on others, which they never deserv'd, and makes them worthy by his meer Mercy: Sometimes he affords them to the Faithful, as a Recompence for their Faith and Uprightness. 7. He insists, that severe Punish-

ments ought to be inflicted on those who forge false Miracles. 8. He enquires who they are that ought to be honour'd as Saints; of these the Martyrs are the first, but they ought to be certainly prov'd, that they suffer'd for the Christian Faith. As for Confessors, he determines, that they only are to be respected in that Quality, who were eminent for their extraordinary Sanctity, and of whose Salvation we are morally certain: For when there are grounds to doubt of it, he would by no Means have them invoc'd. Upon that Occasion, he proposes the Example of the Church, which would not avouch that the Body of the Virgin *Mary* was raised from the Dead and glorified, altho' there are many Reasons that induce us to believe it. 9. He observes, in reference to the acknowledged and avouched Saints, that there are many Errors concerning their Relicks; in regard that the Body, Head and other Members of the same Saint are to be found in different Places, and every one pretends to have the true Relick. 10. He maintains, That forasmuch as the Bodies of the Saints are made of Earth, as those of other Men; it were more expedient to leave them in their Tombs, than to set them in Shrines of Gold and Silver, to carry them about; and to divide them, as it is usually done. 'Indeed, says he, if the Bodies of the Saints had continu'd in the Places where they were, according to the Order of Nature, that is to say, in their Tombs; there would have been no Mistake nor Contest about the Reality of their Relicks: For that happens, only because they are taken out of their Tombs; cut in Pieces; and carried about from one Place to another. 'Tis true, that Piety gave Occasion to the removing of them, but Curiosity, in process of Time, corrupted that which was done at first with Simplicity——Let others Judge as they shall think fit; for my Part, I make no Scruple to assert, that they have not done a Thing acceptable to God or his Saints, in opening their Tombs, or in dividing their Members after such a Manner; since the Heathens themselves had a Respect for the Sepulchres of the Dead. St. Gregory return'd for Answer to an Empress who importun'd him upon the like Occasion, that he durst not send her St. *Peter's* Head, and the Saints have often shewn notable Marks of their Indignation against those, who have presum'd thus to dismember their Bodies.' 11. He acknowledges nevertheless, that those, who honour false Relicks without knowing them to be so, and supposing them to belong to some Saint, do not sin, and that he that invokes a Person, who is no Saint, believing him to be really so, may be heard of God, who knows his good Intention. Lastly, he condemns the filthy Lucre that is made of those Relicks, by selling them, or by exacting Money for shewing them; carrying them in Procession; exposing them, &c. These are the principal Points decided by *Guibert* in his first Book of the Pledges of the Saints, and they are accompany'd with great Variety of Examples of real and counterfeit Miracles, of true and false Saints, and of genuine and supposititious Relicks, which are capable of affording much Satisfaction and Delight to the Reader.

In the second Book, to confute those, who set a great Value on certain Relicks, which they asserted to belong to our Saviour, as his Teeth, Fore-skin, &c. our Author treats of the Mystery in which he has really left us his Body: He maintains, That Jesus Christ left no Relicks of his Body, but that he has given it us entire in the Eucharist: That that Body is not divided and distributed to the Faithful by Parcels, but that it is given altogether entire under every Host: That this Sacrament is receiv'd by the Unworthy, as well as by the Worthy, altho' the former do not receive the Grace of the Sacrament: That it may perhaps be devour'd by Rats and other Animals, and pass thro' their Belly, yet nothing unworthy can befall the Body of Jesus Christ; so that the Corruption and other Alterations that appear to our Senses happen only to the Species, and not to the real Body of our Saviour: Lastly, That that Body is not in the Eucharist in the State of a dead or crucified Person, but in that of a living and glorified Redeemer. He starts another Question by the way, *viz.* Whether the Bread that remain'd in the Pyx on the Altar, during the Consecration, unknown to the Priest, were consecrated; He determines in the negative, and that if an Host were put under the Pale, or a Drop of Wine in the Chalice, without the Knowledge of the Priest; they would not be consecrated.

After having discoursed of the true Relick of Jesus Christ in the second Book, *Guibert* proceeds in the third, to confute the false ones, which some Persons pretended to have in their Possession. He begins with this fine Maxim, 'Tis requisite to approve the Devotion and Respect that People have for God and the Saints, but only as far as that Devotion does not deviate from the Bounds of true Religion; otherwise it happens, that the devout Person, instead of receiving the Recompence of his Action, becomes culpable by his Error: For when any Thing is said of God,

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of the principal authors. God, or a Worship is render'd to him, contrary to the Testimonies of Truth, the Party sins so much the more dangerously, in regard that Piety is made use of for a Pretence; since nothing is more pernicious, than to do Evil, and at the same Time to imagine it to be a good Action; For how can any Man correct a Fault, if he do not only not believe it to be an Error, but is also persuaded, that it is an Action which deserves to be well rewarded? Afterwards he vigorously opposes the Opinion of the Monks of St. Medard, who boasted, that they had a Tooth of Jesus Christ, and grounds his Assertions chiefly on this Argument, that our Saviour being raised from the Dead, all his Members and Parts ought to be re-united to his glorified Body. 'Tis true indeed, that those Monks might object, that it may reasonably be suppos'd, that our Saviour's first Teeth were shed, as those of other Children, and that which they had was one of those. Guibert in like Manner proposes this very Objection in their Name, and eludes it, by averring, that there are many other Reasons to disprove their Argument, and that they had none to establish it. The Principal that he alledges is, that 'tis not probable, that the Hair, Teeth, Fore-skin and other Things that fell from the Body of the Child Jesus, were kept at that Time, and that there are no Grounds to believe, that they were preserved by the Virgin Mary. He likewise derides the pretended Milk of the blessed Virgin, which was kept in the Church of Laon, and in some other Places. The Monks of St. Medard having alledged divers Miracles in Vindication of their Relick, Guibert replies, that that Tooth perhaps might be the Tooth of some Saint, or that those Miracles were wrought, upon account of the Faith of those Persons, who came thither to honour a Relick, which they suppos'd to belong to Jesus Christ.

In the last Book that bears this Title, *Of the Internal World*, he treats of Visions, and of the Apparitions of Demons or Souls, and shews that the Visions of the Prophets, were Visions of Corporal Things: He acknowledges that Demons are dispers'd in several Places, and that they are present in this visible World. He maintains, That the Happiness of the Elect, and the Punishments of the Reprobates, are not corporeal, for the present, but spiritual; and is of Opinion that Hell-fire, with which the Devils are tormented, is not a material and corporeal Fire, but the extreme Anguish they have, to see themselves depriv'd for ever of the blissful State, and of the beatific Vision; as the Happiness of the blessed Spirits consists, in the Delight they take in beholding the Glory of God. Lastly, he proves that Souls are of a Spiritual Nature; that they have no Figure; that they are only capable of spiritual Sympathies, and that Bodies cannot act on them.

His Piece call'd, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, or an Account of the Actions that God perform'd by the French, is divided into eight Books, and dedicated to Lisiard Bishop of Soissons. It contains a large and accurate History of the first Crusade undertaken by the French, and of the Conquests they made in the Levant, and in the Holy-Land, more especially under the Conduct of Boemond Duke of Apulia, and of Godfrey of Bouillon King of Jerusalem. This Work is written in a swelling Style, some Verses being

intermixed with the Prose; but the Author has every where acted as a very faithful Historian, and has ever inclin'd to insert such Narratives, as had no other Grounds but popular Reports.

The Life of Guibert written by himself, is not a simple Relation of what befel him, but a Work partly moral, in Imitation of St. Augustine's Confessions, and partly historical. He makes long Digressions on different Subjects, relating to the History of the Abbies of St. Germane, and Nogent sur Concy; with that of the Churches of Laon, Soissons, &c. There are also divers Narrations, as a great number of Miracles, Visions and Apparitions, and of other historical Matters of Fact that happen'd in his Time.

Among the Works of St. Bernard is likewise to be found a Sermon on these Words of the last Verse of the XI. Chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon. *Vice shall not prevail against Wisdom; she reacheth from one End to another mightily, and sweetly doth she order all Things*; which is attributed to Guibert of Nogent; because he intimates in the XVI. Chapter of the first Book of his Life, that he made a Sermon on that Text.

Besides these Works Guibert wrote a Treatise on the Sentences taken out of the Gospels, and the Books of the Prophets, of which he makes mention in the XVI. Chapter of the first Book of his Life; but this Work was not brought to Light, and perhaps was never completed. Father Ondin informs us, that he found in the Library of the Abbies of Vauclair and Igny, certain Commentaries written by Guibert on the Prophecies of Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Zachariah, Joel, Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah.

This Author having spent much Time in the Study of Grammar and Poetry, wrote in a very clear Style, and compos'd indifferent good Verses. He argues with a great deal of Judgment in his dogmatical Treatises, and handles the Matters methodically. He gives a very natural Description of the inward Dispositions and Passions of Men; in his Treatises of Morality, but is too florid and prolix in the historical.

His Works were publish'd by Father Luke Dachery, in Folio, by Billaine at Paris, A. D. 1651. He has illustrated them with learned Notes and large Observations, in which he refers to a great Number of ancient Monuments, and produces the History of divers Abbies. He has likewise inserted in the same Volume, to render it of a competent Largeness, the Lives of St. Germane. St. Simon, Count of Crepy, and St. Salberga the first Abbess of St. John at Laon, who founded that Monastery, A. C. 640. as also three Books of Hugh Archbishop of Rouen against the Hereticks of his Time, and the Continuation of Sigebert's Chronicle by Robert of Torigny Abbot of St. Michael's Mount, with a Treatise of the same Author about the Reformation of divers Abbies, and several Lists of the Deans of the Cathedral Church of Laon, and of the Abbots of St. John and St. Martins in the same City. Guibert's History of the Crusade was already set forth by Jacobus Bongarsius in his Collection of Historians, printed in 1611. under the same Title that Guibert impos'd on his Work, viz. *Gesta Dei per Francos*.

## Sigebert a Monk of Gemblours.

Sigebert. Sigebert a Monk of Gemblours, after having been publick Professor of Divinity in the Monastery of St. Vincent at Mets, return'd to his own Convent, where he apply'd himself entirely to Study, and to the composing of Books. He vigorously maintain'd the Interest of the Emperors Henry IV. and Henry V. against the Popes, and died A. D. 1113. The following Catalogue of his Works was made by himself.

He compos'd during his Abode at St. Vincent at Mets, the Life of St. Thierry, Bishop of the same City, and Founder of the Abby, with an *Encomium* on that Saint in Heroick Verse. The Passion of St. Lucia in *Alcaick* Verse: An Answer to those, who censur'd the Prophecy of that Saint, in which (as it is reported) she foretold that the Persecution would cease within a little while, upon the Expulsion of Dioclesian and the Death of Maximilian: A Sermon in Commendation of the same Saint, in which he relates the History of the several Translations of her Body from Sicily to Corsu, and from thence to Mets: And the Life of St. Sigebert King of France, who founded the Church and Abby of St. Martin near Mets.

Sigebert after his Return to the Monastery of Gemblours, compos'd the following Works, viz.

The History of the Passion of the Theban Martyrs in Heroick Verse, and the Life of St. Guibert Founder of the Church of Gemblours: He likewise corrected the old Relation of the Life of St. Lambert, and made a new

one illustrated with Comparisons taken out of the ancient Writers, as also an Answer to a Letter that Pope Gregory VII. wrote to Herman Bishop of Mets. To these Pieces are to be added; an Apology for the Emperor Henry, against those who inveigh against Masses said by married Priests: A Letter written in the Name of the Churches of Liege and Cambray, against Paschal II's Letter, in which that Pope excites the Count of Flanders to make War with the People of those Territories: An Answer to the Inhabitants of Trier concerning the Fast of the Ember-Weeks. The Book of Ecclesiastes in Heroick Verse, according to the literal, allegorical and mythological Senses: The Continuation of Eusebius's Chronicle after St. Jerome to the Year 1111. A Treatise about the Reformation of the Cycles; and another of the illustrious Personages, in Imitation of St. Jerome and Gennadius.

Of all these Works there only remain in our Possession, the Continuation of St. Jerome's Chronicle from A. C. 381. to 1112. The Treatise of Ecclesiastical Writers: The Letter written in the Name of the Clergy of Liege and Cambray: And the Lives of St. Sigebert, St. Guibert and St. Maclon, refer'd to by Surius.

This Author is very accurate in his Writing, and attain'd to considerable Proficiency in the Study of the Liberal Sciences, and in all Sorts of Humane Learning.



## Honorius Solitarius, a Scholastick Divine of the Church of Autun.

Of the  
principle  
Authors.  
Honorius.

**H**onorius, a Priest and Scholastick Divine of the Church of *Autun*, surnam'd the Solitary, flourish'd under the Emperor *Henry V.* A. D. 1120. We have little Account of his Life, but many of his Works are still extant.

The most considerable, is his Treatise of the Lights of the Church, or of the Ecclesiastical Writers, first published by *Suffridus*, and afterwards by *Aubertus Miræus* in their Collections of Authors, who wrote those that treated of Ecclesiastical Affairs. *Honorius* has divided this Work into four Books, the three first of which are only an Abridgment of the Treatises on the Ecclesiastical Writers by *St. Jerome*, *Gennadius* and *Isidorus*. He gives an Account, in the last, of some Authors since venerable *Bede* to his Time. This Treatise contains almost nothing else but the Names and Characters of the Authors, and the Titles of their Works: It is follow'd by another Treatise of the same Nature, containing the Names of the ancient Hereticks and their principal Doctrines, printed at *Basil* in 1544. To these two Treatises may be added a Chronological Table of the Popes, from *St. Peter* to *Innocent II.* which is extant among the other Works of this Author.

The Treatise call'd, *The Pearl of the Soul*; or, *Of the Divine Offices*, is divided into four Books. In the first, he treats of the Sacrifice of the Mass; of its Ceremonies and Prayers; of the Church; of its Parts and Ornaments; of the Ministers of the Altar and their Habits, &c. In the second, he discourses of the Canonical Hours, and of the Ecclesiastical Offices for the Day and Night. In the third, of the principal Festivals of the Year; and in the fourth, of the Concord or Agreement of the Offices of the whole Year, with the particular Days and Times on which they are celebrated. These Books are full of a great Number of Arguments and mystical Explications that have no other Grounds but the Author's Imagination. They were printed at *Leipsick*, A. D. 1514. and in the Collections of the Writers who have treated of Ecclesiastical Offices.

The Treatise of the Image of the World is divided into three Books: In the first of these, he treats of the World and of its Parts: In the second, of Time and its Parts; and the third is a Chronological Series of Emperors, Kings and other Sovereign Princes, from the Creation of the World to the Emperor *Frederick Barberossa*.

The Piece that bears the Title of *The Philosophy of the World*, divided into four Books, is a Treatise of the System of the World, and of its principal Parts: It is follow'd by another Treatise of the same Nature, touching the Motion of the Sun and Planets.

The Treatise of Predestination and of Free-will, is written in Form of a Dialogue, and has for its Subject the Explication of that common Question, How can Free-will be reconciled with the Certainty of Predestination? He defines Predestination to be an eternal Preparation to Happiness, or Misery of those that have done Good or Evil, he affirms, that it imposes no Necessity of doing either; because God does not predestinate to Happiness or Misery, but with respect to the Merits of the Person: He rejects the Opinion of those who assert, that Free-will consists in the Power of doing Good or Evil, and defines it to be a Capacity of performing Righteousness voluntarily and without constraint: He maintains, That Man by his Nature, is endued with a Power to act according to the Rule of Righteousness, although he stands in need of Grace to do it, and is capable of resisting that Grace: He says, That God made all reasonable Creatures for his Glory, but that he left them free to do either Good or Evil by their own Will, and that he would have all Men to be sav'd, but that 'tis their Free-will, which is the Cause of their Damnation. Afterwards he explains, why God made Creatures, when he foreknew that they would sin against him, and that they would be damned: Why the Word was incarnate: Upon what account, Mankind having deserved nothing but Punishment, after the committing of Sin, God leaves some in the Mass of Perdition, who are damned by their Free-will, and saves others by his special Grace, which they by no Means deserv'd: And how Salvation ought rather to be attributed to Grace than to Free-will, although Free-

will co-operates with Grace. He observes, That Children, that incur Damnation, are justly condemn'd to that Punishment; and that those who attain to Salvation, are sav'd by Grace, which they never merited: And as for adult Persons, that they are sav'd by Grace and Free-will, and that those who are damned, are doom'd to that Sentence by Justice, and by their Free-will: That Predestination neither saves nor damns any Person by Force; although all the Elect are infallibly sav'd, and the Reprobates infallibly damned: But forasmuch as 'tis not known, whether one be of the Number of the Elect or of the Reprobates, that 'tis requisite to use all possible Endeavours for the attaining to Salvation: And that the Number of the Elect is certainly determined, because God from all Eternity, knew those who would die in that State. He adds, That Man since *Adam's* Transgression, may fall by his Free-will, but that he cannot rise again but by Grace; and that God sometimes denies that Grace to those who are too Presumptuous: That every Thing which happens in the World, ought to be referr'd to God; either because he does it, or because he permits it, or in regard that he does not prevent it; that he causes all Things to tend to the Promoting of his own Glory; that he shews Mercy on whomsoever he thinks fit, by affording them his Grace; that he hardens others at his Pleasure, by leaving them in their Wickedness and in the State of Reprobation. Lastly, after having made some moral Reflections, our Author concludes this Work, with a Recapitulation of the Principles that he had already establish'd.

In the Catalogue of the Works of *Honorius* of *Autun*, no mention is made of certain Questions relating to the Books of *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*, but they come very near his particular Style and Genius.

His Commentary on the *Canticles* is preceded by a Preface, concerning the different Senses of Holy Scripture, the Division of the sacred Books, and the general Questions which relate to that Book in particular. He explains the Text of it according to the four Senses express'd in his Preface, viz. the Historical, the Allegorical, the Tropological and the Anagogical.

This Treatise is follow'd by another call'd, *The Seal of the blessed Virgin Mary*; in which he applies to Jesus Christ and to the blessed Virgin, what is express'd in the Book of *Canticles*, concerning the Bridegroom and the Spouse.

All these Works were collected by *Andreas Scotus* and *Joan Covenius*, and printed in the twelfth Tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* of the *Colen* Edition, and in the twentieth of that of *Lyons*.

The following Works compos'd by the same Author are lost, viz. An Illustration divided into three Books, the first of which treats of Jesus Christ; the second of the Church, and the third of Eternal Life. It cannot be that which is attributed to *St. Anselm*, and which is extant amongst his Works, because the Subject of the three Books written by the latter, is altogether different: The Mirror of the Church consisting of moral Discourses: A Treatise call'd, *The Scandal raised by the Incontinency of Priests*: An Historical Abridgment: A Treatise of the Eucharist: The Knowledge of Life; or a Treatise of God, and of Eternal Life: The Ladder of Heaven, or the Degrees of Vision: Some Extracts out of *St. Augustine*, in Form of a Dialogue between God and the Soul: A Treatise of the Pope and the Emperor: A Commentary on the Books of *Psalms* and *Canticles*: Certain Homilies on those Gospels that were not explain'd by *St. Gregory*: The Key of natural Philosophy, concerning the Nature of Things: The spiritual Nutriment, about the Festivals of our Saviour and the Saints, and some Letters. Mention is made of these Works, and of those that are still extant, in the End of his Treatise of Ecclesiastical Writers, and in *Trithemius*.

In the End of the Works of *Honorius* of *Autun*, is annexed a certain Commentary on the *Canticles*, that is more moral than mystical, and which some attribute to him; but it is not his genuine Commentary. This Author is not of good Esteem, upon account of his Style or Accuracy, but for his Industry, and the Pains he has taken in making Enquiries.

ERNUL-



## ERNULPHUS or ARNULPHUS

Bishop of Rochester.

*Of the principal Authors.*  
**E**rnulphus or Arnulphus, a Monk of St. Lucian at Beauvais, left his Monastery by Reason of the Disorders that happen'd therein, and made Application to Lanfrank Archbishop of Canterbury, under whom he had study'd in the Abby of Bec. He continu'd for a long time in the Quality of a simple Monk in his Monastery at Canterbury, was made Prior of it by St. Anselm, and afterwards Abbot of Burck. At last he was ordain'd Bishop of Rochester in 1115. and govern'd that Church during nine Years and some Days. He died, A. D. 1124. in the 84th Year of his Age.

Father Dachery publish'd two Letters written by this Prelate in the second Tome of his *Spicilegium*, which are two small Tracts. The first is directed to Waquelin Bishop of Windsor, as an Answer to a Question, which that Bishop propos'd to him in a Conference they had together at Canterbury; viz. Whether a Woman, who has committed Adultery with her Husband's Son, whom he had by another Wife, ought to be divorced from her Husband? He maintain'd the Affirmative, and the Bishop to whom he wrote, asserted the Negative. In this Treatise *Ernulpus* answers the Objections of that Prelate; shewing, that all the Passages of Holy Scripture, in which 'tis forbidden to part Man and Wife, ought only to be understood of a voluntary Separation, between Persons who are not guilty of Adultery, and afterwards confirms his Opinion, by making it appear, that the Bishops, to prevent Disorders, have often condemn'd Adulterers, to abstain for ever from the Use of Marriage; that it is the usual Custom of the Church; that this Punishment is ordain'd in the Penitential Books; and that a Divorce is justly allow'd upon account of Spiritual Alliance, although it be not express'd in the Scripture as Adultery. He adds, that 'tis not unjust, that a Husband should be divorced from his Wife, although he be Innocent of the Crime committed by her, and that there are many other Causes, for which a Husband is obliged to put away his Wife.

The second Letter of the same Author, is directed to a certain Person nam'd Lambert, who had propos'd five Questions, although he was unknown to him. The first is to know why the Eucharist is administer'd at present after a different and almost contrary manner, to that which was observ'd by Jesus Christ; because it was customary at that time, to distribute an Host steep'd in Wine to the Communicants; whereas Jesus Christ gave his Body and Blood separately? *Ernulpus* replies to that Question, that our Saviour, being come into the World, for the Salvation of Men, preferib'd to them what was necessary to be done in order to obtain it, without expressing the manner in particular: That therefore, he did not tell them, Baptize in this or that manner; let the baptized Person be plunged three several times in the Water; do not permit the Catechumens to be consecrated at first with Holy Chrism, &c. but only said simply, Baptize them: That by this means, the Things which are absolutely necessary may be easily known, and those that may be sometimes omitted or alter'd: That upon that very account, some Customs, which were in use in the Primitive Church, were not long observ'd: That it is certain, for Example, that the Apostles receiv'd the Communion after Supper, although it be now receiv'd Fasting: That they celebrated it on a wooden Table, although at present it is offer'd on a Stone-Altar; that the Bread they made use of was ordinary Bread, and that that which is now us'd is finer and more loose: That therefore 'tis not to be admir'd, if this Bread be given steep'd; although there was no such Custom heretofore, that the Priest should mingle

some part of the *Species* of Bread with the Wine: That this manner of Administration is observ'd, lest any ill Accidents should happen in the distribution of the Wine alone, and lest it should stick on the Hairs of the Beard or Whiskers, or should be spilt by the Minister.

The second Question is, Why a fourth part of the Host is put into the Chalice? He answers, that it is not customary to divide the Host into four Parts, but only into three; yet that third part, which is put into the Chalice, is as large as the fourth part of the Host; although care be taken in some Churches, to make it exactly of the bigness of the third part. He affirms that this Custom was introduc'd, because the Priest or Bishop who Officiates, ought to communicate with that part which is put into the Chalice, and to distribute the two others to the Deacon and Sub-deacon, who are Assistants. He produces another mystical Reason of the same Custom, viz. That the Body of Jesus Christ which is offer'd upon the Altar, is the Sacrament or the Figure of his Mystical Body, which is the Church, compos'd of three Orders; that is to say, Superiours, Virgins and married Persons; or else that it is done to be a Figure of the Mystery of the Trinity, or to denote the three States of Jesus Christ, viz. the Mortal, the Dead and the Raised.

The third Question is, Why the Blood of Jesus Christ is receiv'd separately from his Body, and why it is receiv'd in his Body? He returns for Answer, that they who receive the two *Species* separately, do it in imitation of Jesus Christ; and although his Body be receiv'd entire, under each *Species*, nevertheless each *Species* is receiv'd separately, because our Saviour has distinguish'd those two Things; designing to express to us by his Body, his Flesh and Members, such as they appear'd, solid and entire, and by his Blood, that which was shed by him on the Cross.

The fourth, is to know, Whether the Body of Jesus Christ be received with, or without a Soul? He answers at first, that these sorts of Questions are usually started by Persons who affect to seem learned, and who endeavour to lay Snare for the Faith of weak Christians, who humbly believe what the Holy Ghost teaches them: That 'tis most expedient not to enter upon the debate of such Questions: That although one cannot comprehend how the Bread and Wine are made the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; nevertheless it cannot be doubted, since our Saviour said, *This is my Body, this is my Blood*: That it argues Foolishness to endeavour to penetrate into the incomprehensible Secrets of the Mysteries of Christianity; and into that in particular, which is a Mystery of Faith: That it is certain, that the Substance of the Bread and Wine is chang'd into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; although it still appears to the Senses to be Bread and Wine, and that it retains all the Qualities of them: Lastly, that as the Qualities of the Bread and Wine are to be found, although the Substance does not appear; so it may be said after the same manner, that the Qualities of the Body, are not to be found therein, although its Substance remains: And that therefore 'tis impertinent, to ask whether the Body of Jesus Christ, in the Eucharist, be dead or immortal, or whether it be endu'd with a Soul or not.

The last Question is about the Sense of these Words of the Prophet Joel, Chap. 2. verse 14. *Who knoweth if God will turn and repent, and leave a Blessing behind him?* He says that the turning of God consists in the remission of Sins, which he grants to those who are converted; and that when it is said, That he leaves the Blessing behind him, the meaning is, to those who follow him:



## St. BRUNO and GUIGUE,

## Priors of the Carthusian Monastery at Grenoble.

**S**T. Bruno, Founder of the Carthusian Order, was born in the City of *Colen*, and his Parents, tho' of mean Condition, took care that he should apply himself to study; in which he soon made a considerable Progress, and attained to much skill both in Divinity and Humane Learning: After having officiated for some time in Quality of Canon of St. *Cunebert* at *Colen*, he was invited to *Rheims*, made Canon and Scholastic Divine or Prebend of that Church, and nominated publick Professor of Divinity. He had some Contests with *Manasses* his Metropolitan whose Irregularities he could not endure, and was one of his Accusers. Whereupon he was oblig'd to leave the City of *Rheims*, and took a resolution to retire entirely from worldly Business. He had for his Assistants in carrying on that Design, *Lauduin*, two Canons of St. *Rufus*, both nam'd *Stephen*, one of *Burgos* and the other of *Die*; *Hugh* whom they call'd their Chaplain, because he was the only Priest among them, and two Lay-men nam'd *Andrew* and *Guarin*. These seven Persons, who were excited by an earnest desire to promote their own Salvation, seeking for a place convenient to lead a solitary Life, separated from all manner of Commerce with other Men, went to *Grenoble*, and made Application to *Hugh* Bishop of that City, a Prelate of great Sanctity, who receiv'd them with all the Marks of Charity, that they could wish for, and appointed the solitude of *La Chartreuse* for their Habitation, where they settled, A. D. 1056. St. Bruno, who was the most able Divine among them, was chosen their first Prior; but he was sent for to *Italy*, in 1090. by Pope *Urban* II. and retir'd with his Permission to a solitude of *Calabria*, call'd *La Torre*, where he died October 6. 1101. *Lauduin* succeeded him in the Priory of *La Grand Chartreuse*, and one *Peter* suppl'd his Place; after whom *John* was promoted to that Dignity, whose successor was *Guigue de Castre* a Native of *Valence* in *Dauphine* the fifth Prior of that famous Monastery, who committed the Statutes of the Order to Writing, and govern'd it during 27 Years, that is to say, from A. D. 1110 to 1137.

The Works of Bruno Bishop of *Segni*, are commonly attributed to this St. Bruno, and among those that bear his Name, printed at *Colen* in 1611. and publish'd by *Theodore de Camp* a Carthusian Monk of that City; there are only two Letters that really belong to St. Bruno which were written concerning his solitude in *Calabria*; one of them being directed to *Radulphe le Verd*, Provost of the

Church of *Rheims*, whom he exhorts to retire from the World, and the other to his Monks of *La Chartreuse*.

*Guigue* in the like manner compos'd divers Works, besides the Statutes of his Order, lately printed in the first Tome of the Annals of the Carthusian Monks, viz. the Life of St. *Hugh* Bishop of *Grenoble*, referr'd to by *Surin* in April 1. Certain Meditations, or rather Moral Notions, printed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*: A Treatise of the contemplative Life, or the Ladder of the Cloister; or of the four Exercises of the Monastick Cell, which are annexed to St. *Bernard's* Works: A Treatise of Truth and Peace, a Manuscript Copy which is kept in the Library of the Carthusians at *Colen*; And divers Letters, four of which are still extant, and were set forth by Father *Mabillon*, in the second Tome of St. *Bernard's* Works.

The first is directed to *Haimeric* Chancellor of the Church of *Rome*; in which he inveighs against the Pride and Luxury of the Clergymen of his time, especially those of the Church of *Rome*; and asserts, that recourse ought not to be had to Arms or to the Secular Power, to maintain the Interest of the Church, or to augment its Grandeur.

In the second, written to *Hugh* Prior of the Knights Templars, he declares, That he does not exhort him to make War with the visible Enemies of the Church, but to oppose its invisible Enemies, and that he would advise him to subdue Vice, rather than to attack the Infidels.

In the third, he comforts Pope *Innocent* II. and exhorts him, not to be surpriz'd at the Efforts made against him by the Schismatics; avouching at the same time, that there can be but one Pope, and that the whole World ought, in a manner, to be look'd upon as his Diocess.

In the last, he writes to the Monks of the Carthusian Convent at *Durbon* near *Marseilles*, that he had caus'd a Collection to be made of St. *Jerom's* Letters, and had corrected a great Number of Faults which had crept into them; declaring also, that he retrench'd from that Collection those Letters, which the meanness of the Style, or the difference of the Conceptions, made it appear to be unworthy of that great Man. He likewise makes a Catalogue of the latter, and pass's a very judicious Censure upon them; which shews that Solitude and the Practice of Piety, do not hinder a Man from applying himself to Study, and that the Art of Critique is not incompatible with Morality and Spiritual Exercises.

## St. NORBERT.

**S**T. Norbert, a Native of *Santen*, a Village of the Country of *Cleves*; the Son of *Herbert* and *Hatwiga*, was educated in the Palace of *Frederick* Archbishop of *Colen*, and afterwards brought to the Court of the Emperor *Henry* V. He was admitted among the Clergy, and receiv'd the Orders of a Deacon and Priest on the same Day. He was made a Canon in his native Country, and enjoy'd divers other Spiritual Livings: But being afterwards transported with an extraordinary Zeal, he addic'ted himself to Preaching, with the Permission of Pope *Gelasus* II. and having quitted his Benefices, and distributed his whole Estate to the Poor, he embrac'd a more regular Life. He converted by his Preaching, many Hereticks and a great Number of Sinners. Upon his Arrival at *Laon*, being entreated by *Bartholomew* Bishop of that City, not to leave his Diocess,

he was prevail'd upon, by the request of that Prelate, and chose for the Place of his Abode, a dismal Solitude call'd *Premontre*, where he retir'd A. D. 1120. and there founded the Order of Regular Canons which bears that Name, and which was confirm'd five Years after, by Pope *Innocent* II. in 1126. Some time after, St. Norbert was sent for to *Antwerp* to confute *Tanchelin* or *Tanchelm*, accus'd of Heresie, and was constrain'd the next Year to accept of the Archbishoprick of *Magdeburg*. He assisted in the Council held at *Rheims*, A. D. 1131. in favour of *Innocent* II. took a Journey to *Rome*, when that Pope was re-establish'd by the Emperor *Lotharius*, and died in 1134. There is only extant a small moral Discourse written by him in form of an Exhortation, and directed to the Monks of his Order.

## STEPHEN HARDING Abbot of Cisteaux.

**R**obert, Abbot of *Molesme*, who first founded the Monastery of *Cisteaux*, A. D. 1098. with 21 Monks of his Abby, whom he brought into that Solitude, had not long the Government of it; for the next Year, he was oblig'd by the Pope's special Order, to return to his own Monastery. *Alberic*, who succeeded him, and govern'd *Cisteaux* during nine Years and a half, gave no other Rule to his Monks but his Ex-

ample. Afterwards *Stephen Harding* descended of a noble Family in *England*, one of the 21 Monks who came from *Molesme* with *Robert*, being chose Abbot of *Cisteaux*, apply'd himself to the compleating of that Order, and may justly be reputed the Founder of it: For he was the first that held general Chapters of the Convents of the *Cistercian* Monks, and made a kind of Rule, which was common to all those Monasteries. He call'd it the *Charter of Charity*,



Of the  
principal  
Authors.

Charity, and publish'd it in 1119. It was approv'd by Pope Calixtus II. It is divided into thirty Chapters, which contain the particular Rules to be observ'd by those Monks, and is compriz'd in the *Monologia Ordinis Cisterciensis*, printed at *Antwerp* in 1635. and in the *Annals* of the same Order, printed at *Lyons* in 1642. There are also extant

in the *Bibliotheca Cisterciensis*, a Treatise call'd, *The small Beginning of the Cistercian Order*: A Sermon on the Death of the of *Alberic*: And a Discourse made to St. Bernard, when principal he receiv'd the Monastick Habit, which bear the Name of that Abbot of *Cisteaux*.

## BRUNO Bishop of Segni.

Bruno.

**B**runo of *Asi*, Canon of the Cathedral Church of that City, and afterwards of that of *Sienna*, went to *Rome* in the Time of Pope Gregory VII. in whose Presence he disputed against *Berengarius*, and by way of Recompence, was made Bishop of *Segni*. He retir'd to Mount *Cassin* under *Paschal II.* who was offended at his Retreat, and drew him out of that Monastery, to send him in Quality of his Legate into *France* and *Sicily*. He govern'd the Abby of Mount *Cassin* for some Time, but afterwards return'd to his Bishoprick, and died there, A. D. 1123.

The Works of this Author were publish'd by *Maurus Marchesius*, a Monk of Mount *Cassin*, who caus'd them to be printed in two Tomes at *Venice* in 1651.

The first contains his Commentaries on the Pentateuch, on the Books of *Job*, *Psalms* and *Canticles*, and on the *Revelation* of St. *John*; in which he adheres more to the Moral, than to the other Senses of the Text.

In the second, are compris'd forty five Sermons on the Gospels of the whole Year, the greatest Part of which were printed under the Name of *Eusebius* of *Emisa* and St. *Eucherius*: A Treatise on the Song of *Zachariah*: Another of the Incarnation and Burial of Jesus Christ, in which he enquires how long our Saviour continued in the Sepulchre: A Tract to prove the Use of unleaven'd Bread

against the *Greeks*: An Explication of certain Ceremonies of the Church: The Life of Pope *Leo IX.* A Treatise about the Corruption of the Age, proceeding, as he says, from Simoniacal Practices; in which he discourses of the Invalidity of Ordinations made by Simonists, and of those of Persons guilty of that Crime: The Life of St. *Peter* of *Anagnia*: Two Letters, viz. One directed to the Bishop of *Porto*, and the other to Pope *Paschal*: Six Books of Sentences or Moral Discourses on divers Subjects, which some have attributed to St. Bruno Founder of the *Carthusian* Order, and which *Marchesius* restor'd to Bruno of *Segni* upon the Credit of *Petrus Diaconus*, by reason of the Conformity of the Style, and in regard that the Author of these Discourses makes it appear, that he observ'd St. *Benedict's* Rule, and that he wrote on the *Apocalypse*.

To these Works are annexed a Commentary on the Book of *Psalms*, by *Odo* a *Benedictin* Monk of *Asi*, dedicated to Bruno of *Segni*.

The Treatise of the Sacraments or Rights of the Church, by Bruno Bishop of *Segni*, was published by Father *Luke Dachery*, in the twelfth Tome of the *Spicilegium*, as a new Piece, although it was printed in the *Venice* Edition.

Bruno.

## MARBODUS Bishop of Rennes.

Marbodus.

**M**arbodus, flourish'd at *Angers* in the End of the preceding Century in Quality of Canon, Archdeacon and principal Master of the Schools of that Church. Afterwards he was nominated for the Bishoprick of *Rennes* by Pope *Urban II.* was ordain'd in the Council of *Tours*, A. D. 1096. and govern'd that Church during twenty eight Years. When he perceiv'd himself to draw near his End, he left his Bishoprick, and retir'd to the Monastery of St. *Aubin* at *Angers*, where he assum'd the Habit of St. *Benedict*, and died in the Beginning of the Month of *September* A. D. 1123. *Sigebert* assures us that he wrote a Commentary on the Book of *Canticles*, but it is no longer extant.

*Marbodus* compos'd divers Poetical Works printed at *Rennes*, in 1524. in which Edition are to be found certain Hymns on *Mary Magdalen*: Three Prayers to God: One to the Virgin *Mary*: Several Epigrams and Letters in Verse: Divers moral Poems: A Piece on the casting away of *Yenus*: Another on the Martyrdom of the *Maccabees*: The Passions of divers Martyrs in Verse: The Life of St. *Maurillius* of *Angers* in Verse: Sixty Poetical Pieces on the precious Stones, and on other Subjects: Ten other Poetical Pieces on the following Subjects, viz. on the Manner of Writing; on Time; on Eternity; against leud Women; in Commendation of vertuous Women, on old Age; against those who imagine that the Stars have any Influence over the Bodies of Men; against Voluptuousness; on true Friendship, and on the Advantages of Death and of the Resurrection.

These Poems are follow'd by six Letters, in the first of which directed to *Renand* Bishop of *Angers*, *Marbodus* complains, That that Prelate after having persecuted and traduc'd him, publicly condemn'd him, for writing to the Pope, that the Disturbances rais'd by the Bishop of *Angers* hinder'd him from going to *Rome*. He upbraids him with the Services he did him, in causing him to be chosen Bishop, and the Assistance he gave him in expediting his Journey to *Rome*, to get his Election confirmed; that in stead of a grateful Acknowledgment of that Kindness, he was no sooner return'd from *Rome*, but he depriv'd him of those Favours and Privileges, which were granted to him by his Predecessors, without so much as allowing him six Months Respit, to make an honourable Retreat; and, that after having made Complaint of his being treated so unworthily, the Bishop of *Angers* cited him to *Rome*, knowing that he was not in a Condition to go thither; obtain'd Power to condemn him, and actually pronounc'd Sentence against him under colour, that he had receiv'd Induction into two Churches. After having

thus sinartly reprehended *Renand*, he advises him to moderate his Anger; not to be too far transported with the Heat of his Youth; to have a greater Respect for his Elders; and to take Care lest his irregular Conduct should verifie the Report given out by some Persons, viz. that Prosperity and the high Station to which he aspir'd, had sufficiently discover'd the Corruption of his Manners. *Marbodus* adds, that he does not give him this Admonition to the end that he might be more favourable to him; but lest he should abuse his Authority in treating others after the same Manner.

The second Letter is directed to *Robert d' Arbrisselles*, whom he reproves, as *Geffrey* of *Vendome* had done, for keeping too familiar a Correspondence with Women, and for suffering Men and Women to cohabit together. He represents to him the Danger of that intimate Converse, and the Scandal that it might occasion. He likewise blames him for wearing a torn Garment, as not being suitable to the Profession of a Regular Canon, which he imbrac'd at first, or to the Sacerdotal Dignity, to which he was afterwards advanced. He accuses him of affecting singularity in that particular, and advises him to resume the Habit of a Regular Canon, and to return to his former Course of Life. But he is much more offended at him for taking upon him to reprove the Vices of absent Clergymen in his Sermons, and for inveighing against certain Orders and Persons of great Eminency: He affirms, that that serves only to bring Superiors into Contempt, to subvert the Order of the Church, and even to induce many to believe, that his Design in declaiming against others, was only to gain popular Applause. He declares at the same Time, that altho' he had a better Opinion of him, yet it cannot be deny'd that his Preaching has the same Effect, and that many of his Hearers abandon their Curates, and refuse to receive the Sacraments from them, or to pay them Tithes; whereas they run after him incessantly, being excited by Curiosity and an Inclination to Novelty rather than a true principle of Piety; since it does not appear, that there is any Manner of Reformation in their Lives and Conversations: Lastly, he rebukes him, for giving the Monastick Habit, to all those who being mov'd by his Sermons, were desirous to receive it, without making any Trial of their Integrity and Constancy, as also in regard that he took no Care, that they should be thoroughly converted, provided the number of his Followers were encreas'd: That after they had once given in their Names, he took no farther Cognizance of their Affairs, but left them at liberty to act as they thought fit: That some of them met together, and ran about the Towns

Marbodus.



and Countries, cloathed with Habits of several Colours, wearing long Beards, and walking bare-footed: And that when they were ask'd who they were, they made Answer, That they belong'd to their Master. Our Author is unwilling to impute to him the Extravagances committed by those People, but observes it to be a Matter of dangerous Consequence, that they should thus make use of his Authority for a Cloke to their Folly, and call themselves his Disciples.

As for the Nuns which *Robert d' Arbriffelles* in like Manner caus'd to be shut up in Cells; without any Probation, he says, that some of them broke thro' the Passages to make their Escape, and that others were brought to Bed in their Apartments, which would not have happen'd, continues he, if the Prudence of the Governor, had made a Trial of their Strength. He concludes with remonstrating to him, that he was censur'd for quitting the Canonical Life which he had imbrac'd, and for leaving the Monastery, where he had made a Vow of Constancy, and where he was constituted Superior of his Collegues, to lead an extraordinary Kind of Life, and to take upon him the Government of a Nunnery. Therefore *Marbodus* demands of him a satisfactory Answer, as to those particular Articles, otherwise he declares that he should have very good Reason to doubt of his Salvation. 'Tis probable, that *Robert d' Arbriffelles* clear'd himself from these Imputations that were laid upon him, even to our Author's Satisfaction; but there is no likelihood, that this Letter was forged, as Father *Mabillon* has asserted. In a certain Manuscript of the Abby of St. *Victor*, it is attributed to *Hildebert* Archbishop of *Tours*, nevertheless the Style comes nearer to *Marbodus's* Manner of Expression than to that of the former.

In the third Letter, he reproves a certain Hermit nam'd *Ingilquier*, and those of his Congregation for their indiscreet Zeal against unworthy Priests, with which they were transported too far; inasmuch that they not only refus'd to assist at their Oblations, but also forbid the Laicks to receive the Sacraments from their Hands. He shews by many Passages of St. *Augustine*, that the Sacraments may be duly administer'd by unworthy Priests, and that they

ought not to be depos'd by reason of the Unworthiness of those who administer them. The Hermit having return'd for Answer, that he did by no means recede from the Doctrine of the Church relating to the Validity of the Sacraments administer'd by unworthy Priests, but that he was perswaded that Hereticks ought to be shun'd, and that Priests guilty of Fornication ought to be depos'd; *Marbodus* replies in his fourth Letter, that he is of his Opinion, but that he conceives that it does not belong to every one to try or condemn them, and that it ought only to be done according to the Rules of the Church. Therefore he advises those Hermits, to reprehend such Offenders with Gentleness; to pray for them; and to accuse them (if they shall think fit) before competent Judges who have a Right to bring them to their Trial; to the end that they may be depos'd if they be convicted, or confess their Crime.

The fifth is a Request that he makes to *Vitalis*, the Founder of a Nunnery, to receive a certain poor Orphan, who altho' she was well instructed in Matters of Religion, yet could have no Hopes of being admitted into the old Monasteries, where, by an ill Custom, that was then too common, Money was prefer'd before Learning and Piety.

The last Letter is directed to a Nun nam'd *Agenoride*, to whom he gives a great deal of wholesome Advice, for her Instruction in the Christian Course of Life and religious Exercises.

These are all the Works that are contain'd in the old Edition of *Marbodus*, which is become very scarce. His Copies of Verses are not very elegant, nor of a very Poetical Strain, but comprise many judicious and solid Notions. His Letters are accurately written, and full of good Maxims and Passages of the Holy Scripture and the Fathers, admirably well apply'd. The Monks of St. *Aubin* at *Angers*, wrote a Circular Letter, to give Notice of his Death, according to the Custom of the Order of St. *Benedict*, in which they celebrate his Praise, and *Ulger* Bishop of *Angers* likewise wrote a Copy of Verses in his Commendation. These two Monuments are prefix'd to *Marbodus's* Works.

## ARNULPHUS Bishop of Lisieux.

**A**rnoul or Arnulphus, Bishop of *Lisieux*, Archdeacon of *Seez*, was install'd in the Bishoprick of *Lisieux*, A. D. 1141. and in 1147. accompany'd *Lewis* surnam'd the Young. King of *France*, in his Expedition to the Holy Land. In 1160 he was sent into *England* by Pope *Alexander III.* in Quality of his Legate, and afterwards employ'd in the Negotiations between King *Henry II.* and *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; but having too obstinately taken part with the latter, he incur'd the King's Displeasure, and was oblig'd to retire in 1180. to the Monastery of St. *Victor* near *Paris*, where he died August 11. A. D. 1182.

This *Arnulphus* made a Collection of his own Letters at the Request of *Gilles* Archbishop of *Rome*, to whom he dedicates them by his first Letter. These are written in a fine Style, being full of ingenious Notions and moral Sentences, which render them both useful and delightful. There are many that contain only Compliments, or relate to certain private Concerns; but there are others about Ecclesiastical Affairs, comprehending divers Points of Discipline, particularly, those directed to Pope *Adrian IV.* in the first of which, this Bishop recommends to him the doing Justice to a certain Person, who had recourse to the See of *Rome*, to get Satisfaction for the ill Treatment he had receiv'd in his own Country, where he could not obtain any Relief of his Diocesan. *Arnulphus* observes in that Letter, that People began not to have the same Respect for the Holy See as formerly, and that those who appeal'd to it, were so far from getting their Grievances redress'd, that they were more injuriously treated than before, which beset him in whose Favour he wrote, who had no sooner enter'd an Appeal, but he was put in Prison; neither could he procure his Liberty, but by paying a Sum of Money to his Persecutor, and by submitting to the Bishop's Sentence. Therefore he exhorts the Pope to revenge the Indignity, by reason that if they were suffer'd thus to elude the Decisions of the Holy See, its Protection would become altogether unprofitable.

In another Letter directed to the same Pope, he entreats him to send back the Bishop of *Baieux*, whose Presence was much wanted in his Diocese, where he had done a great deal of good.

He wrote again to that Pope, about the Contests that arose between the Abbot and the Monks of *Jumièges*. Those Monks had accus'd their Abbot of many Crimes, and more especially of Incontinency, and divers Witnes-

ses had made Depositions against him, but they gave their Testimony about different Matters of Fact, so that there was not any compleat positive Proof against him, because every Fact was prov'd only by one single Witness. Whereupon *Arnulphus* admitted him to clear himself by his own Oath, and by that of three Abbots and three Monks of known Probity. The Monks appeal'd from his Court to the See of *Rome*, and demanded Letters of Reference, which he calls *Apostolos* (this is the first Time I met with this Term in that Signification.) He acquaints Pope *Adrian*, that he had granted their Request, and that in the mean while, he order'd both Parties to do nothing, that might tend to the Prejudice of the Appeal.

He likewise wrote to the Abbot of St. *Evron*, that he was oblig'd to discharge the Debts that were actually contracted by his Predecessors, and threatens to suspend him, unless he gives Satisfaction to his Creditors before *Whitsuntide*. He enjoins that Abbot by another Letter, under Pain of Suspension, to re-admit a certain Monk, whom he had turn'd out of his Monastery, without hearing what he alledg'd in his own Defence.

In another Letter to *William* Bishop of *Mans*, he desires him to appoint another Place in stead of *Poitiers*, for the Trial of the Treasurer of *Rouen*; because he would be oblig'd to take a much longer Journey thither, than his Adversary, who was nearer that City.

*Arnulphus* being at Variance with a certain Lord, who refus'd to acknowledge his Jurisdiction, it was order'd by the Legates of the See of *Rome*, That the said Lord should restore what he had taken from him; that he should cause Satisfaction to be made by those of his Vassals, who were excommunicated; that he should make a due Presentation of a Priest to govern that Church and People, under his Authority, as belonging to his Diocese. The Nobleman offer'd *Arnulphus* to present a Priest to him by the Hands of *Hugh* Archbishop of *Rouen*; but *Arnulphus* reply'd to that Archbishop, who made him the Proposal, That if Matters were so order'd, it might be taken for granted, that the Possession of that Place was not adjudg'd to him, but only resign'd by way of Sequestration, which would be prejudicial to his Right, when the Claim should come to be debated: Besides that 'twas not sufficient to present a Priest to him, but that 'twas requisite that every Thing which was ordain'd, should be effectually put in Execution: Lastly, as for the rest, that if they were willing to come to such an Agreement, as would entirely put an End to the Difference, he would readily take



take such Measures, as should be judg'd most expedient; but that 'twas not reasonable, for him to supply his Adversary with Arms, who was preparing with all his might for the Encounter.

The Schism that happen'd in the Church of *Rome* after the Death of Pope *Adrian IV.* between *Alexander III.* and *Octavian*, gave Occasion to *Arnulphus* to write many Letters; the first of which is directed to *Alexander III.* to congratulate his Election. He assures him in that Letter, That God, who never abandons his Church, altho' he suffers it to be sometimes persecuted; would give him the Victory over his Enemies, and put him in the peaceable Possession of the Holy See, as he had done Pope *Innocent*, altho' he had a more formidable and a more potent Antagonist than *Octavian*: He expresses the great Joy he had at his Promotion, and gives him to understand, that he had taken Care to prepossess the King his Master (meaning *Henry II.* King of *England*) with respect to that Affair, and to make him sensible of the Validity of his Election, and of the Deficiency of that of his Adversary; That upon his Testimony that Prince had declar'd for him, and had promis'd with a great deal of Satisfaction, that he would not acknowledge any other Pope; That having afterwards receiv'd a Letter from the Emperor, who entreated him to defer the declaring in his Favour, he had superseded the publishing of his Declaration; but that he still persisted in his former Resolution, and that whatever Course the Emperor might take, he would not follow him, if he did not find it expedient.

Pope *Alexander* reply'd to *Arnulphus*, That he was very sensible of the Affection that he express'd towards him in his Letter; that he had caus'd it to be read publicly as a Proof of the Sincerity of his Intentions and of his Eloquence; that he was not ignorant by what Means an End was put to the Schism which arose in the Time of Pope *Innocent*; that he hop'd that thro' the divine Assistance, the Storm which at present disturb'd the Tranquility of the Church of *Rome*, would ere long be dispers'd; that he gave Thanks to God, that King *Henry* continu'd strenuously to maintain the Unity of the Church; that he entreated him to use his best Interests with his Majesty to hinder the frequent Sollicitations of the Emperor from obliging him to alter his Mind; and that to that Purpose he thought fit to nominate him his Nuncio in the Court of that Prince, with Authority over the Bishops of his Dominions. He acquaints him, That the Emperor *Frederick* never ceas'd, since his Accession to the Imperial Crown, to persecute and oppress the Church of *Rome*; that in *Adrian's* Life-time he caus'd the Prelates, who were returning from *Rome*, to be taken Prisoners; that he misus'd the Legates of the Holy See; that he seiz'd on the Revenues belonging to the Church of *Rome*; and that he us'd his utmost Efforts to expel *Adrian*, and to cause *Octavian* to be made Pope in his stead: That what he was not able to put in Execution, whilst that Pope was yet living, he endeavour'd to compass, after his Death, by favouring the Intrusion of that Man, who attempted to get Possession of the Holy See, and whose Usurpation was abetted only by three Prelates, to the Prejudice of the Canonical Election of himself, which was carry'd on by the others in due Form: That to maintain it, he call'd an Assembly of the Prelates at *Pavia*, and that *Octavian* resign'd the Marks of the Papal Dignity in his Presence: That the Emperor afterwards restor'd 'em to him, invest'd him with the Pontifical Habits and Ornaments, particularly with the Ring and Crosier-staff, and by Force constrain'd the Bishops of that Council to own him as Pope. Lastly, he further informs *Arnulphus*, that he had actually excommunicated *Frederick* and his Adherents.

*Arnulphus* having receiv'd this Letter, wrote one to the Archbishops and Bishops of *England*, to make 'em sensible of the Justice of *Alexander's* Cause. He says, That if the Persons of the two Competitors be compar'd, it will appear, that *Alexander* is endu'd with all the Accomplishments of Learning and Vertue, that can be wish'd for in a Prelate; whereas his Adversary has no other personal Merits to recommend him but his Quality; and if the two Elections be duely examin'd, one may be soon convinc'd, that that of *Alexander* is regular, solemn and reasonable, and that that of the other, on the contrary, is rash and altogether unreasonable. 'For can it be affirm'd (says he) that an Election manag'd by a single Bishop and two Cardinals, ought to be set up in opposition to the Authority of the whole Church? Or that a precarious Consecration made by a few private Persons, ought to be prefer'd to that which was perform'd with the requisite Solemnities, and with the general Approbation of all the People? Can *Octavian's* Proceedings be justify'd, who assum'd the Pontifical Habits, who by an unheard of Rashness plac'd himself in *St. Peter's* Chair, and seiz'd on the Palace, whilst *Alexander* chosen with an unanimous Consent refus'd, thro' Humility and Mo-

desty, to accept of that Dignity? Or can the Violence that *Octavian* afterwards offer'd, in besieging *Alexander* and his Electors with armed Men give him any Manner of Right or Title? Or could he under that Pretence averr, that he was in Possession of the Holy See nine Days before *Alexander*? Indeed the latter was chosen by the Senate, and conducted to the Wardrobe, where the Pontifical Habits were kept: He was also ordain'd by the Bishop of *Ostia*, to whom the Right of consecrating the Popes legally belongs; he was acknowledg'd by the Legates, who resided in different Countries; and the whole Church would have continu'd in Peace; if his Adversary had not fled for Refuge to the Emperor, whom he knew to be ready to afford him his Assistance.' He adds, That that Prince was glad to meet with so fair an Opportunity, which he sought for after the Example of his Predecessors, who had long ago form'd a Design to bring the Church of *Rome* under Subjection to their Dominion; and upon that account favour'd the Schismatics, and excited Divisions in that City: That *Octavian* had absolutely made him the Master of his Fortune; that he laid the Marks of the Pontifical Dignity at his Feet; and that he afterwards receiv'd from him the Investiture of the Church of *Rome*, by the Ring and Staff, causing the Imperial secular Power to triumph over the Priesthood: That the Emperor call'd a Council to confirm that Choice, and compell'd the Bishops by Force to sign a Writing, by which they own'd *Octavian* as lawful Pope: That that Writing was full of manifest Untruths, and that the Bishops could not by their definitive Sentence render an Election valid, that was null in its Original: Besides that the *Gallician* Church which always had the good Fortune to maintain Justice and Truth, and to afford a Sanctuary to the Popes when persecuted by the German Princes, after having examin'd the Elections of *Alexander* and *Octavian* in a Council call'd by the King's Order, for that Purpose, had determin'd in Favour of the former; but that the King had prudently defer'd the Publication of that Resolution, by reason of the Union between him and the King of *England*, to the end that they might act jointly together: That the latter had in like manner sufficiently declar'd on *Alexander's* Behalf, in regard that he receiv'd his Letters, and more especially protested, that he would not own any other Pope, having also reject'd those of *Octavian*. In the mean while, he admonish'd them to take care that Injustice might not prevail over the Truth, through the sinister Practices of some *English* Noblemen, who gave it out, that they were related to *Octavian*; and exhorted them, whenever they met together, strenuously to maintain the Truth without Fear of offending those Opponents.

In another Letter written to the Cardinals, he gives a particular Account of divers remarkable Circumstances of the Elections of *Alexander* and *Octavian*, viz: That the Bishop of *Frescati*, who was the first of the three Electors of the latter, being a voluptuous Man, took great Delight in Feasting, and soon retir'd from the Conclave because Dinner-time drew near: That one of the two others took it ill, that he was deny'd the Office of Chancellor, and that the third was *Octavian's* Kinsman: That as soon as those three had given their Votes for him, he himself took the Cope, and threw it over his Shoulders with so great Precipitation, that that Part which ought to lie on the Neck, fell to the Ground; that he got upon the Papal Throne in that Equipage; and that having caus'd the Doors of the Church to be set open, it was immediately fill'd with his Guards, who conducted him to the Palace: That the King of *France* call'd an Assembly of the Estates of the Realm, as well of the Clergy as of the Nobility, to determine which of the two Elections ought to be ratify'd: That some were of Opinion, that nothing should be done in a hurry about an Affair of that Importance, and that it ought to be deferr'd for some time longer, because it was dangerous to excite a Mis-understanding between the King and the Emperor upon that Account: That they also added, that the Church of *Rome* was always burdensome to Princes; that 'twas requisite to shake off the Yoke, since so fair an Occasion offer'd it self to that Purpose; that the Death of the two Competitors would put an End to the Contest; and that the Government of the Bishops might be sufficient; till God should more clearly make known his Will: Lastly, that the Respect due to the Emperor's Ambassadors, who were present, and to the King of *England*, whose Sentiments the King of *France* declar'd himself ready to follow, caus'd those Measures to be taken in the Assembly. *Arnulphus*, in the End of this Letter, advises the Cardinals not to exasperate the King of *England* by their Threats, but to pacify him, since the Obedience of the Kingdoms of *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Ireland* and *Norway* depended on his Declaration.



Although *Arnulphus* had done such notable Services to *Alexander III.* nevertheless that Pope, upon the Accusations brought against him by *Sylvester*, Treasurer of his Church, and by *John*, Nephew to the Bishop of *Seez*, did not forbear to nominate the Bishops of *Mans* and *Auranches* Commissioners, to take Cognizance of that Cause. *Arnulphus* appear'd before them, and *William* Bishop of *Paris* and Cardinal, was present at the Trial. The Treasurer own'd before the Judges, the Falshood of the Complaints that he had made against his Diocefan, and promis'd that he would not renew them for the future. *John* still maintain'd what he had averr'd, but the Sentence not being favourable to him, he appeal'd from that Court to the See of *Rome*, although the Pope gave Commission to the two Bishops to pass Judgment without any Appeal. However *Arnulphus*, who upon that Account might have exempted himself from going to *Rome*, and might have refus'd to suffer his Cause to be tried again there, after having inform'd the Pope of the Manner of the Proceedings, assur'd his Holiness, that he would repair to *Rome*, as soon as it was possible, and entreated him to detain *John* till he arriv'd, to shew how that Person and the Bishop of *Seez* his Uncle, have committed a Trespass against the Church and the Holy See.

He explains this in the following Letter directed to *Alexander*. One of his Relations was sometime Bishop of *Seez*, who substituted Regular Canons in that Church in the room of Secular. This Reformation was approv'd by the Popes *Honorius II.* *Eugenius III.* and *Adrian III.* and by *Henry II.* King of *England*, who made them a Donation. These Canons were to have all their Goods in Common, according to their original Institution, and the Bishops his Successors were likewise oblig'd, before they were install'd, to maintain that Settlement. The Bishop then incumbent, design'd to ruine it, or at least to obtain a License of the Pope, to confer the Archdeaconries on Laymen, that he might have wherewithal to bestow on his Nephews and Relations. *Arnulphus* sent Word to the Pope, That that Bishop palliated his carnal Affections with the Pretence of Piety; giving it out, That there was not any Person in that Diocess, capable of performing those Functions; as if the Simplicity of the Canons were not to be preferr'd to the worldly Wisdom of others; or in case there were none to be found at *Seez*, worthy of possessing those Benefices, some might not be taken out of the Church of *St. Victor* and *St. Rufus*. He adds, that having been Archdeacon of *Seez*, and educated in that Church, he thought himself oblig'd to maintain its Rights and Privileges, and that for that Reason, he judg'd it expedient to certify his Holiness thereof by a Letter.

Notwithstanding this Information, the Pope granted to the Bishop of *Seez* a License to secularize his Archdeaconry; but *Arnulphus* wrote a very smart Letter to him on that Subject, in which he remonstrates, That he had no Authority thus to abolish an Institution made by his Predecessors, under colour that they could not impose Laws on their Successors: He maintains, that that Maxim is false, and that it tends to the Ruin of all the Establishments of the Saints: That the Privileges of the Popes of *Rome*, are as it were Testaments, which are not made void, but rather confirm'd by the Death of the Testators: That 'tis true indeed, that the Errors of Predecessors may be corrected by their Successors, and that the latter may make some Alteration for the better in the Sanctions of the others, when 'tis requisite for the publick Advantage, and when it may be done without any Detriment to Religion: That for that very Reason, Secular Canons may be chang'd into Regular, because the Order of the latter is more perfect; but a more strict Institution cannot be chang'd into one less perfect; by which means Remissions in Discipline would be authoriz'd: And lastly, that there are some Persons so prodigal of Dispensations, that they retain nothing as an unalterable Law, and sacrifice every Thing to the Interests and inordinate Passions of private Men. He reproves the Pope for not shewing sufficient Constancy in maintaining the Rights of the Church; and gives him to understand, that he had scandaliz'd it by revoking the Sentence of Excommunication, denounc'd by his Predecessors against Laicks who shall attempt to get themselves admitted into the Chapter of *Seez*; by adjudging to a Layman all the Revenues of the Archdeaconry that the Regular Canons enjoy'd in Common, and part of which they distributed to the Poor; and by permitting a Man, adorn'd with gorgeous Apparel to take Place amongst the Canons cloath'd in Sackcloth. He adds, That 'tis further to be fear'd, lest the Archdeaconry should be left vacant, by reason that it is already appointed for another young Nephew, when he shall be of Age: That in the mean while, the Bishop has turn'd out the Prior of the Canons, and substituted a Person of no Re-

pute in his Place, to the end that he might make himself Master of the Church-Revenues. Therefore he exhorts the Pope to revoke what was extorted from him by Surprise, in order to re-establish the Rule in that Chapter, and to put an End to the Complaints and Murmurings occasion'd by that Innovation.

The four following Letters are directed to the same Pope, and contain an Account of particular Affairs. In the last he acquaints him, That the King of *England* was dissatisfied with his Holiness, because he deny'd him those Favours he sh'd for at *Rome*.

He congratulates in another, *Gilbert* Bishop of *London*, in regard that the Pope had ordain'd, that his Cause should be decided without an Appeal, and observes that Appeals to *Rome* often put false Accusers in a Capacity to oppress innocent Persons, and give them an Opportunity to avoid the Punishment due to their Crimes.

In another Letter, he reproves a certain Abbot for leaving his Monastery to solicit Law-suits at Court, and enjoins him to return thither.

In a Letter that he wrote to *Henry* Cardinal Bishop of *Pisa*, sending him the Works of *Ennodius*; he passes a very disadvantageous Judgment on that Author.

In his Letter to the Bishop of *Angouleme*, he determines that the Engagements that a certain Child was under, whom his Uncle had bound to a Clerk, upon Payment of a Sum of Money, ought not to be ratify'd, and that that Bishop cannot suffer the said Child to be detain'd by him.

In a Letter written to *Arnold* Abbot of *Bonneval*, he treats of the Usefulness of the Sacrifice of the Mass. 'Nothing, says he, can be offer'd up more precious than Jesus Christ; nothing more efficacious than this Sacrifice; nothing more advantageous both to him who offers it, and to him for whom 'tis offer'd, if the Unworthiness of the Persons doth not render it unprofitable: 'Tis requisite that he who offers it have pure Hands, and that he, for whom it is offer'd, should know the Value of it by Faith; that he should earnestly desire it; and that he should embrace it with a perfect Charity. Oh, how great is this Benefit, which is sufficient for the Person who receives it, and for him that administers it! For how extensive soever the Priest's Charity may be towards certain Persons, this Sacrifice remains altogether entire for every one in particular. It is communicated to many, so as its Efficacy is not diminish'd, with respect to every Individual; and altho' different Persons partake of it, yet it does not suffer any Division. *Quoscunque enim Sacerdos effusa charitatis latitudine complectatur, totum simul omnium, totum uniuscujusque est Significatum, nec integritatem dividit communicatio plurium, nec soliditatem minuit participatio diversorum.*

He has also inserted amongst his Letters, a Discourse that he made in the Council of *Tours*, A. D. 1163. in the Presence, and by the Order of Pope *Alexander III.* In the Beginning of it he says, That there are three Qualities requisite in a Preacher, viz. Sanctity of Life, to procure Respect for what he delivers; a perfect Knowledge, to be capable of teaching the necessary Truths; and Eloquence to cause them to be approv'd, to the end that his Sermons may be holy, learned and sublime. In the Body of this Sermon, he treats of the Unity and Liberty of the Church, shewing that those two Qualities are necessary therein, and that the Ministers ought to use their utmost Endeavours to maintain them, more especially at a Time when both are attack'd; that is to say, the former by the Ambition of Schismatics, and the other by the Oppression of Tyrants: That nevertheless, 'tis impossible that either should compass their Design: For although the former separate themselves from the Communion of the Church, yet it is not divided by that means, but the Chaff is only separated from the Wheat; and although the latter seizes on the temporal Revenues of the Church, nevertheless it does not cease to be free, and to exercise its Power with spiritual Authority. However, that the Bishops ought to make use of all possible Means to reunite the former to the Communion of the Church, and to oblige the others to quit their unjust Claim to the Ecclesiastical Revenues. This is the Subject of a long and very pathetic Exhortation made by him to the Bishops of the Council; and in the Sequel of the same Discourse, he wishes that the Emperor would humble himself under the Almighty Hand of God; that he would acknowledge that the Dominion of the Church is above his, and that he would submit to the See of *Rome*, which conferr'd the Empire on his Predecessors. He observes that Bishops may possess large Revenues, provided they do not take themselves to be the Proprietors, but only the Dispensers of them, and are persuaded that the Patrimony of Jesus Christ is the Inheritance of the Poor, which ought to be distributed to them, and that they who put it to another Use are to be look'd upon as Robbers.

This



Of the  
Principal  
Authors.

This Discourse is follow'd by another, pronounc'd in a Synod held for the Ordination of a Bishop. He begins with the Commendation of the Church, and afterwards rejects the Person of *Girard*, who was propos'd, alledging, That although there was a Form of Election in his Favour, nevertheless he ought not to be ordain'd, by reason that it is not to be endur'd that the Liberty of Elections, which was introduc'd for the Benefit of the Churches, should be made prejudicial to them, and therefore that the Election of *Girard* was null, as having been carry'd on only by some few Persons devoted to his Interest.

He acquaints that Pope in another Letter, That he had pass'd Sentence in Favour of *Hugh* Abbot of *Senlis*, in a Cause that was depending between that Abbot and *Garnier* a Priest, concerning the Church of *Marine*, for the Trial of which he was nominated a Commissioner with *Henry* Bishop of *Senlis*. He likewise gave him Notice in the following Letter, that the King of *England* had favourably receiv'd his Letters and Nuncio's, and that he had re-instated the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; but he complains that the Nuncio's did not promote the making of Peace, and entreats the Pope to do it.

In another Letter, he informs the same Pope, That he had put an End to the Contest between the Abbot of *La Contre* and *Hermier* the Priest, about the Church of *Breule*.

In one of the Letters directed to the Pope's Legates, *Albert* and *Theodin*, he determines, That it is not expedient to bestow Altars, that is to say, Benefices on the Sons of Priests, lest it should occasion Disorders.

Afterwards he writes to Pope *Alexander* against those Monks, who refuse to obey their Bishop, and claim a Right to retain Cures and Tithes.

He complains in particular of the Abbot of *St. Evrou*, who presum'd to celebrate Divine Service; notwithstanding the Sentence of Suspension he had pronounc'd against him.

Of the  
Principal  
Authors.

The Poems of this Author are not very considerable as to the Subjects, but they are exact in reference to the Rules of Poetry, and the Verses are very fine. The first is on the Nativity of Jesus Christ, the second is an *Encomium* of the Bishop of *Windsor*; and the rest on the Alteration of the Seasons, and on some other profane Subjects. There are also two Epitaphs of Queen *Mathilda*, one of *Algarus* Bishop of *Contances*, and another of *Hugh* Archbishop of *Roan*.

Father *Dachery* has publish'd in the second Tome of his *Spicilegium*, an excellent Discourse dedicated to *Geffrey* Bishop of *Chartres*, and compos'd by *Arnulphus*, when as yet Archdeacon of *Seez*, against *Peter de Leon* the Antipope, and *Gerard* Bishop of *Angoulesme* his Legate. It is written with a great deal of Earnestness and Energy, so that the Author gives us a very lively Description of the Irregularities and Vices of that Antipope and of his Legate; maintains the Election and Proceedings of *Innocent II.* and makes it appear that the latter is the true Pope.

Father *Dachery* has likewise set forth in the End of the thirteenth Tome of the *Spicilegium*, a Sermon upon the Annunciation of the Virgin *Mary*, and five Letters by the same Author.

The other Works of *Arnulphus*, Bishop of *Lisieux*, were printed at *Paris*, from a Manuscript of *Adrian Turnebius's* Library, A. D. 1585; and afterwards in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

## Peter de Celles Bishop of Chartres.

Peter de  
Celles.

**P**eter, surnam'd *de Celles*, from the Name of his first Abby, commonly call'd *Monstier-la-Celle*, in the Suburbs of the City of *Troyes*, was descended of an honourable Family of *Champagne*. He apply'd himself to Study at *Paris*, and was apparently a Novice in the Monastery of *St. Martin des Champs*. He was chosen Abbot of *Celles*, A. D. 1150. translated from thence to the Abby of *St. Remy* at *Rheims* in 1162. and at last made Bishop of *Chartres* in 1182. in the place of *John* of *Salisbury*. After having govern'd that Church during five Years, he died Feb. 17. 1187.

The following Works of this Author were collected and publish'd by Father *Ambrosius Jannarius*, of the Congregation of *St. Maur*, and printed by *Lewis Ballaine* in 1671. But the first of his Works is a Course of Sermons on all the Festivals of the Year, which were never as yet printed. However, notwithstanding the Reputation they might have in his Time, Father *Jannarius* observes, that they are weak, and that *Peter de Celles* is not very solicitous to prove a Truth thoroughly, but passes lightly over from one Subject to another; although his Writings are full of pious Conceptions, Flowers of Scripture and very useful Instructions. He might also take notice, that they are full of Puns, affected Antitheses, sorry Allusions, mean Descriptions and Notions, which have not all the Gravity that is requisite in Discourses of that Nature. In his eighth Sermon on the Lord's Supper, we find the Term of *Transubstantiation*, which is also in *Stephen* Bishop of *Autun*, who liv'd in the same Century: And indeed, those two Authors are the first that made use of it. The three Books of Bread, dedicated to *John* of *Salisbury*, contain a great number of mystical Reflections on all the

sorts of Bread mention'd in the Holy Scripture. The mystical and moral Exposition of the Tabernacle is a Work almost of the same Nature. The Treatise of Conscience, dedicated to *Aliber* the Monk, relates altogether to Piety, and that of the Discipline of the Cloister, comprehends many moral Instructions in the Exercises of the Monastick Life, which he follow'd above thirty Years. This Piece was set forth by Father *Dachery*, in the third Tome of his *Spicilegium*.

The last Work in this Edition, is a Collection of the Letters of *Peter de Celles*, which were already publish'd with Notes by Father *Sirmondus*, A. D. 1613. They are divided into nine Books, and relate either to pious Subjects or to certain particular Affairs, or are merely complimentary. Indeed, they are written with greater Accuracy than his other Works, being of a more natural and less affected Style; nevertheless they are full of verbal Quibbles and Puns. In this Collection are three Letters on the Festival of the Conception of the Virgin *Mary*, in which *Peter de Celles* strenuously maintains *St. Bernard's* Sentiments on that Subject. *Nicholas*, a Monk of *St. Alban*, was of a contrary Opinion, and averr'd, That the blessed Virgin was never obnoxious to Sin. This is the Subject of the twenty third Letter of the sixth Book; but the Monk vindicates his Opinion in the ninth Letter of the last Book, and confutes that of *St. Bernard*, yet not without expressing a great deal of Respect for the Person of that Saint. However, he does not treat *Peter de Celles* with the same Moderation, who being nettled, returns him a somewhat sharp Answer in the tenth Letter of the same Book. *Peter* was then Bishop of *Chartres*.



## JOHN of SALISBURY Bishop of Chartres.

Of the  
principal  
Authors.

John of  
Salisbury

**J**OH N of Salisbury the intimate Friend of *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and his Companion during his Exile, was at last made Bishop of *Chartres*, A. D. 1179. and died three Years after. He was one of the most ingenious, most polite and most learned Men of that Age, as is evident from his Book call'd *Policraticon*; or, *A Discovery of the Fopperies of the Lords of the Court*. *Justus Lipsius* assures us, that many considerable pieces of Purple and Fragments of a better Age, are to be found in that Work: *Peter of Blois* in like manner declares that he was even charm'd with it, having discover'd therein a well regulated sort of Learning and abundance of Things, the Variety of which renders them extremely delightful. And indeed, 'tis an excellent Work, treating of the Employments, Occupations, Functions, Virtues and Vices of the Men of the World, but more especially of Princes, Potentates and great Lords; in which is contain'd a vast Treasure of Moral Notions, Sentences, fine Passages of Authors, Examples, Apologues, Extracts of History, common Places, &c. 'Tis divided into Eight Books, and compos'd in a plain and concise Style.

But this Style is more proper for the numerous Letters which the same Author wrote to the Popes *Adrian* and *Alexander*; to the Kings of *England* and divers other Princes; to *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; to several English Bishops; and to many other Persons; either about general Occurrences and Transactions, as the Schism of *Ursian* the Antipope, and the Election of *Alexander III.*

the contest between the Pope and the Emperor *Frederick*; and that between the King of *England* and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; or relating to particular Affairs of the Churches of *England*; or to certain Points of Doctrine and Discipline: As the 172d Letter concerning the Number of Writers of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament; the 67th about the Nullity of a second Marriage which a certain Woman had contracted after she was divorc'd from her former Husband who was a Priest; the 68th about the Cohabitation of Women with Clerks; and the 69th about the Sums of Money that were exacted of the Vicars of Churches. In these Letters he appears to be much addicted to the Interest of *Thomas of Canterbury*, whose Conduct nevertheless he sometimes censures, and seems likewise to be much devoted to the Pope's Service, although he does not always approve every thing that is done at *Rome*, and condemns the Vices of the Cardinals on certain Occasions. He openly approves the deposing of the Emperor *Frederick*, and the Proceedings of Pope *Alexander* against him. His Letters are full of Allusions to the Sacred History, and of Examples taken out of Holy Scripture; in which he also intermixes many Passages of Profane Authors. The number of these Letters amounts to 301. and they were Printed at *Paris*, A. D. 1611. with the Life of *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by the same Author; to whom are likewise attributed certain Commentaries on the Epistles of *St. Paul*, Printed at *Amsterdam* in the Year 1656.

Of the  
principal  
Authors.

## Peter of Blois Archdeacon of Bath.

Peter of  
Blois

**P**ETER, surnam'd of *Bloss*, from the Place of his Nativity, deriving his extraction from *Bretagne*, study'd the Liberal Sciences at *Paris*; the Civil and Canon Law at *Bononia*, and after having attain'd to a profound skill in all sorts of Humane Learning, apply'd himself entirely to the Study of Divinity, under the Tuition of *John of Salisbury* Bishop of *Chartres*. It is also probable that *Peter of Blois* was Canon of that City; however, having pass'd into *Sicily*, A. D. 1167. with *Stephen* the Son of the Count of *Perche*, and the Cousin of the Queen of *Sicily*, he was chosen Tutor and afterwards Secretary to *William II.* King of *Sicily*, but he was soon oblig'd to leave that Country, when *Stephen* Count of *Perche*, who was made Chancellor of the Kingdom and Archbishop of *Palermo*, was banish'd from thence. Upon his return to *France*, he was invited over into *England* by King *Henry II.* and after having spent some time at Court, he retir'd to the Palace of *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and became his Chancellor. He was sent by that Archbishop to King *Henry II.* and to the Popes *Alexander III.* and *Urban III.* to negotiate Affairs relating to the Church of *Canterbury*, and after the Death of King *Henry*, he continued for some time in the Court of Queen *Eleonora*. In the end of his Life, he was depriv'd of the Arch-Deaconry of *Bath*, which was conferr'd on him at his arrival in *England*, but some time after, he obtain'd that of *London*; in the discharging of which Duty, he took a great deal of Pains, and enjoy'd only a small Revenue. He died in *England* A. D. 1200.

*Peter de Blois* himself made a Collection of his Letters, by the Order of *Henry II.* King of *England*, as he intimates in his first Letter directed to that Prince, in which he observes, That they are not all alike; that sometimes the great Number of urgent Affairs oblig'd him to write with less accuracy; that sometimes the Subject did not allow him to enlarge; and that sometimes the meanness of the Capacity of those Persons to whom he wrote, constrain'd him to make use of a more plain Style. He excuses himself for citing Prophane Authors, as also, for speaking freely, and even for presuming to reprove his Prince. He protests, that to the best of his remembrance, he never wrote any thing with a Design to Flatter, but that Integrity and an unfeigned Zeal for maintaining the Truth, always excited him to set Pen to Paper.

The second is a Letter of Consolation directed to the same King on the Death of his Son *Henry III.* in which he induces him to hope for the Salvation of that young Prince, who died in a course of Repentance.

In the third, he severely reprehends a certain great Lord, who had reproach'd his Chaplain with the meanness of his Birth, and gives him to understand, that none ought to be puff'd up, either upon account of Nobility or Riches.

In the fourth he congratulates the Prior of *Cisteaux*, upon the Tranquillity he enjoy'd in his Solitude, protesting that he even envy'd his Condition, and entreats the same Prior to remember him in his Prayers and Oblations.

In the fifth, he reproves *Richard* the Successor of *Thomas Becket* in the Arch-bishoprick of *Canterbury*, for applying himself with greater earnestness to the Maintenance of the Temporal Interests of his Church, than to the Spiritual Government of his Diocese; remonstrating, that his Diocefans and Prince are very much scandaliz'd at those Proceedings.

In the sixth, to wipe off the reproaches that a certain School-Master who undertook to teach the Liberal Sciences, had put upon the Clerks, who live in the Palaces of Bishops; he asserts, That his Profession was more contrary to the Ecclesiastical Function, than the Conduct of those Clergy-men.

In the seventh, he rebukes a Professor, who was addicted to Drunkenness.

In the eighth, he vindicates the Comparison he made of the different States of the Church, to the various Phases or Apparitions of the Moon, and maintains that Terms and Maxims of Philosophy and of the Civil Law, may be us'd in treating of matters of Religion, when it can be done conveniently.

In the ninth, he reproves one of his Pupils, who after having compleated his Philological Studies, determin'd to rest for two Years, before he apply'd himself to that of Divinity; and shews, That that negligence would be extremely prejudicial to him.

In the tenth, written to one of the Chaplains of the King of *Sicily*, against the Design which that Prince had, to cause to be install'd in the Bishoprick of *Agrigento*, a certain young Lord, who was by no means capable of performing the Functions of the Episcopal Dignity, he admonishes the said Chaplain, that his Office obliges him to continue to make Remonstrances to the King, to hinder him from disposing of the Bishoprick after such a manner.

In the eleventh, he exhorts a Clergy-man, who had solemnly engag'd to embrace the Monastick Life, to perform his Vow.

The twelfth, is a consolatory Letter directed to one of his Nephews afflicted with the Death of his Uncle, the burning of his House, and a Wound he receiv'd in his Foot.

In the thirteenth, he reprehends a Young Monk, who endeavour'd to get a Priory, under pretence, that he should thereby have an opportunity of converting more Souls, and makes it appear, That a Monk ought not to covet Secular Employments, nor to aspire to Dignities, nor to affect to instruct others.

Peter of  
Blois



In the fourteenth, directed to the Chaplains of the King of *England*, he communicates to them certain Reflections that a Fit of Sickness caus'd him to make on the miserable Condition of those Clergymen, who are oblig'd to reside in the Courts of Princes; of which he gives a very lively Description, and exhorts them to follow his Example in quitting that course of Life.

The fifteenth is an Instruction to *Rainaud* newly chosen Bishop of *Chartres*, concerning the Episcopal Qualities and Functions. He says, That the first Thing that is sometimes done, is to make enquiry into the Revenues belonging to the Bishoprick, and not into the present Condition of it: He censures the Luxury and Magnificence of some Bishops of his time, the Pains that they took to heap up Riches and to gratifie Princes, and the Secular Course of Life that they led.

In the sixteenth, he exhorts a certain Bishop immers'd in the Management of many Affairs to make choice of a more quiet manner of Living, in order to promote his own Salvation.

In the seventeenth, he shews, that a Clerk who drives a Trade, is no less culpable than one that follows Ufury, and that all manner of inordinate Endeavours to get and heap up Riches are unworthy of a Clergyman.

In the eighteenth, he gives us a lively Description of the Irregularities of a certain Bishop, who was addicted to that Vice.

In the nineteenth, he resolves two Questions, which were propos'd to him by one of his Friends who studied the Law at *Paris*, viz. First, whether a Woman, who turn'd Nun, upon a supposition that her Husband was dead, be oblig'd to leave the Convent, if he return? And secondly, in case she be oblig'd to follow her Husband, whether she ought to assume the Veil again after his Death? He answers, that the Vow of Chastity made by her, being in the Husband's Power, is not obligatory; and that she ought to return with her Husband, and may marry again after his Decease. In that Letter, there is a remark very Advantageous to the Schools of *Paris*, of which he says, that as there was formerly a Proverbial saying, that those who had any Question to propose ought to repair to *Avila*; so in like manner at present it pass'd into a Proverb, that those who were desirous to have any Question decided need only go to *Paris*, where the greatest Difficulties are fairly resolv'd.

In the twentieth he complains, that the domestick Servants of *Rainaud* Bishop of *Chartres* remov'd him from the Palace of that Prelate, whom he blames for his too great Liberality.

In the twenty first, he reprehends the haughtiness and arrogance of a Canon, who was formerly one of his particular Friends.

In the twenty second, directed to *John* of *Salisbury*, he commends his Constancy, and that of *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and advises them to persevere, and not to suffer themselves to be mov'd by any manner of Adversity or Persecutions.

In the twenty third, written to *Ottavian* the Pope's Legate, he declaims against the Abuse that was then predominant, to fill up the vacant Bishopricks with unworthy and incapable Persons, who obtain'd them by the means of sinister Practices or purchas'd them with Money.

In the twenty fourth, he entreats the Friends of *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to prevail upon that Prelate, to forgive the Archdeacon of *Salisbury*, who was desirous to be reconcil'd with him.

In the twenty fifth, he exhorts an Official to quit that Employment, which he looks upon as very dangerous.

'I am apt to believe (says he) that the Officials were so call'd, not from the Name of their Office, but from the Verb *Officio*, which signifies to be to hurtful, or to do Mischief: For the whole Function of an Official is to shear and flea at the pleasure of the Bishop the poor Sheep that are under his Jurisdiction: They are the Bishop's Horse-leeches, that cast up the Blood they have suck'd out, and which as it were so many Sponges, that being squeez'd restore the Water wherein they were soak'd, pour into their Masters Bosom the Treasure that they have extorted; insomuch that of all those execrable Purchases they have only left the stain of Sin: For that which is thus hoarded up by oppressing the Poor, serves to gratify the unruly Appetite of the Bishops, and draws Punishments on the Officials; who may be well compar'd to those private Doors, thro' which the Priests of *Bel*, were wont secretly to convey the Sacrifices that were laid on the Altar of that False God; since the Bishops make use of their Hands to pillage the Estates of other Men, casting upon them all the marks of Infamy and the whole guilt of those Crimes, of which they make the sole Advantage.—The Office of the Officials

'at present, is to confound Right, to create Law-suits, to disannul Agreements, to prolong Trials, to suppress the Truth, to maintain Falshood, to seek for nothing but filthy Lucrè, to sell Justice, to commit all manner of unjust Actions, and to devise Cheats and Artifices to deceive the People. These are the Men, who overload their Landlords with a numerous Retinue of Attendants and costly Equipages; who hunt after dainty Dishes; being very prodigal of the Estates of other Persons, and as covetous of their own: They are very critical in searching out the etymology and signification of Words, and make Glosses upon all manner of Syllables, on purpose to lay Snares for others, in order to drain their Purses: They take upon them to interpret the Laws according to their own capricious Humour, admitting some, and rejecting others at their Pleasure; they corrupt that which is sound, over-rule just Allegations, foment Divisions, conceal Crimes, make void lawful Marriages, penetrate into the Secrets of Families, defame innocent Persons, absolve the Guilty, and in a Word, leave no Stone unturn'd to get Money. This is the Character that *Peter* of *Blois* gives us of the Officials of his time, very different (as 'tis to be hop'd) from that of those Gentlemen, who now discharge those Functions in our Churches.

In the twenty sixth, he advises a Friend of his to enter upon a Course of Divinity at *Paris*, after having left the Study of the Civil-Law, to which he apply'd himself at *Bononia*; because a Clergyman ought not to be entirely immers'd therein. He censures, by the way, the sinister Practices of the Advocates of his Time, who made it their whole business to get Money and to enrich themselves.

In the twenty seventh, he acquaints the Canons of *Beauvoir* with the Death of *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and tells them that there was reason to be so far from bewailing his Death, that they ought to rejoice at his Happiness. He likewise makes mention of the Diffensions that happen'd in his Church, about the Election of a Successor.

The twenty eighth, is written in the Name of *Rotrou* Archbishop of *Rouen*, to *William* Archbishop of *Sens* and the Pope's Legate, whom he exhorts to use his utmost endeavours to divert those Calamities, which were ready to break forth in the Territories belonging to the Church of *Roan* by reason of the War that was carry'd on by the two Kings.

In the twenty ninth, directed to the Abbot and Monks of *St. Alban*, he complains that one of their Priors had refus'd to entertain him at his Table, and shews how much Hospitality is recommendable, more especially in Monks.

In the thirtieth, he communicates to his Friend *Rainaud* chosen Bishop of *Bath*, the Dream that he had upon his promotion to the Episcopal Dignity.

The thirty first is written to the Abbot of *Fontaines*, concerning a Distemper with which *Peter* of *Blois* was afflicted.

The thirty second is a commendatory Letter directed to the Prior of *Canterbury*.

The thirty third is written in the Name of *Rotrou* Archbishop of *Roan* to *Henry III.* the Son of *Henry II.* King of *England*, who was preparing to make War with his Father, to entreat him to take into his Protection, *Andely* and the other Territories of the Church of *Roan*.

In the thirty fourth, he excuses himself to the Bishop of *Perigueux*, who had offer'd him his House; for not accepting of his Proposal, because he was detain'd by the Promises of his old Patron.

The thirty fifth and thirty sixth, are Exhortations to a certain Nun.

The thirty seventh, is a Letter of Excuse to the Prior of *Jumieges* for neglecting to send back a Book he had borrow'd of him.

The thirty eighth, is an Apology directed to *Albert* Cardinal of the Church of *Rome*, for the Conduct of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, who was accused of being ignorant of the Laws, covetous and too much inclin'd to raise his Family.

The thirty ninth, is a Letter written by way of a secret Trust to one of his Friends, in which he sends him word, That the Court of *Rome* according to the usual Custom had charged him with many Debts, and that if he could once find means to discharge them, he would take care not to fall into that Abyss for the future.

In the fortieth, he condemns the Deportment of a certain Bishop who spoke ill of his Prince.

In the forty first, he entreats *Henry II.* King of *England* to give him notice of the Place where he was, to the end that he might wait on him, and acquaints him that his Majesties Envoys are return'd from *Rome*, clear'd of their Silver and loaded with Lead, without being honour'd with any



considerable Presents, and that the Ambassadors of the King of Spain were come to meet him to constitute him Mediator of the Peace between them.

The forty second, is written to Robert Provost of Aire in Flanders elected Bishop of Cambray, to whom he gives a smart Reprimand for contenting himself to enjoy the Revenues of his Bishoprick, without taking care to perform the Episcopal Functions, and for leading a Secular and Scandalous course of Life.

The forty third, is a very apposite Consolation compos'd by him upon occasion of the Sickness of a certain Person, in which he sufficiently makes it appear that he had study'd the Art of Physick.

In the forty fourth, he advises Arnulphus Bishop of Lisieux not to leave his Bishoprick, by reason of any opposition that might be made by his Prince, his Chapter or the People of his Diocese; but he would persuade him to resign it, in case he aspir'd to that Dignity by under-hand dealings.

In the forty fifth, he vindicates Rainaud Bishop of Bath, from the Imputation of having persecuted or occasion'd the Death of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and observes, that if he made somewhat too severe a Reflection upon him, at the time when that Archbishop excommunicated the Bishop of Salisbury, it ought to be forgiven him, as well as what he might have done against him thro' Ignorance, and so much the rather, in regard that he had expiated that Fault by a very rigorous Penance.

In the forty sixth, directed to Richard Bishop of Syracuse, after having excus'd himself for returning to Sicily, he enlarges on the Commendation of Thomas Becket Archbishop of Canterbury.

The forty seventh is written in the Name of Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, who exhorts Henry the Son of Henry II. King of England to desist from making War with his Father, and threatens to excommunicate him, unless he submit to his Remonstrances.

In the forty eighth, he congratulates William Cardinal Bishop of Pavia, upon account that at last an End was put to the Quarrel between Pope Alexander and the Emperor Frederick, by his Mediation, and declaims against Octavian and his Electors.

In the forty ninth, he complains, That some of the Canons of Chartres, whom he took for his Friends, had brought an Information against him in a Trial depending between him and Robert of Salisbury, for a Prebend of Chartres, and that not being able to fully his Reputation, they had slanderously traduc'd the Memory of his Father.

In the fiftieth, he entreats the Bishop of Bayeux to absolve a certain Person, who had committed Manslaughter in his own Defence, and who being afflicted with a very sensible Grief for that unfortunate Accident, had done Penance in due Form.

In the fifty first, he admonishes Jocelin Bishop of Salisbury to pay his Debts, and not to bestow too great Favours upon his Nephews.

In the fifty second, he acquaints the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had sent him to the King of England, That he met with a furious Storm, during his Passage into Normandy, and assures him, that he was ready to undertake every Thing, and to endure all manner of hardship in his Service.

The fifty third, is a Circular Letter to all the Bishops of England, written in the Name of Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, and Primate of the Kingdom, in which he enjoins them, not to suffer Persons, whose Ordination is not valid, to exercise the Episcopal Functions in their Diocesses, and to denounce a Sentence of Excommunication against those who forge the Pope's Bulls or counterfeit the Seals of the Bishops.

In the fifty fourth, he advises the Archdeacon of Poitiers, not to compel Adelia his Niece, to become a Nun; because the Monastick State, ought not to be embrac'd with less freedom than that of Marriage.

In the fifty fifth, he congratulates Adelia, upon the desire she express'd to take the Vail, and in regard that she had Actually made a Vow to that Purpose, and exhorts her to put so laudable a Design in Execution with all convenient Speed.

In the fifty sixth, he endeavours to divert Walter Bishop of Rochester from the strong Inclination he had to Hunting.

In the fifty seventh Letter, directed to one of his Friends a Monk of the Abby of Aulnay in Normandy, who expected to be deliver'd from Temptations immediately after his admittance into a Religious Order; he treats of the continual Conflict between the Flesh and the Spirit, and sends him a *Prose* or Sermon on that Subject.

In the fifty eighth, he complains to Renaud Bishop of Bath, by reason that the latter had suspended his Vice-Archdeacon, without dispatching any Canonical Moniti-

ous beforehand, and to the prejudice of a Privilege that was granted him in the Council of Lateran, that he should not be excommunicated nor any Person that belong'd to him by any Bishop, and declares that he had so much the greater reason to take it ill, in regard that that which gave occasion to those rigorous Proceedings, was only a small sum of Money that was due to the Bishop, and that he had already given Orders for the Payment of it.

In the fifty ninth, he exhorts that Bishop to be reconciled with a certain Person nam'd Henry and to turn one Simon out of his Company, who was a dangerous Flatterer and a Sycophant.

In the sixtieth, he approves the Complaints made by one of his Friends, who was much offended that the Bishops should enrich their Nephews with the Church-Revenues; instead of maintaining the Poor. He observes that that was no new Disorder, and that Poverty ought to be preferred before Riches.

In the sixty first, he dissuades an Archdeacon from the exercise of Hunting.

In the sixty second, he writes in the Name of Geffery Bishop of Lincoln to one Le blond, whom he reproves for his Disobedience in leaving that Bishop to follow divers Employments, and forbids him to oppose the Interest of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The sixty third, is a Letter of Thanks to Peter Bishop of Arras.

The sixty fourth, is written in the Name of Gautier Archbishop of Roan and of the Bishops of Normandy, to Pope Celestin III. to entreat his Holiness to use his utmost Endeavours to procure the Deliverance of Richard King of England, who was taken Prisoner at his return from the Holy-Land by the Duke of Austria.

The sixty fifth, is written against the Superstitions of those, who pretend to foretell future Events by Dreams, or by other Means of the like nature.

In the sixty sixth, he congratulates Gautier Archbishop of Palermo upon his Promotion to that Dignity: He gives that Prelate a Character of Henry II. King of England, and clears him from the Murder of Thomas Becket Archbishop of Canterbury.

In the sixty seventh, he proves by many Reasons to King Henry II. that he ought to cause his Son to apply himself to Study.

The sixty eighth, is written in the Name of Richard Archbishop of Canterbury to Pope Alexander III. against the Abbot of Malmesbury, who endeavour'd to withdraw himself from the Jurisdiction of his Bishop. He declaims in that Letter, against the Privileges that are granted at Rome to the Abbots for Money, which gives them occasion to insult over their Primates and Diocesans, to lose the Respect they ought to have for them, and by degrees to shake off the Yoke of Obedience, which was formerly the only Means to reclaim them, and to restrain their Ambition.

"The Abbots (says he) cannot endure to have a Superior set over them, to reform the Abuses committed by them; They would willingly have an absolute Power to do every Thing with impunity, and neglect the Monastick Discipline to gratify their unruly Passions. Upon which account it is, that almost all the Revenues of the Monasteries are left at Rack and Manger, and are liable to be pillag'd by every Invader: For on the one side, the Abbots mind nothing else but following their Pleasures, and are intent only on making good Cheer; and on the other side, the Monks being as it were destitute of a Head, spend their Life in Idleness and continual Quarrels. The Mischief (adds he) requires a speedy remedy; for if it be not timely apply'd, 'tis to be fear'd least as the Abbots shake off the Yoke of the Bishops, so the latter should throw off that of the Archbishops, and the Deans and Archdeacons should likewise find Means to exempt themselves from the Jurisdiction of their Diocesans. Alas what form of Justice is this! or rather, what manner of deformity of the Law! to hinder the Pupils from hearkening to their Tutors; Children from obeying their Parents; Soldiers from serving their Prince; and Servants from submitting to their Masters! What is it to free Abbots from the Jurisdiction of their Bishop, unless it be to authorize Disobedience and Rebellion, and to arm Children against their Father? 'Tis their Office, who sit as supreme Judges, to determine this Case, and to take care lest unjust Actions should take their rise from the Courts of Judicature, where application is made for the redressing of Grievances.

In the sixty ninth Letter, directed to Radulphus Bishop of Angers, he laments the Failings of the Inhabitants of that City, who had abandon'd King Henry II. in the War that he maintain'd against his Son.

In the seventieth, he advises John Bishop of Chartres, rather to bestow Benefices on his Nephews who were upright



right and poor Men, than on Foreigners, who are not so worthy of them.

The two following Letters contain nothing remarkable.

The seventy third, written in the Name of *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to all the Bishops of *England*, is against a Custom that prevail'd in that Kingdom, only to punish with Excommunication, those who assassinated Bishops and other Clergymen, whereas capital Punishments were inflicted on other Murderers.

The following Letters to the eighty second, comprehend nothing very remarkable relating to Church-Discipline.

In the eighty second, directed under the Name of *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to the *Cistercian* Monks, after having commended that Order, he takes notice of one Fault committed by them, which is their refusing to pay Tithes to Clerks and Monks: He gives them to understand, that it is an Act of Injustice; that altho' they might enjoy that Immunity, whilst they were Poor, yet they had no Right to it at present, since they were become Rich; and that what Privileges soever they might obtain from *Rome*, they could not in Conscience make use of them to usurp the Estates of others: Lastly, he threatens to excommunicate them if they continue to retain those Tithes.

In the eighty third, written in the Name of *Walter* Archbishop of *Oxford* to *Bartholomew* Bishop of *Exeter*, he advises him to declare the Marriage null, that was contracted between *Robert* and *Ismenia* his Kinswoman; according to the express Order that he had receiv'd from the Pope.

The eighty fourth, is directed to Pope *Alexander III.* under the Name of *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to vindicate the Conduct of the Bishops, who reside in the King's Court, in order to maintain the Interest and Rights of the Church. 'For (says he) if there were no Bishops in the Council, nor in favour with the Prince; the Wicked would soon find Means to harass the Church, and the Presumption of Laicks would oppress the Clergy after an intolerable manner: But at present, if any Thing be attempted to the Prejudice of the Church, the Bishops are ready to oppose it; and if the King should be exasperated against Innocent Persons, his Anger is appeas'd by their Entreaties. By this means, the rigor of Justice is moderated; the Cries of the Poor reach the Princes Ear; the Dignity of the Church is maintain'd; the Indigence of distressed People is reliev'd; the Devotion of Lay-men is encreas'd; Religion is protected; the Sentences in Courts of Judicature are directed; the Laws are submitted to; the Decrees of *Rome* are receiv'd, and the Revenues of the Churches are augmented: He adds, That the Archbishops and Bishops of *Sicily* were wont in like manner to reside in the Court of their Prince, and that there was a Design on foot in *England* to abrogate that Custom, but that divers prudent and judicious Persons had determin'd that it was absolutely necessary for them to continue there, and that if they were hinder'd from having access to the Prince; at the same time the Monasteries would be depriv'd of their Tranquility, the afflicted of Consolation, and the Church of its Liberty. Therefore our Author concludes, That although the Bishops were very desirous to leave the Court, by reason of the Inconveniences they suffer in that Station, nevertheless they are detain'd, as it were by force, upon account of the Publick Advantage.

The eighty fifth Letter, contains a sharp Reprimand made to *Robert* Bishop of *Salisbury*, for taking too great delight in Feasting, and for laying out so vast Expences in furnishing his Table, that he let the Buildings of his Church fall to Ruin.

In the eighty sixth, he diverts a *Carthusian* Monk nam'd *Alexander*, from the Design he had to quit his Order, under pretence that Mass was not said every day in the Monastery; and shews, That St. *Benedict* never was a Priest, and that he spent a great deal of time without hearing Mass, even not knowing one *Easter* day, that it was that great Festival: That St. *Paul* and St. *Anthony*, the first Hermits, pass'd many days without hearing Mass, and that we do not read that some great Saints Offer'd up the Holy-Sacrifice daily: That such a frequent Administration of the Sacraments might render them contemptible, and that the Seldomness of it, encreases the Respect due to them: That indeed we sin incessantly, and that a continual Remedy is requisite for the expiation of our Guilt; but that nevertheless this Host, of an infinite Value, ought not to be offer'd up, but with a Spirit of Humility and a contrite Heart. To that purpose, he quotes many Passages of the Fathers, and at last affirms, That the secret Mo-

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tive which induc'd that Monk to think of quitting his Order, was to lead a less austere, and a more free Course of Life.

In the eighty seventh Letter, he comforts *William* Bishop of *Ely*, who was discharg'd from the Management of the affairs of State in *England*, by the treachery of certain Noble-men, who had mis-represented him to King *Richard*; which gave an occasion to *Peter* of *Blois* to declaim against those Counsellors who give bad Advice to Princes. The eighty ninth is written on the same Subject to a Bishop, who had contributed to the said *William's* disgrace at Court.

In the eighty eighth, he entreats an Abbot to receive a certain Monk, who was desirous to return to his Monastery.

In the ninetieth, he gives an account to his Brother *William* Abbot of *Mani*, of the reasons of his Departure from *Sicily*, and takes notice at the same time of the News that was spread abroad, That that Abbot had obtain'd a Licence of the Pope, to wear the Mitre, Ring and Sandals. He maintains, That the use of those Ornaments in any other Person but a Bishop, is an arrogant Vanity, and a presumptuous Ostentation; That they ought only to be us'd on some extraordinary Occasions; such as the Dedication of Churches, the Consecration of Virgins, and the Ordination of Clerks, and that therefore they can be of no use to an Abbot, who has no Right to perform those Functions; That they are actually more chargeable to him than profitable, and that they do him a greater Dishonour than Credit; That that Abuse has no Grounds neither in the Gospel, nor in St. *Benedict's* Rule; That it foments the Refractoriness of the Abbots and the Contests they have with the Bishops, and that no Man ought to flatter himself, that the Privilege of *Rome* can be a sufficient excuse for such Acts of Disobedience before God, Therefore he conjures him by the Salvation of their common Father, and by the Breasts of their Mother, to lay aside those Pontifical Ornaments, or if it cannot be done without Scandal, to choose rather to quit his Dignity. *William* being mov'd with this Remonstrance, resign'd his Abby into the Pope's Hands, as it appears by the 93d Letter, in which *Peter* of *Blois* congratulates him; That he prefer'd the Humility of a simple Monk to the Dignity of an Abbot, and a place of abode in *France* to one in *Sicily*.

In the ninety first, he taxes *Radulphus* Bishop of *Lisieux* with Covetousness, and the practice of Usury, more especially in regard that he did not open his Granaries in a time of scarcity and dearth of Provisions.

The following Letters contain nothing very remarkable.

The ninety seventh directed to the Abbot of *Evesham*, he shews that the diversity of Monastick Orders is advantageous to the Church, but that none ought to pass lightly from one Order to another, He observes in the end, that singing of Psalms for a considerable time, is very useful, if it could be continu'd with Devotion, and that although it be accompany'd with wearisomness, yet it does not cease to be a good Employment. As for Handywork, he neither blames, nor commends it in a Monk; *Labores autem manuales in Monacho nec arguere, nec laudare præsimo.*

The ninety eighth and the ninety ninth, are written in the Name of *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; viz. the former to his suffragans about the Necessity of relieving the Holy-Land, and the second to Pope *Urban III.* to congratulate his Promotion to the Pontifical Dignity, and to thank his Holiness for the Pall, which he had sent to him.

In the hundredth Letter, he vindicates an Archbishop who was accus'd of being too meek and moderate.

The hundred and first, directed to *Robert* Archdeacon of *Nantes*, is a Judgment that he passes on the Disposition of two of his Nephews, whom he had put under his Tuition.

The hundred and second, contains a long Complaint made by the Abbot of *Redding* who was desirous to renounce his Dignity, with *Peter* of *Blois's* Answer, in which he advises him not to do it.

The following Letters contain nothing of any great moment as to Ecclesiastical Discipline.

In the hundred and twelfth, sent to the Bishop of *Orleans*, he maintains the Immunities of the Church, and asserts that the King of *France* ought to exact no other Supplies of the Clergy, than their Prayers to carry on the War, that he was preparing to manage against the *Saracens* in the Holy-Land.

In the hundred and thirteenth, he exhorts *Geffrey* Archbishop of *York*, to oppose the new Hereticks who appear'd

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in his Diocese, and to publish so strict an Ordinance against them, that the others might be terrify'd with the Severity of their Punishment.

In the hundred and fourteenth, he congratulates *John of Salisbury* upon his Installment in the Bishoprick of *Chartres*, and commends the Relation that he wrote of the Life of *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

In the hundred and fifteenth, after having shewn in what Degrees of Consanguinity *Robert* and *Adelecia* were related one to another, he produces the several Impediments of their Marriage, and comprehends them in six Verses.

The hundred and sixteenth, is written to *Hugh* Abbot of *St. Denis*, to whom he sends one of his Books to be examin'd, and comforts him for the Indignity that was put upon him by the King of *France*.

In the hundred and seventeenth, he reprehends *Geoffrey* Abbot of *Marmoutier*, by reason that he had caus'd an Action to be commenc'd against the Prior of *St. Come*, for certain Lands which he claim'd, as belonging to his Jurisdiction.

There is nothing remarkable in the following Letters to the 123. in which he refuses to accept of the Sacerdotal Dignity, not through Contempt, but an extraordinary Respect for that Function.

In the hundred twenty fourth, he comforts *Gantier* Archbishop of *Roan*, banish'd from his Church, and justifies his Retreat.

In the hundred twenty fifth, he admonishes the same Prelate, to avoid Slothfulness during his Exile, and to apply himself to the reading of the Holy Scriptures.

In the hundred twenty sixth, directed to the Abbot of *Glocester*, he gives an *Encomium* of *Odo* Chanter of *Bourges* chosen Bishop of *Paris*; to whom he writes the hundred twenty seventh, to renew their old Friendship and the Correspondence that formerly pass'd between them.

In the hundred twenty eighth, *Peter* of *Blois* complains to *William* Archbishop of *Sens*, that he had not as yet perform'd the Promise that he made to entertain him in his House, and to confer a Benefice upon him.

In the hundred twenty ninth, he writes against the Archdeacon of *Orleans*, who had introduc'd Simoniackal Practices into his Church.

In the hundred and thirtieth, directed to *John* Bishop of *Chartres*, he clears himself from the Charge brought against him, that he made use of the Recommendation of the King of *England*, of divers Lords, and of the Pope, to procure a Prebend in the Church of *Chartres*.

In the hundred thirty first, he reproves one of his Nephews, the Prior of a Monastery, by reason that neglecting the Study of the Liberal Sciences, and abandoning his Solitude, he frequented publick Places, and endeavour'd to curry Favour with Noblemen.

The hundred thirty second and the hundred thirty fourth, directed to Persons newly made Abbots, contain very useful Instructions for the Conduct of Superiors.

In the hundred thirty third, written to the Dean and Chapter of *Salisbury*, he maintains that he is not oblig'd to reside in his Prebend in that City, in regard of the smallness of the Revenue, which was not sufficient for defraying the Charge of a Journey thither.

The hundred thirty fifth, is a Dispensation for Non-residence granted by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to a Canon of *Salisbury*.

The hundred thirty sixth, is a Letter from *Henry II.* King of *England* to *Alexander III.* in which he complains of the Rebellion of his Children, and implores the Assistance of that Pope.

In the hundred thirty seventh, he congratulates a Novice Monk, and gives him wholesome Advice.

In the hundred thirty eighth, he expresses to *Gantier* Archbishop of *Roan*, the Joy that he had upon his return from his Exile.

In the hundred thirty ninth, he entreats the Abbot and Monks of *Cisteaux* to put up their Prayers to God, that he would vouchsafe to grant him his Grace, to enable him worthily to perform the Functions of the Priesthood, to which Dignity he was lately rais'd, and explains the reasons why he deferr'd the receiving of that Order till that Time.

In the hundred and fortieth, he exhorts *Petrus Diaconus* to quit the Study of the Law, and to apply himself altogether to that of the Holy Scriptures and of Divinity. In this Letter, he makes use of the Term of *Transubstantiation* in treating of the Eucharist. 'Thus you see, says he, in one single Sacrament a deep Abyss impenetrable to Humane Reason; I mean, in the Bread and Wine transubstantiated by Vertue of the Heavenly Words, into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, the Accidents that were therein, remaining without a Subject; and although the Body of Jesus Christ be Flesh and not Spirit, nevertheless it nourishes the Soul rather than the

Body. The same Body is to be found in several Places and on divers Altars, against the Nature of Bodies, without ceasing to be in Heaven: For although by its Nature it can only be in one Place after a circumscribable Manner, yet it is in many Places by its omnipotent Vertue and Energy, and after a spiritual Manner.

In the hundred forty first, he complains to *Gantier* Archbishop of *Roan*, that a certain private Person had detain'd the Revenues of a Prebend that belong'd to him, and entreats that Prelate to cause Restitution to be made.

In the hundred forty second, he comforts the Prior and Monks of *Evesham*, who were in great Trouble, and exhorts them to bear it with Patience.

The four following Letters relate to the Confinement of *Richard I.* King of *England*, and were written to procure his Liberty.

In the hundred forty seventh, he reproves *Robert* Bishop of *Bangor*, who determin'd to retain a certain Benefice, which he had conferr'd on another Clerk.

In the hundred forty eighth, he exhorts *Savaric* Bishop of *Bath* to return to his Diocese, and not to leave his Church with a Design to travel.

In the hundred forty ninth, he complains, that they were about to deprive him of his Archdeaconry in the End of his Life.

In the hundred and fiftieth, he mollifies what he had said in the fourteenth Letter, against those Clergymen, who reside in the Courts of Princes.

In the hundred fifty first, he entreats Pope *Innocent III.* to augment the Revenues of the Archdeaconry of *London*, which was lately conferr'd upon him. He gives his Holiness to understand, that there were about forty thousand Men within the Jurisdiction of his Archdeaconry, and above one hundred and twenty Churches; nevertheless that he was not able to collect any of the Duties that are customably paid to the Archdeacons.

In the hundred fifty second, he entreats that Pope, to change a Chapter of which he was Dean, into a Monastery of the *Cistercian* Order.

The hundred fifty third, is written in the Name of *Rotron* Archbishop of *Roan*, and of *Arnulphus* Bishop of *Lisieux*, to *Henry II.* King of *England*; in which they give him an Account of the Negotiations in the Court of the King of *France*, where they were sent by that Prince.

The hundred fifty fourth, is likewise written in the Name of the same Archbishop, who entreats *Eleonora* Queen of *England*, and her Sons, to be reconcil'd with King *Henry II.*

In the hundred fifty fifth Letter, that Archbishop excuses himself to the Prior and Monks of *La Charite*, for not retiring to their Convent, by reason that he could not leave his Flock during the War.

The following Letters to the hundred eighty third, and last, contain nothing very remarkable as to Ecclesiastical Affairs, and many of them are Consolatory.

There is no Author, who has fill'd his Letters with a greater number of Quotations, out of the Holy Scriptures and Ecclesiastical and Profane Writings, than *Peter* of *Blois*; inasmuch, that they are scarce any thing else but a Contexture of such Passages. That which is properly his own Matter, is full of Antitheses and Puns: However, he discourses with much freedom, sharply reproves Vices, and maintains Church Discipline and the Ecclesiastical Constitutions.

His Sermons are written almost after the same Manner as his Letters, in a concise and sententious Style, to the number of sixty five; neither does he explain therein the Points of Morality in their utmost extent, but he fills them with divers Maxims and Notions, which are accompanied with no other Ornaments, but Antitheses and nice Comparisons of Words: But he handles Matters more at large in his Tracts, which are seventeen in Number.

The first is a Moral Discourse on the Transfiguration of Jesus Christ.

The second, is another Discourse of the same Nature on *St. Paul's* Conversion.

The third, is a compendious Chronicle on the Beginning and the End of the Book of *Job*.

The fourth, is a very pathetic Exhortation to induce the Christian Princes to send Succours to the Holy Land.

The fifth, is an Instruction written in the Name of Pope *Alexander III.* to the Sultan of *Iconium*.

The sixth, is a Treatise of Sacramental Confession and Penance.

The seventh, is a Tract concerning the Functions and Qualities of a Confessor, and the Manner how he ought to demean himself in the Administration of the Sacrament of Penance.

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*Of the principal Authors.* The eighth Piece, call'd the Episcopal Canon, contains Instructions for Bishops.

The ninth, is an Invektive against one who pass'd a Censure on his Works, and charg'd him with being a Flatterer of Princes, and a false Accuser of Clergymen and Monks: He clears himself from both Imputations, by producing a Catalogue of his Writings; in which he asserts, that there is nothing to be found that can convict him of what was laid to his Charge, and several Particulars to the contrary. He enlarges in Commendation of the Monastick Life, and explains some Passages of his Works, that were objected against him; and amongst others, what he had laid down concerning Free-will, which he was accus'd of having confounded with Grace: He maintains, That the former is supported by, and depends on the latter, after such a manner, that the Mercy of God is not prejudicial to Merit, nor Grace to Free-will.

The tenth, is a Treatise against the *Jews*, in which he has accurately collected all the Prophecies that relate to Jesus Christ.

The eleventh, is a large Treatise of Christian Friendship, of the Love of God, and Charity to our Neighbour; in which he insists on the Causes, Duties, Parts and Effects of those Vertues.

The twelfth, is of the Usefulness of Afflictions, of which he shews the several Advantages.

The thirteenth, call'd, *What are they, quales sunt?* is a Satyr against unworthy Pastors. He justifies at first, what he is about to write against them, and declares that 'tis not his design to attack the Worthy Pastors, but only the Unworthy, who have no Faith; who have not enter'd the Sheep-fold through the Gate; who do not deserve the Names of Pastor, Pope, Bishop or Prelate; because

they have not any of the Qualities signified by those Terms; who enrich their Relations with the Church-Revenues; who confer Canonries and other spiritual Livings upon them; or who being of mean Extraction, and of an unknown Family, are endu'd with no generous Principles, but with a great deal of sordid Baseness without Humility, whose Dignity soon corrupts their Manners. He shews, that these sorts of Bishops ought not to be flatter'd, but that their Faults ought to be expos'd, to the end that those Persons who present themselves to be admitted into Holy Orders, may be duely examin'd, and that a considerable Time may be taken, to be well assur'd of their Demeanour, and of their Course of Life.

The fourteenth, is a Fragment of a Letter, that he wrote about Silence.

The fifteenth, is a Fragment of his Book, of the Changes of Fortune.

The sixteenth, is a Tract concerning the Sacred Books and Writers of the Old and New Testament.

The seventeenth, is a Poetical Piece on the Eucharist.

The first Edition of *Peter of Blois's* Works, was printed at *Mentz*; the second at *Paris*, A. D. 1519. the third at *Mentz* in 1600. by *Busseus*, who annex'd an Addition of some Tracts in 1605. This Edition was copied out in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, printed at *Coleu*; but in all these Editions, the Sermons of *Peter Comestor*, were inserted instead of those of *Peter of Blois*: At last *M. de Goussainville*, publish'd a new Edition of all *Peter of Blois's* Works, in which are to be found the genuine Sermons of that Author, printed at *Paris* in 1667. This was follow'd in the last *Bibliotheca Patrum*, set forth at *Lyons*.

## Stephen Bishop of Tournay.

*Stephen.* **S**Stephen, Abbot of *St. Genevieve*, and afterwards Bishop of *Tournay*, was born at *Orleans*, A. D. 1135. and compleated his Studies in the Schools of the Cathedral Churches of that City and of *Chartres*: He apply'd himself more especially to that of the Canon-Law, and became a Regular Canon in 1165. in the Monastery of *St. Everte*, where *St. Victor's* Rule was establish'd in 1158. by *Roger*, who was the first Abbot since the Reformation. *Stephen* succeeded him in that Office, but the Abby of *Genevieve* being vacant in 1177. by the Death of the Abbot *Aubert*, he was chosen in his Place. He was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Tournay* in 1192. and govern'd it to the Year 1203. which was that of his Death.

This Author wrote a Commentary on *Gratian's* Decretal, with divers Sermons and Letters. All his Works are extant in Manuscript; but *Father du Moulinet* did not judge, that the Commentary on the Decretal, and the Sermons were worthy to be brought to Light, and therefore he only publish'd the Preface to that Commentary, the first Sermon and the Texts of Scripture, on which the thirty others were compos'd, with his Letters, which he divided into three Parts; the first of which contain the Letters which he wrote being as yet Abbot of *St. Everte*, from A. D. 1163. to 1177.

The first, is a very pathetic Complaint, which he recited in the Synod of the Bishops of the Province held at *Sens*, concerning the Murder committed on the Person of *John* Dean of *Orleans*, by a certain Lord, out of whose Hands, he endeavour'd to wrest some Revenues belonging to the Chapter of *Orleans*, which he had usurp'd.

He was enjoyn'd by the same Assembly, to write to the King, to demand Justice for that execrable Fact. He did it after such a manner, as was capable of exciting him to take Vengeance for so heinous a Crime. However, the King did not approve that Letter, and conceiv'd much Displeasure against *Stephen* upon that Account; which gave occasion to his Enemies to persecute him, and to threaten to pillage his Estate, and to cause him to be put to Death, unless he desisted from the Prosecution of that Suit. Whereupon he had Recourse to *William* Bishop of *Chartres*, the Son of *Thibaud* or *Theobald* Count of *Champagne*, who appeas'd the King's Anger, and restor'd *Stephen* to his Favour, as the latter had entreated him to do in his second Letter.

The third is a Letter written by *Ponce* Bishop of *Clermont*, in which he desires *Maurice* Bishop of *Paris*, and *Stephen* Abbot of *St. Everte* to give a Resolution of a Case of Conscience touching the Validity of the Baptism of Infants that are dipt in the Water, these Words being recited, viz. *In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, without expressing the Action by these

Terms, *I baptize thee*. A certain Father had baptiz'd his Child after that Manner, and it was customary to do so, in Case of Necessity.

*Maurice* returns an Answer in the fourth Letter; That that Baptism is null, and determines the Matter with a great deal of Assurance, in a few Words. *Stephen* replies on the contrary, in the fifth Letter; that that Baptism is valid, provided the Three Persons of the Trinity be invoc'd, and that 'tis not absolutely necessary to add these Words, *I baptize thee*; because it is not said in the Gospel, *Go and baptize the Nations, saying, I baptize you in the Name of the Father, &c.* but only, *Baptize them in the Name of the Father, &c.* He confirms his Opinion by divers Passages of the Fathers, which only require the Invocation of the Holy Trinity, for the Validity of Baptism. He affirms, that these Terms, *I baptize thee*, are added by the Church, that they have only regard to the Solemnity of the Action, and do not belong to the Substance of the Sacrament: *de solemnitate Ministerii, non de substantia Sacramenti*. He adds, that if a different Opinion were admitted, an infinite number of Children must unavoidably be damned, who were baptiz'd by Laicks in Case of Necessity; by reason that the greatest part of those ignorant People, were wont to baptize only saying, *En nome Patres & Fils, & Esprites Sanctos*. However he declares, that those Priests ought to be censur'd and put to Penance, who thro' Negligence or Ignorance omit any Thing that relates to the Solemnity of the Administration of Baptism. But he maintains, that a Child which was once baptiz'd in the Name of the Trinity, ought not to be baptiz'd again, altho' the Father did not express the Action by these Words, *I baptize thee*. Lastly, he says that he who baptizes a Child, contracts a spiritual Affinity with the Mother, which renders him incapable of marrying her; or of co-habiting with her as his Wife, if they were marry'd before.

The other Letters contain'd in this first Part, are either recommendatory in favour of divers Persons, or relate to particular Affairs; as the rebuilding of the Church of *St. Everte*, which was burnt by the *Normans*, to which purpose, he desires Supplies of the Chapter of *St. Martin* at *Tours*, and of his Friends: The Restoration of a Prior who had wasted the Revenues of his Monastery: The Contest between the Church of *St. Sampson*, and the Chapter of *St. Croix*, &c.

In the second Part, are comprehended the Letters written by *Stephen* of *Tournay* whilst he govern'd the Abby of *St. Genevieve*, from A. D. 1177. to 1192. The greatest part of these Letters are complimentary or recommendatory, and contain nothing very remarkable. There are several written in favour of the Archbishop of *Tours*, about the Contest that he had with the Bishop of *Dol*, as the



in his Diocese, and to publish so strict an Ordinance against them, that the others might be terrify'd with the Severity of their Punishment.

In the hundred and fourteenth, he congratulates *John of Salisbury* upon his Intalment in the Bishoprick of *Chartres*, and commends the Relation that he wrote of the Life of *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

In the hundred and fifteenth, after having shewn in what Degrees of Consanguinity *Robert* and *Adelecia* were related one to another, he produces the several Impediments of their Marriage, and comprehends them in six Verses.

The hundred and sixteenth, is written to *Hugh* Abbot of *St. Denis*, to whom he sends one of his Books to be examin'd, and comforts him for the Indignity that was put upon him by the King of *France*.

In the hundred and seventeenth, he reprehends *Geoffrey* Abbot of *Marmoutier*, by reason that he had caus'd an Action to be commenc'd against the Prior of *St. Come*, for certain Lands which he claim'd, as belonging to his Jurisdiction.

There is nothing remarkable in the following Letters to the 123. in which he refuses to accept of the Sacerdotal Dignity, not through Contempt, but an extraordinary Respect for that Function.

In the hundred twenty fourth, he comforts *Gantier* Archbishop of *Roan*, banish'd from his Church, and justifies his Retreat.

In the hundred twenty fifth, he admonishes the same Prelate, to avoid Slothfulness during his Exile, and to apply himself to the reading of the Holy Scriptures.

In the hundred twenty sixth, directed to the Abbot of *Gloucester*, he gives an *Encomium* of *Odo* Chanter of *Bourges* chosen Bishop of *Paris*; to whom he writes the hundred twenty seventh, to renew their old Friendship and the Correspondence that formerly pass'd between them.

In the hundred twenty eighth, *Peter* of *Blois* complains to *William* Archbishop of *Sens*, that he had not as yet perform'd the Promise that he made to entertain him in his House, and to confer a Benefice upon him.

In the hundred twenty ninth, he writes against the Archdeacon of *Orleans*, who had introduc'd Simoniackal Practices into his Church.

In the hundred and thirtieth, directed to *John* Bishop of *Chartres*, he clears himself from the Charge brought against him, that he made use of the Recommendation of the King of *England*, of divers Lords, and of the Pope, to procure a Prebend in the Church of *Chartres*.

In the hundred thirty first, he reproves one of his Nephews, the Prior of a Monastery, by reason that neglecting the Study of the Liberal Sciences, and abandoning his Solitude, he frequented publick Places, and endeavour'd to curry Favour with Noblemen.

The hundred thirty second and the hundred thirty fourth, directed to Persons newly made Abbots, contain very useful Instructions for the Conduct of Superiors.

In the hundred thirty third, written to the Dean and Chapter of *Salisbury*, he maintains that he is not oblig'd to reside in his Prebend in that City, in regard of the smallness of the Revenue, which was not sufficient for defraying the Charge of a Journey thither.

The hundred thirty fifth, is a Dispensation for Non-residence granted by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to a Canon of *Salisbury*.

The hundred thirty sixth, is a Letter from *Henry II.* King of *England* to *Alexander III.* in which he complains of the Rebellion of his Children, and implores the Assistance of that Pope.

In the hundred thirty seventh, he congratulates a Novice Monk, and gives him wholesome Advice.

In the hundred thirty eighth, he expresses to *Gautier* Archbishop of *Roan*, the Joy that he had upon his return from his Exile.

In the hundred thirty ninth, he entreats the Abbot and Monks of *Cisteaux* to put up their Prayers to God, that he would vouchsafe to grant him his Grace, to enable him worthily to perform the Functions of the Priesthood, to which Dignity he was lately rais'd, and explains the reasons why he defer'd the receiving of that Order till that Time.

In the hundred and fortieth, he exhorts *Petrus Diaconus* to quit the Study of the Law, and to apply himself altogether to that of the Holy Scriptures and of Divinity. In this Letter, he makes use of the Term of *Transubstantiation* in treating of the Eucharist. 'Thus you see, says he, in one single Sacrament a deep Abyss impenetrable to Humane Reason; I mean, in the Bread and Wine transubstantiated by Vertue of the Heavenly Words, into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, the Accidents that were therein, remaining without a Subject; and although the Body of Jesus Christ be Flesh and not Spirit, nevertheless it nourishes the Soul rather than the

Body. The same Body is to be found in several Places and on divers Altars, against the Nature of Bodies, without ceasing to be in Heaven: For although by its Nature it can only be in one Place after a circumscribable Manner, yet it is in many Places by its omnipotent Vertue and Energy, and after a spiritual Manner.

In the hundred forty first, he complains to *Gautier* Archbishop of *Roan*, that a certain private Person had detain'd the Revenues of a Prebend that belong'd to him, and entreats that Prelate to cause Restitution to be made.

In the hundred forty second, he comforts the Prior and Monks of *Evesham*, who were in great Trouble, and exhorts them to bear it with Patience.

The four following Letters relate to the Confinement of *Richard I.* King of *England*, and were written to procure his Liberty.

In the hundred forty seventh, he reproves *Robert* Bishop of *Bangor*, who determin'd to retain a certain Benefice, which he had conferr'd on another Clerk.

In the hundred forty eighth, he exhorts *Savaric* Bishop of *Bath* to return to his Diocese, and not to leave his Church with a Design to travel.

In the hundred forty ninth, he complains, that they were about to deprive him of his Archdeaconry in the End of his Life.

In the hundred and fiftieth, he mollifies what he had said in the fourteenth Letter, against those Clergymen, who reside in the Courts of Princes.

In the hundred fifty first, he entreats Pope *Innocent III.* to augment the Revenues of the Archdeaconry of *London*, which was lately conferr'd upon him. He gives his Holiness to understand, that there were about forty thousand Men within the Jurisdiction of his Archdeaconry, and above one hundred and twenty Churches; nevertheless that he was not able to collect any of the Duties that are customably paid to the Archdeacons.

In the hundred fifty second, he entreats that Pope, to change a Chapter of which he was Dean, into a Monastery of the *Cistercian* Order.

The hundred fifty third, is written in the Name of *Rotrou* Archbishop of *Roan*, and of *Arnulphus* Bishop of *Lisieux*, to *Henry II.* King of *England*; in which they give him an Account of the Negotiations in the Court of the King of *France*, where they were sent by that Prince.

The hundred fifty fourth, is likewise written in the Name of the same Archbishop, who entreats *Eleonora* Queen of *England*, and her Sons, to be reconcil'd with King *Henry II.*

In the hundred fifty fifth Letter, that Archbishop excuses himself to the Prior and Monks of *La Charite*, for not retiring to their Convent, by reason that he could not leave his Flock during the War.

The following Letters to the hundred eighty third, and last, contain nothing very remarkable as to Ecclesiastical Affairs, and many of them are Consolatory.

There is no Author, who has fill'd his Letters with a greater number of Quotations, out of the Holy Scriptures and Ecclesiastical and Profane Writings, than *Peter of Blois*; inasmuch, that they are scarce any thing else but a Contexture of such Passages. That which is properly his own Matter, is full of Antitheses and Puns: However, he discourses with much freedom, sharply reproves Vices, and maintains Church Discipline and the Ecclesiastical Constitutions.

His Sermons are written almost after the same Manner as his Letters, in a concise and sententious Style, to the number of sixty five; neither does he explain therein the Points of Morality in their utmost extent, but he fills them with divers Maxims and Notions, which are accompanied with no other Ornaments, but Antitheses and nice Comparisons of Words: But he handles Matters more at large in his Tracts, which are seventeen in Number.

The first is a Moral Discourse on the Transfiguration of Jesus Christ.

The second, is another Discourse of the same Nature on *St. Paul's* Conversion.

The third, is a compendious Chronicle on the Beginning and the End of the Book of *Job*.

The fourth, is a very patheticall Exhortation to induce the Christian Princes to send Succours to the Holy Land.

The fifth, is an Instruction written in the Name of Pope *Alexander III.* to the Sultan of *Iconium*.

The sixth, is a Treatise of Sacramental Confession and Penance.

The seventh, is a Tract concerning the Functions and Qualities of a Confessor, and the Manner how he ought to demean himself in the Administration of the Sacrament of Penance.

The



The eighth Piece, call'd the Episcopal Canon, contains Instructions for Bishops.

The ninth, is an Invektive against one who pass'd a Censure on his Works, and charg'd him with being a Flatterer of Princes, and a false Accuser of Clergymen and Monks: He clears himself from both Imputations, by producing a Catalogue of his Writings; in which he asserts, that there is nothing to be found that can convict him of what was laid to his Charge, and several Particulars to the contrary. He enlarges in Commendation of the Monastick Life, and explains some Passages of his Works, that were objected against him; and amongst others, what he had laid down concerning Free-will, which he was accus'd of having confounded with Grace: He maintains, That the former is supported by, and depends on the latter, after such a manner, that the Mercy of God is not prejudicial to Merit, nor Grace to Free-will.

The tenth, is a Treatise against the *Jews*, in which he has accurately collected all the Prophecies that relate to Jesus Christ.

The eleventh, is a large Treatise of Christian Friendship, of the Love of God, and Charity to our Neighbour; in which he insists on the Causes, Duties, Parts and Effects of those Virtues.

The twelfth, is of the Usefulness of Afflictions, of which he shews the several Advantages.

The thirteenth, call'd, *What are they, quales sunt?* is a Satyr against unworthy Pastors. He justifies at first, what he is about to write against them, and declares that 'tis not his design to attack the Worthy Pastors, but only the Unworthy, who have no Faith; who have not enter'd the Sheep-fold through the Gate; who do not deserve the Names of Pastor, Pope, Bishop or Prelate; because

they have not any of the Qualities signified by those Terms; who enrich their Relations with the Church-Revenues; who confer Canonries and other spiritual Livings upon them; or who being of mean Extraction, and of an unknown Family, are endu'd with no generous Principles, but with a great deal of sordid Baseness without Humility, whose Dignity soon corrupts their Manners. He shews, that these sorts of Bishops ought not to be flatter'd, but that their Faults ought to be expos'd, to the end that those Persons who present themselves to be admitted into Holy Orders, may be duely examin'd, and that a considerable Time may be taken, to be well assur'd of their Demeanour, and of their Course of Life.

The fourteenth, is a Fragment of a Letter, that he wrote about Silence.

The fifteenth, is a Fragment of his Book, of the Changes of Fortune.

The sixteenth, is a Tract concerning the Sacred Books and Writers of the Old and New Testament.

The seventeenth, is a Poetical Piece on the Eucharist.

The first Edition of *Peter of Blois's* Works, was printed at *Mentz*; the second at *Paris*, A. D. 1519. the third at *Mentz* in 1600. by *Busæus*, who annex'd an Addition of some Tracts in 1605. This Edition was copied out in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, printed at *Colen*; but in all these Editions, the Sermons of *Peter Comestor*, were inserted instead of those of *Peter of Blois*: At last M. de *Goussainville*, publish'd a new Edition of all *Peter of Blois's* Works, in which are to found the genuine Sermons of that Author, printed at *Paris* in 1667. This was follow'd in the last *Bibliotheca Patrum*, set forth at *Lyons*.

## Stephen Bishop of Tournay.

**S**tephen, Abbot of St. *Genevieve*, and afterwards Bishop of *Tournay*, was born at *Orleans*, A. D. 1135. and compleated his Studies in the Schools of the Cathedral Churches of that City and of *Chartres*: He apply'd himself more especially to that of the Canon-Law, and became a Regular Canon in 1165. in the Monastery of St. *Everte*, where St. *Victor's* Rule was establish'd in 1158. by *Roger*, who was the first Abbot since the Reformation. *Stephen* succeeded him in that Office, but the Abby of *Genevieve* being vacant in 1177. by the Death of the Abbot *Aubert*, he was chosen in his Place. He was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Tournay* in 1192. and govern'd it to the Year 1203. which was that of his Death.

This Author wrote a Commentary on *Gratian's* Decretal, with divers Sermons and Letters. All his Works are extant in Manuscript; but *Father du Moulinet* did not judge, that the Commentary on the Decretal, and the Sermons were worthy to be brought to Light, and therefore he only publish'd the Preface to that Commentary, the first Sermon and the Texts of Scripture, on which the thirty others were compos'd, with his Letters, which he divided into three Parts; the first of which contain the Letters which he wrote being as yet Abbot of St. *Everte*, from A. D. 1163. to 1177.

The first, is a very pathetic Complaint, which he recited in the Synod of the Bishops of the Province held at *Sens*, concerning the Murder committed on the Person of *John* Dean of *Orleans*, by a certain Lord, out of whose Hands, he endeavour'd to wrest some Revenues belonging to the Chapter of *Orleans*, which he had usurp'd.

He was enjoyn'd by the same Assembly, to write to the King, to demand Justice for that execrable Fact. He did it after such a manner, as was capable of exciting him to take Vengeance for so heinous a Crime. However, the King did not approve that Letter, and conceiv'd much Displeasure against *Stephen* upon that Account; which gave occasion to his Enemies to persecute him, and to threaten to pillage his Estate, and to cause him to be put to Death, unless he desisted from the Prosecution of that Suit. Whereupon he had Recourse to *William* Bishop of *Chartres*, the Son of *Thibaud* or *Theobald* Count of *Champagne*, who appeas'd the King's Anger, and restor'd *Stephen* to his Favour, as the latter had entreated him to do in his second Letter.

The third is a Letter written by *Ponce* Bishop of *Clermont*, in which he desires *Maurice* Bishop of *Paris*, and *Stephen* Abbot of St. *Everte* to give a Resolution of a Case of Conscience touching the Validity of the Baptism of Infants that are dip't in the Water, these Words being recited, viz. *In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, without expressing the Action by these

Terms, *I baptize thee*. A certain Father had baptiz'd his Child after that Manner, and it was customary to do so, in Case of Necessity.

*Maurice* returns an Answer in the fourth Letter; That that Baptism is null, and determines the Matter with a great deal of Assurance, in a few Words. *Stephen* replies on the contrary, in the fifth Letter; that that Baptism is valid, provided the Three Persons of the Trinity be invoc'd, and that 'tis not absolutely necessary to add these Words, *I baptize thee*; because it is not said in the Gospel, *Go and baptize the Nations, saying, I baptize you in the Name of the Father, &c.* but only, *Baptize them in the Name of the Father, &c.* He confirms his Opinion by divers Passages of the Fathers, which only require the Invocation of the Holy Trinity, for the Validity of Baptism. He affirms, that these Terms, *I baptize thee*, are added by the Church, that they have only regard to the Solemnity of the Action, and do not belong to the Substance of the Sacrament: *de solemnitate Ministerii, non de substantia Sacramenti*. He adds, that if a different Opinion were admitted, an infinite number of Children must unavoidably be damned, who were baptiz'd by Laicks in Case of Necessity; by reason that the greatest part of those ignorant People, were wont to baptize only saying, *En nome Patres & Fils, & Esprites Sanctos*. However he declares, that those Priests ought to be censur'd and put to Penance, who thro' Negligence or Ignorance omit any Thing that relates to the Solemnity of the Administration of Baptism. But he maintains, that a Child which was once baptiz'd in the Name of the Trinity, ought not to be baptiz'd again, altho' the Father did not express the Action by these Words, *I baptize thee*. Lastly, he says that he who baptizes a Child, contracts a spiritual Affinity with the Mother, which renders him incapable of marrying her; or of co-habiting with her as his Wife, if they were marry'd before.

The other Letters contain'd in this first Part, are either commendatory in favour of divers Persons, or relate to particular Affairs; as the rebuilding of the Church of St. *Everte*, which was burnt by the *Normans*, to which purpose, he desires Supplies of the Chapter of St. *Martin* at *Tours*, and of his Friends: The Restoration of a Prior who had wasted the Revenues of his Monastery: The Contest between the Church of St. *Sampson*, and the Chapter of St. *Croix*, &c.

In the second Part, are comprehended the Letters written by *Stephen* of *Tournay* whilst he govern'd the Abby of St. *Genevieve*, from A. D. 1177. to 1192. The greatest part of these Letters are complimentary or commendatory, and contain nothing very remarkable. There are several written in favour of the Archbishop of *Tours*, about the Contest that he had with the Bishop of *Dol*, as the



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fortieth, the hundred and seventh, the hundred and eighth, the hundred and tenth, and the hundred and fortieth : Others against the Regular Canons of St. *John des Vignes*, who were desirous to enjoy their private Estates, and who being provided of good Livings, endeavour'd to withdraw themselves from their Obedience to the Abbot, to depend only on the Jurisdiction of the Bishop. He maintains, That they ought always to be subject to the Abbot, and to submit to his Will, according to the Custom, which (as he says) was always put in practice; otherwise all manner of regular Discipline would be entirely abolish'd, and there would be as many Abbots as Curates: See the sixty first, the ninety fifth, and the hundred sixty second Letters.

In the seventy first, he proves, That those who have made a Vow to pass from the Order of *Grandmont* to that of *Cîteaux*, ought to perform that Vow, and in general, that Translations from a remiss Order to a more austere are lawful and expedient. In the hundred forty third, he relates a Sentence pass'd by the King, in favour of certain Clerks of the Order of *Grandmont* against the Prior and some Lay-brothers of the same Order, and writes to the Pope in his own Name, in that of the Abbots of St. *Germain des Prez* and of St. *Victor*; and even in that of his Clergy; to confirm that Sentence. In the hundred forty first, he advises the Dean of the Church of *Rheims* to hinder the Canons of that Cathedral from abrogating what was left of their ancient Rule, viz. to eat always in common in the same Refectory, and to live together in the same Cloister.

The hundred forty sixth, the hundred forty seventh, the hundred forty eighth, the hundred forty ninth, and the hundred fifty third are written to the King of *Denmark*, and to some Bishops of that Kingdom and of *Sweden*, to induce them to procure Lead in *England* to cover the Church of St. *Genevieve*, which was burnt and pillaged by the *Normans*. He makes by the way, a very ingenious *Antithesis*, between the Lead that is purchased at *Rome* for Bulls, and that which is bought in *England*; saying, *That one serves to impoverish the Churches, and the other to cover them: Anglico Plumbo teguntur Ecclesie, nudantur Romano.* He entreats the Pope to grant two Dispensations, viz. one in the eighty second Letter for the Chancellor of *France*, who was denied Admittance into Holy Orders, because he was not born in lawful Wedlock, and the other in the hundred and thirteenth upon the same Occasion, in Favour of a certain Person who had exercised the Office of an Attorney General: He observes in the former, that the Canon of not admitting base born Persons among the Clergy, was not generally receiv'd in all the Churches. He likewise makes a Request to the Pope, to confirm the Immunity of the Abby of St. *Everte* at *Orleans*, in the fifty eighth and fifty ninth Letters; and in the hundred fifty fifth, to maintain the Revenues belonging to the Prebends of the Cathedral of *Paris*, appropriated to the Church of St. *Victor*.

The hundred fifty ninth, is concerning the Difficulty of leading a solitary Course of Life, and of the Means of attaining to it. *Errard* of *Avesnes* Bishop of *Tournay* dying, A. D. 1191. the Clergy at first chose *Peter* Chanter of the Church of *Paris*, to supply his Place, and *Stephen* wrote the hundred seventy fifth and last Letter of the second Part, in his Behalf, but that Election being adjudged to be null, he himself was install'd in the Bishoprick of *Tournay*, and caus'd his Nephew to be chosen Abbot of St. *Genevieve* in his stead.

The first Letters of the third Part, relate to his Promotion to that Dignity. In the two hundred and second, he determines, That the Marriage of a Novice who has left his Convent for that Purpose, is valid. In the two hundred and eighth, he gives a particular Account of his Life and Conversation, to justifie himself against *Bertier* Archdeacon of *Cambray*, who accus'd him of not leading a Life conformable to that of a Bishop. 'I very seldom go, says he, out of the City: I assist as often as is possible, at the Celebration of all the Divine Offices; I preach the Word of God to my Diocesans, after the best Manner that I can; I declaim against the modern Heresies: I freely administer the Sacraments, which I have freely receiv'd. I detest Simoniackal Practices: I do not receive Bribes or unlawful Presents: I give wholesome Advice to all those, who make Confession to me; and impose on them profitable Penances: I comfort the Afflicted as far as it lies in my Power: I spend my spare Hours in reading and meditating on the Holy Scripture: I exercise Hospitality in entertaining my Guests cheerfully, and keeping a good Table, never eating my Bread alone; yet I do not riotously waste the Patrimony of Jesus Christ in maintaining Stage-players and Farce-actors. Such is my outward Demeanour, and as for the inward Disposition of my Mind, it is known to none but God.

The two hundred twenty fourth, two hundred twenty fifth, and the two hundred twenty sixth Letters have Reference to the Abbot of St. *Martin* at *Tournay*, whom he suspended for leading a disorderly Life, and re-establish'd him at the Request of the Bishop of *Arras*, on condition that he should observe the Rules; that were prescribed to him, and which are specified in the two hundred twenty fourth Letter. The two hundred thirty first and the following are written against the Sentence of Suspension, which *Melior* the Pope's Legate was about to denounce against the Country of *Flanders*: In the two hundred forty third, and the next, he puts up Complaints against the Inhabitants of *Tournay*, who refus'd to submit to his Authority. In the two hundred forty eighth and two hundred forty ninth, he complains, that the Archbishop of *Arras* conferr'd Orders on the Monks of St. *Amand* without his Leave. The two hundred fifty first is a Declamation directed to the Pope, on this Subject, viz. That the Study of the Fathers was then generally neglected to follow that of Scholastick Divinity, and of the Decretals. 'The Students, says he, having a Relish for nothing but Novelty, and the Tutors endeavouring to enhance their own Reputation, rather than to promote the Instruction of others, compile every Day new Sums or Systems of Divinity, and new Theological Works, on purpose to amuse and deceive their Auditors; as if the Writings of the Fathers were not sufficient; who have explain'd the Holy Scriptures, by the same Spirit with which the Prophets and Apostles were inspir'd when they wrote them. But these modern Doctors bring in new, unknown and strange sorts of Messes, when the King's Wedding Feasts are quite made ready, when the Oxen and Fowl are kill'd, and when it only remains that the Guests should sit down at Table to eat: Publick Disputations are set on foot against the Decisions of the Church, touching the incomprehensible Godhead: Flesh and Blood take upon them irreverently to dispute about the Incarnation of the Word: The Holy Indivisible Trinity, is as it were divided and torn in Pieces (with Reverence be it spoken) in the Publick Places; insomuch, that there are almost as many Errors as Doctors, as many Scandals as Auditories, and as many Blasphemies as Places. If there be occasion to pass from Theological Disputes to the Trial of Causes that are usually decided by the Canon Law, as soon as the Judges-delegate are appointed, or when the Ordinaries have taken Cognizance of the Matter; a prodigious Labyrinth of Decretal Letters is immediately produc'd, under the Name of *Alexander* of happy Memory, from whence 'tis impossible for any Man to extricate himself; neither is any regard had to the ancient Canons, but on the contrary, they are rejected and contemned. During which Confusion, it so falls out, that the wholesome Ordinances of the ancient Councils are not follow'd in the Modern, and Matters are not debated according to their natural Order, with respect to the true Merit of the Cause, by reason that the Decretal Letters have the Pre-eminence, which perhaps are forged under the Name of divers Popes of *Rome* by modern Canonists. These are collected into an entire Volume, which is read in the Schools, and publicly sold to the great Profit of the Writers, who by that means take less Pains, and get more Money, by copying out those suspected Works. The third Objection that may be made against the present manner of Studying, is, that the Liberal Arts and Sciences have lost their ancient Liberty, and are brought under so great Subjection, that the Professors Chairs are fill'd with young Persons, and the Quality of Tutors is attributed to such as do not deserve to be look'd upon as Pupils, who without adhering to the Rules of Art, employ themselves in setting Words in order and devising Sophisms, with which they surprize ignorant and unthinking People; after the same manner as silly Flies are soon catch'd in a Cobweb. Philosophy may well cry out, that her Garments are snatch'd away and that her Body is torn in Pieces; so that there is no Elder left to comfort her; neither is she any longer capable of administering Comfort to an Elder. These abuses, most Holy Father, require your powerful Hand to reform them, and that you should establish by your sovereign Authority an Uniformity of Teaching, Learning and Disputing, lest the most noble Science of Divinity should become contemptible; lest it should be said that Jesus Christ is here, or there, or lest Holy Things should be thrown to Dogs, and Pearls cast before Swine.

In the two hundred fifty fifth Letter, he inveighs against another Abuse, that is to say, Appeals made to the Holy See by Inferiors, to avoid the Correction of their Superiors, and requires that Prelates and Abbots should be invested with an absolute Power to correct their Inferiors, and to change the Officers that depend on their Jurisdiction, with-

† Procurator  
Fiscal.



without any manner of Obstruction made by the Means of Appeals to the Court of Rome. In the two hundred sixty second Letter, he enlarges on the Commendation of Queen *Ingelburga*, the Wife of *Philip* King of France, and advises her in the following, not to suffer her Marriage to be dissolv'd. The other Letters do not contain any Thing very remarkable. The whole Number of them amounts to two hundred eighty and seven in the last Edi-

Of the principal Authors.

tion set forth by Father *du Moulinet*, and printed at Paris, A. D. 1689. altho' there were only two hundred and forty in that of *Maffon* in 1611. The Style of these Letters is concise and close, but the Terms are not always pure, nor well chosen; nevertheless they afford much Satisfaction to the Reader, by reason that the Conceptions are regular and natural.

Of the principal Authors.

## The Authors who wrote against the Albigeois and Vaudois.

**G**retser brought to light, A. D. 1614. three Authors who wrote against the *Albigeois* and *Vaudois* in the End of the Twelfth Century: These three Writers are *Ebrard* of *Bethune* in the Province of *Artois*, *Bernard* Abbot of *Fontcaud* and *Ermengard* or *Ermengaud*.

Ebrard of Bethune.

*Ebrard* of *Bethune*, confutes in his Work, 1. The Error of the *Manichees*, concerning the Law of *Moses*, and the Prophets; by shewing, That the Law ought not to be rejected; that the Patriarchs and the Prophets were saved; and that it is the true God, who gave the Law, and created the World. Afterwards he passes to other Errors common to all the Hereticks of that Time, about the Sacraments, and the Customs of the Church; and establishes against them the following Doctrines, viz. That Children ought to be baptiz'd; that it is lawful to marry; that the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, contains the Body of Jesus Christ; that none but Priests have the Power or Right of offering, and that they ought to do it in the Churches: That the Unction of the Sick is profitable; that Pilgrimages upon account of Devotion, are commendable; that it is lawful to take a true Oath; that Malefactors may be punished and even put to Death; that we shall rise again in the future State with the same Body that we now have; that Faith ought to be prefer'd to good Works; that Crosses ought to be honour'd; that Women shall be saved, and rise again with the Distinction of their Sex; that Salvation may be obtain'd by different Means, and in different States; and that it is lawful to eat Flesh: Lastly, he shews that those Hereticks are culpable, in regard that they conceal themselves, and that altho' they boast of renouncing the Possessions of this World, yet they endeavour to enrich themselves by other Means; that they mistake the Meaning of Holy Scripture; and that all the Characters of Hereticks agree with them. He adds, That some of them call themselves *Valois*, and others *Xabatates*; that they are wont to tear off their Shoes, and that they continually expose themselves during the whole Day to the Heat of the Sun, till Supper-time, when they appear in the publick Places. He concludes this Treatise with a Catalogue of all the Hereticks taken out of *Isidorus*, and with the Resolution of divers Questions propos'd by him.

Bernard Abbot of Fontcaud.

The second Author, who is *Bernard* Abbot of *Fontcaud*, dedicated his Book to Pope *Lucius* III. and confutes the *Vaudois*, whom *Bernard* Archbishop of *Narbonne* had twice condemned after having heard their several Pleas. He makes particular mention of the Obedience due to the Popes and Prelates: He declaims against the Permission that those People allow Laymen and even Women to preach; against their Assertion that the Alms, Fastings, Sacrifices and Prayers of the Living do not avail any

Thing with respect to the Dead; against those who deny Purgatory, and maintain that Humane Souls are neither in Heaven nor Hell till the Day of Judgment; and against their Asseverations, that the People ought not to meet in the Churches to pray. Thus this Author positively opposes none but the *Vaudois*.

The third nam'd *Ermengard*, at first impugns the Errors of the *Manichees* about the old Law, Marriage, the Incarnation, Passion, Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, and afterwards passes to other Errors concerning the Sacraments and Church-Discipline. He proves, that it is requisite to have Churches and Altars; That the singing of the Praises of God is useful and reasonable: That the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ ought to be celebrated in the Church, and that the Words of its Institution, ought to be understood in a proper and not in a figurative Sense; That Baptism is necessary for Salvation, and that it ought even to be administer'd to young Children: That Repentance is likewise necessary for those who have fallen into Sin, and that it is composed of three Parts, viz. Contrition, Confession and Satisfaction, and that it is requisite to make Confession to a Priest. He refutes in particular the Custom that was in use among those Hereticks in the Imposition of Hands, which they call Consolation, and which they administer'd in the following Manner:

The Superior amongst those People, after having wash'd his Hands, took the Book of the Gospels, and exhorted those, who came to receive the Consolation, to put their whole Trust and Hope of their Salvation therein, and afterwards laying the Book of the Gospels on their Head, repeated seven times the Lord's Prayer, and the Beginning of St. *John's* Gospel, from *In principio*, to these Words, *Gratia et Veritas per Jesum Christum facta est*: i. e. *Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ*. Thus ended the Ceremony of their Consolation; but if it should happen that no Superior is present, then one of the Comforted performs the same Ceremony, and even Women do it to sick Persons in the Absence of Men: They believe that this Consolation remits Sins, even mortal ones, and that without it 'tis impossible to be saved: Lastly, they maintain, that those who have actually committed a mortal Sin, are incapable of administering it effectually. Afterwards *Ermengard* proves against them, that 'tis lawful to eat Flesh, and to take an Oath, and establishes the Doctrines of the Resurrection of the Dead, the Invocation of Saints, and Prayers for deceased Persons.

These three Authors scarce make use of any other Proofs but Passages of the Holy Scripture to confute the Errors they oppose, and to establish the Truths they maintain; nay they produce a great Number of them, amongst which there are some which do not clearly prove, what they assert.



## C H A P. XII.

## Of the Ecclesiastical Authors of less note, who flourish'd in the Western Countries in the Twelfth Century.

Of the  
Authors of  
less note.

**A**FTER having treated in the preceding Chapter of the most noted Ecclesiastical Writers, whose Works are more numerous, or more considerable, we shall now give some Account in this, of a great Number of others less known, who have compos'd divers small Tracts, reserving the particular Enumeration of the Historians and Greek Authors, for the following Chapters.

Anselm  
Dean of  
Laon.

*Anselm*, Dean of the Church of *Laon*, flourish'd in the Beginning of the Century, and made publick Divinity-Lectures at *Chalons*, in which he gave Explications of the Holy Scripture. He is also supposed to be in part the Author of the Ordinary Gloss. Some attribute to him the Commentaries on the Book of *Canticles*, on *St. Matthew's Gospel*, on *St. Paul's Epistles*, and on the *Revelation of St. John*, which were printed under the Name of *St. Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury*, but they really belong to *Heruas* a Monk of *Bourg* near *Dol*, whose Name they bear in the Manuscripts.

Gislebert  
or Gilbert  
Crispin,  
Abbot of  
Westminster.

*Gislebert* or *Gilbert*, surnam'd *Crispin*, *St. Anselm's* Pupil, after having follow'd his Study in the Abby of *Bee*, took a Journey to *Rome*, and upon his return, had a Conference with a certain Jew of *Meniz*. Afterwards he was made Abbot of *Westminster*, A. D. 1106. He wrote a Relation of that Conference, and dedicated it to *St. Anselm*, amongst whose Works it is inserted in the last Edition by *Father Gerberton*. *Dr. Cave* assures us, That there are still extant in the Libraries of *England*, divers Manuscript Homilies written by *Gilbert Crispin* on the Book of *Canticles*, and several Discourses on *St. Jerome's Prefaces* to the Bible, with a particular Treatise against the Sins of Thought, Word and Deed. The Relation of the Conference made by this Author, is different from that which is annexed to *St. Augustine's Works*, under the Title of, *The Contest between the Synagogue and the Church*, and is much more accurate. He died A. D. 1114. as some Writers averr, or according to others in 1115.

Petrus  
Alphon-  
sus, a Spa-  
nish Jew  
converted.

*Petrus Alphonsus*, a Spanish Jew, who formerly bore the Name of *Moses*, was converted A. D. 1106. was baptiz'd at *Huesca*, and had *Alphonfus* King of *Portugal* for his Godfather. He compos'd a Treatise by way of Dialogue between a Jew and a Christian, concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion, divided into twelve Chapters; in the first of which he shews, That the Jews explain the Writings of the Prophets too carnally, and that they mistake their meaning: In the second, he makes it appear, that the Cause of the Captivity of the Jews, is the putting of the Messiah to death; that it was foretold by the Prophets, and that it will not cease till the End of the World. In the third, he confutes the Opinion of the Jews, who believe, that their Dead shall be raised again one Day to dwell on the Earth, and that they shall multiply therein. In the fourth, he proves that the Jews do no longer observe the principal Articles of the Law of *Moses*, and that what they do observe, is not acceptable to God. In the fifth Chapter, which is written against the *Mahometan* Superstitions; he shews, that *Mahomet* was a false Prophet, who wrought no Miracles, and was destitute of Learning, Religion and Probity. In the sixth, he proves the Doctrine of the Trinity, by Passages of the Old Testament. In the seventh, he demonstrates by the Writings of the Prophets, That the Messiah was to be born of a Virgin, and conceiv'd by the Operation of the Holy Ghost. In the eighth, That the Word of God was made Man, and that Christ is God and Man. In the ninth, That Jesus Christ came at the Time foretold by the Prophets, and that the Prophecies concerning the Messiah are accomplish'd in him. In the tenth, That he died voluntarily to redeem Mankind, according to the Prediction of the Prophets. In the eleventh, That he arose again from the Dead, and ascended into Heaven. And in the twelfth, That the Law of the Christians is not contrary to that of the Jews. This Treatise is one of the best that we have of that kind, and the Author handles these Matters very methodically, with a great deal of Clearness and Solidity of Argument.

*Theobald* or *Theobald*, Clerk of the Church of *Etampes*, and afterwards Professor of Divinity in the Schools of *Etampes*, *Caen* and *Oxford*, flourish'd in the Beginning of the Cen-

tury, and wrote several Letters, which were publish'd by *Father Dachery* in the third Tome of his *Spicilegium*.

The first is written to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, about certain Persons who were doubtful of the Mercy of God: He shews, That a Sinner may have recourse to Repentance at all Times; That he may obtain the Remission of his Sins, and that a good Disposition is sufficient for an entire Conversion.

In the second, directed to *Faricus* Abbot of *Abbingdon*; he proves, That Children who die without receiving Baptism are damned.

The third, is a Complimental Letter to *Margaret* Queen of *England*.

The fourth, is a Consolatory Letter to one of his Friends, who was unjustly slandered.

The last Letter is written against *Roscelin*; in which he shews, That the Sons of Priests are incapable of being admitted into Holy Orders.

*Radulphus* surnam'd *Ardens*, a Native of *Poitiers*, and Chaplain to *William III.* Duke of *Aquitaine*, flourish'd in the Beginning of this Century. He compos'd a great Number of Sermons on the *Sundays* and *Festivals* of the Year, printed at *Paris*, A. D. 1568. and 1583. at *Antwerp* in 1576. and at *Colen* in 1604.

*Odo*, Abbot of *St. Martin* at *Tournay*, was ordain'd Bishop of *Cambray*, A. D. 1105. and expell'd for refusing to receive the Investiture from the Emperor *Henry IV.* He retir'd to *Doway* and died there in 1113. He wrote a Commentary upon the Canon of the Mass, in which he explains the Text literally, with a kind of Paraphrase: Three very Scholastick Books concerning Original Sin: A Treatise in form of a Dialogue against a Jew, touching the Necessity of the Incarnation of the Son of God, and of the Grace of Jesus Christ: Another of the Sin against the Holy Ghost: A Tract to explain the Harmony of the Evangelists, and a Sermon on the Parable of the unjust Steward. There is a great deal of Philosophy in these Treatises.

*Gilbert*, Bishop of *Limerick* in *Ireland*, and the Pope's Legate in that Country, held a Council there A. D. 1110 to regulate the Limits of the Bishopricks of that Kingdom, and assisted in 1115. at the Ordination of *Bernard* Bishop of *St. David's*, which was perform'd at *Westminster*. But being no longer able to discharge the Functions of his Legateship, he resign'd it to the Pope in 1139. and died a little while after. He wrote a small Tract about the State of the Church, and two Letters, viz. one to the Bishops and Priests of *Ireland*, and the other to *St. Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which are inserted in the Collection of the Letters of *Ireland*, publish'd by Archbishop *Usher*.

*Franco*, the second Abbot of the Monastery of *Afflighem* near *Bruxels*, compos'd in the Beginning of the Century, twelve Books concerning the Grace and Mercy of God, which contain an History of the principal Benefices that God has bestow'd on Men from the Creation of the World, to the Day of everlasting Happiness: A Letter in which he shews, That a Monk, who has quitted his Habit and Profession cannot be saved: Another Letter directed to certain Nuns, to serve them instead of a Consolation and Exhortation. The Poetical Piece about the Glory of the future State, apparently is not different from certain Copies of Verses on that Subject, which are to be found at the End of his twelfth Book of the Grace of God; but his Sermons on the Virgin *Mary*, mention'd by *Tritheimius*, are no longer extant. This Author was made Abbot, A. D. 1111. and died under Pope *Innocent II.* He began these Works being as yet a simple Monk, and completed them when advanc'd to the Dignity of an Abbot.

*William de Champeaux*, so call'd from the Name of *William* the Village of *Champeaux* near *Melun* in the Province of *de Champeaux*, after having apply'd himself to study at *Laon* under *Anselm* Dean of the Cathedral Church of that City, was ordain'd Archdeacon of *Paris*, and appointed to read Lectures of Logick in the Schools of that Church. Some time after, he retir'd with some of his Pupils to a Monastery, in which was *St. Victor's* Chappel near *Paris*, and there founded the Abby of Regular Canons. He continu'd

Of the  
Authors of  
less note.

Odo Bishop  
of Cambray.

Gilbert  
Bishop of  
Limerick.

Franco  
Abbot of  
Afflighem.



inu'd to teach in that Convent, and (as it is generally believ'd) was the first publick Professor of Scholastick Divinity. He was made Bishop of *Chalons*, A. D. 1113. and died in the end of the Month of *January*, 1121. 'Tis very probable, that being a Person of so great Learning, he wrote some Works, yet we have none of them in our Possession: For the Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew, which was publish'd under his Name in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* of the last Edition at *Lyons*, belongs to *Gilbert of Westminster*. However 'tis reported that he wrote a Book of Sentences before *Peter Lombard*, of which a Manuscript Copy is still kept in the Library of *Notre Dame* at *Paris*.

*Stephen*, ordain'd Bishop of *Autun* in the Year 1113. left that Bishoprick in 1129. to turn Monk in the Abby of *Cluny*, and spent the rest of his Life there. He is the Author of a Treatise concerning the Prayers and Ceremonies of the Mass; and about the Functions of the Ministers of the Altar, set forth by *John de Montalon*, Canon and Chanter of *Autun*, and inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

*Gautier* or *Gauterius*, Bishop of *Maguelone* in *Langue-doc* and the Pope's Legate, govern'd that Bishoprick from A. D. 1103. to 1129. He publish'd in the beginning of the Century a Treatise call'd *Flowers on the Psalms*, compos'd by *Leibert* or *Lietbert* Abbot of *St. Rufus*, and dedicated it to *Robert* Provost of *Lisle*, his Kinsman, and to the Chapter of that Church, by an Epistle which *Father Mabillon* has set forth in the first Tome of his *Analec'ta*.

*Drogo* or *Drenx*, Prior of *St. Nica'tius* at *Rheims*, was constituted the first Abbot of *St. John* at *Laon* by *Bartholomew* Bishop of that City, A. D. 1128. and afterwards invited to *Rome* in 1136. by Pope *Innocent II.* who made him a Cardinal and Bishop of *Ostia*. He wrote the following Tracts, viz. a Sermon on the Passion of Jesus Christ: A Treatise of the Creation and Redemption of the first Man: Another of the seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and a third on the Divine Offices. This Author died in 1138.

*Peter* the Library keeper of *Mount Cassin*, was put into that Monastery, A. D. 1115. being then aged only eleven Years, by his Father nam'd *Giles*, who was descended of a noble Family at *Rome*. After having compleated his Studies under the Abbot *Girard*, from whom he receiv'd the Monastick Habit, he was made Deacon of the Church of *Ostia*, and Library keeper of *Mount Cassin*. He was turn'd out of that Monastery in 1128. through the Envy of his Collegues; and afterwards employ'd in several Negotiations by the Emperor *Lotharius*, who gave him good Entertainment in his Court, and constituted him his Chaplain and Secretary of State: He compos'd a Treatise of the Illustrious Personages of *Mount Cassin*, printed at *Rome* in 1655. and inserted in the last *Bibliotheca Patrum*. He is likewise the Author of the fourth Book of the Chronicle of *Mount Cassin*, and of another Tract about the Roman Letters, dedicated to the Emperor *Conrad*, which was printed at *Venice* in 1525. In the last Chapter of his Treatise of Illustrious Personages, he gives us a Catalogue of his Works; in which are reckon'd up, the Lives of divers Saints; several Sermons; the History of the Famous Men of *Mount Cassin*; an Exposition of *St. Benedict's* Rule; certain *Scholia* or Notes on the Old Testament; and Hymns; divers Books relating to History or Humane Learning, and some Letters.

His Book of the Illustrious Personages of *Mount Cassin*, was continu'd by *Richard* Abbot of that Monastery, who died in the following Century. These two Writers (after *St. Jerom's* Example) usually produce a Catalogue of the Works of those Authors who are mention'd by them.

*Anselm*, Bishop of *Havelberg*, in the Marquisate of *Brandenburg*, flourish'd under the Emperor *Lotharius II.* who sent him in quality of his Ambassador to the Court of the Greek Emperor at *Constantinople*. He had divers Conferences there, about Matters of Religion, which were afterwards collected by him, and committed to Writing in three Books, dedicated to Pope *Eugenius III.* This Work was publish'd by *Father Luke Dachery* in the thirteenth Tome of his *Spicilegium*. In the first Book, he shews, That Faith was always the same even from the Creation of the World, although Customs and the particular manner of Living were different. He applies to the seven States of the Church, what is express'd in the *Apocalypse*, concerning the opening of the seven Seals, and the Horses that went out as they were open'd. The first is of the Primitive Church, famous for its Miracles, and the Purity of the Faith and Manners of the Believers: The second is that of the Church, persecuted by the *Jews* and *Gentiles*: The third is that of the Church, infested by Heresies: The fourth is that of the Church, full of false

Brethren and Hypocrites; to whom he opposes the Orders of Monks and Regular Canons: The fifth is the State of the Souls of the Righteous, who are at rest, waiting for the Resurrection: The sixth is the Persecution raised by Antichrist; and the last is the State of everlasting Happiness. In the second Book, compos'd by way of Dialogue, between himself and an Archbishop, of *Nicomedia*; he confutes the Opinion of the *Greeks*, touching the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and discusses divers Questions relating to the Mystery of the Trinity. The third is likewise written in form of a Conference with the same Archbishop, about the other Controversies that were on foot, between the *Greeks* and the *Latins*; more especially as to what concerns the Use of unleaven'd Bread, in the sacred Mysteries, Primacy, and the Authority of the Church of *Rome*, which he vigorously maintains. In like manner, he inveighs against the Custom of the *Greeks*, who were wont to put no Water in the Chalice, till after the Consecration, and censures another Custom that prevail'd among them, viz. to make use of Unction, upon the Reception of those *Latins*, who were admitted into their Communion. Lastly, a general Council is propos'd on both sides to procure the Re-union of the two Churches. This Treatise is learned and very accurately written.

*Hervaeus*, a *Benedictin* Monk of *Dol*, flourish'd in the Year of our Lord 1130. He wrote a Commentary on *St. Paul's* Epistles, which is annex'd to *St. Anselm's* in *Monk Works* of the *Colein* Edition. *Father Labbe* assures us, that of *Dol* there is also extant a large Manuscript Commentary on the Prophecy of *Isaiah* by this Author, in the Library of the College of *Clermont*. An account of his Life is contain'd in a circulatory Letter written by the Monks of that Monastery after his Death.

They also produce a Catalogue of his Works; which are an Exposition of the Book call'd, *The Hierarchy of the Angels*, attributed to *St. Dionysius the Areopagite*: certain Commentaries on the Book of *Isaiah*, on the Lamentations of *Jeremiah*, on the end of the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, on the Books of *Deuteronomy*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Judges*, *Ruth* and *Tobit*; in which he applies himself to illustrate the literal Sense, for the benefit of Persons of a mean Capacity: A large Commentary on *St. Paul's* Epistles: Another on the twelve lesser Prophets, and on the Book of *Genesis*: Divers Sermons on the Gospels, and on some of the Canticles: A Treatise of the Lessons, that are read in the Churches, in which he shews the different readings of those Lessons from the Sacred Text: A Book of the Miracles of the Virgin *Mary*; and an Explication of the Treatise of the Lord's Supper, attributed to *St. Cyprian*.

*Hugh de Foliet*, a Monk of *Corby*, flourish'd A. D. 1130. and compos'd divers Treatises, which are ascrib'd to *Hugh* of *St. Victor*, viz. The four Books of the Cloister of the Soul: That of the Physick of the Soul: The two first Books of Birds, dedicated to *Rainier*: Two Books of the carnal and spiritual Wedding: A Treatise of the shunning of Marriage: And a Piece call'd, *The Sinner's Mirrour*, printed among the supposititious Works of *St. Augustin*.

*Stephen*, Bishop of *Paris*, had a Contest in the Year 1132. with an Archdeacon of his Diocess, who had unadvisedly suspended the People of his Archdeaconry from Divine Service, and with *Stephen de Guarlande* his Adversary. These Quarrels are the Subject of divers Letters written by this Prelate, by *Henry* Archbishop of *Sens*, by *Geffery* Bishop of *Chartres*, by the Clergy of *Paris*, and by some others, which are inserted in the third Tome of *Father Dachery's* *Spicilegium*, page 153. &c. sequ.

*Hugh* pass'd over from *Amiens*, the place of his Nativity, into *England*, and was made Abbot of *Redding* in that Kingdom. Afterwards he was chosen Archbishop of *Roan*, and consecrated A. D. 1130. He was one of the greatest, most pious, and most learned Prelates of his time, and govern'd the Church of *Roan* with a great deal of Reputation, to the Year 1164. which was that of his Death. He wrote three Books to serve as an Instruction for the Clergy of his Diocess, against the Hereticks of his time. In the first, after having explain'd in a few Words, what ought to be believ'd concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation; he treats of the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, and the Lords-Supper, and confutes the Errors of those Hereticks, who deny the necessity of Baptism, more especially of that of Infants, and the Usefulness and Necessity of the Eucharist. In the second, he treats of Holy Orders, and of Ecclesiastical Functions. In the last, he discourses of the Dignity of the Clergy; Of the Manners of Clerks; Of the Celibacy which they are oblig'd to observe; Of the Vow of Chastity; Of Unity, and of other Marks of the Catholick Church. There are also two Letters written by this Archbishop, viz. one dedicated



ted to *Thierry* or *Theodoric* Bishop of *Amiens*, concerning the Absolution that was granted to Penitents, who took care of the Building of the Church, provided they made Confession of their Sins, did Penance, and were reconcil'd with their Enemies: The second is a complimentary Letter to the Count of *Toulouse*. These Pieces were publish'd by Father *Luke Dachery*, at the end of the Works of *Guibert* of *Nogent*.

Hugh Mellus a Regular Canon.

*Hugo Mellus*, a Regular Canon of the Abby of *St. Leon* in the Diocese of *Toul*, and the Pupil of *St. Anselm* at *Laon*, flourish'd in the beginning of this Century, and wrote divers Letters which are to be found in Manuscript, in the Library of the Jesuits College at *Clermont*. Father *Mabillon* caus'd one of them to be printed in the third Tome of his *Analec'ta*, which was directed to a certain Monk nam'd *Gerard* or *Gerland*; and in which he proves the real Presence of the Body of *Jesus Christ* in the Eucharist, and answers the Passages of *St. Augustin*, on which that Monk grounded his Doubts, as to that Article.

Thomas Abbot of *Maurigny*, wrote a Letter to *St. Bernard*, which is contain'd in the Miscellaneous Works by *M. Baluzius*, Tom. 4. p. 459.

Under the Tuition of *Peter*, Abbot of *Cluny*, there was a certain English Monk of that Convent, nam'd *Bernard*, who dedicated to him three Books on the Contempt of the World, in riming Verse. This Work was printed at several times in *Germany*, particularly at *Breme* in 1597. and at *Lunenburg* in 1640.

*Ulger*, Bishop of *Angers*, sent a Letter to Pope *Innocent* II. on behalf of the Abby of *St. Mary* at *Roe*, which was at variance with that of *Vendome*, about the Right they claim'd to a certain Church. This Prelate not only obtain'd his Request of the Pope, but also a peculiar Privilege in favour of the Abby of *Roe*, and another for his own Church at *Angers*. This Letter and a Copy of those two Privileges were set forth by *M. Baluzius* in the second Tome of his Miscellaneous Works. *Ulger* likewise made an *Encomium* in Verse on *Marbodius* Bishop of *Rennes*, which is prefix'd to the Works of that Author.

*Rodulphus*, a Native of *Munster*, after having follow'd his Studies for some time at *Liege*, travell'd into *Germany*, during which Journey, he took a Resolution to embrace the Monastick Life, and enter'd divers Monasteries: But finding none that were well regulated, he retir'd at last to that of *St. Trudo* or *St. Tron* in the Diocese of *Liege*, which was less Irregular than the others, and the Instruction of the young Monks was committed to his Care. *Thierry*, who was then Abbot, chose him for Prior; and they both us'd their utmost Endeavours jointly to bring about an entire Reformation of that Monastery. Upon the Death of *Thierry*, *Rodulphus* was elected Abbot in his place, A. D. 1108. but his Monastery was pillag'd and burnt a little while after. However, he restor'd it to its former State, yet was expell'd from thence, and took two Journeys to *Rome*. He in like manner reform'd the Monastery of *St. Pantaleon* at *Colen*, made *Sibert* one of the Monks of his Abby, Prior of it, and died after the Year 1136.

*Rodulphus* compos'd a Chronicle of the Abby of *St. Trudo*, from its first Foundation to the Year 1136. which was publish'd by Father *Dachery*, in the seventh Tome of the *Spicilegium*. It is very large, and divided into thirteen Books, the five last of which contain a Relation of the Affairs that were transacted in his time in that Abby.

He is likewise the Author of the Life of *St. Lietbert*, Bishop of *Cambray*, which is annex'd at the end of the seventh Tome of the *Spicilegium*. Besides, these Pieces, he compil'd several other Works, more especially a Treatise against Simonists, divided into seven Books, which Father *Mabillon* found in Manuscript in the Library of *Gemblours*, with a Letter written by *Sibert*, Prior of *St. Pantaleon*, to *Rodulphus*, and the Answer that was made to it by the latter.

We shall here subjoin the Arguments of the Books, of Simonism, as they are related by Father *Mabillon*. *Rodulphus* shews in the first Book, that Simonism is the first and greatest Herefie. In the second, he complains of an Abuse that was then predominant viz. that there was nothing that belong'd to the House of God, that was not expos'd to Sale. In the third, he gives an Account, after what Manner spiritual Livings are dispos'd of in the Country: In the fourth, he describes the Manner of Trading for Prebends, and other more considerable Benefices. In the fifth, he says, that perhaps it might be objected against him, that he endeavour'd to conceal the Simoniacal Practices that were committed by the Monks, and relates the Censures that were pass'd frequently upon them. In the last, he

returns an Answer to the Objections, and clears them from that Imputation.

Father *Mabillon* has publish'd a certain Letter written by *Sibert*, of whom we have already made mention, and *Rodulphus's* Answer. *Sibert* is desirous to be inform'd by that Prelate, what Answer ought to be made to a certain rich and covetous Person, who design'd to put his Son into the Monastery of *St. Pantaleon*, without giving him his Portion; that is to say, whether the Monks ought to exact any Thing of the Party, or to receive him *Gratis*. *Rodulphus* does two Things in his Reply: On the one side, he condemns the Avarice of that rich Man, and accuses him of a kind of Sacrilege, in regard that having determin'd to dedicate his Son to God, he denies him that share of his Estate, which belongs to him by Right of Inheritance: He observes also, that the Monasteries are not establish'd for the benefit of opulent Families, but to receive and maintain the Poor, who are devoted to the Service of God. On the other side, *Rodulphus* does not allow the Monks to exact any Thing for the Reception of Children, and says, that they would do well to admonish their Parents, that 'tis their Duty to offer part of the Hereditary Portion of their Children, but that they ought not to be constrain'd to do it by force: That as the Monastery may either admit or reject a Monk according to Discretion; so the Parents ought to be left at Liberty, either to bestow Children in such a manner, or to retain them, and that nothing can be exacted for the Admission of a Monk, without incurring the Guilt of Simonism. For (says he) every Thing that is exacted, or is demanded, or even every Thing that is done in hopes of getting a Recompence, as for what relates to Ecclesiastical Affairs, is Simonism, and altho' it does not appear so to the Eyes of Men, nevertheless 'tis look'd upon as such by God. At the end of this Letter, a Discourse is subjoin'd, in which he advises those who take upon them the Monastick Vows, to divide their Estate into three Parts; to the end, that one may be given to the Poor, another to the Monastery where they retire, and the third to be left to their Families. He likewise exhorts Parents who would make their Sons Monks, to allow them some part of their Hereditary Portion to be brought along with them into the Monastery, where they are admitted.

*Rodulphus* wrote in an indifferent good Style, was well vers'd in the Canon Law and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, and had perus'd the Writings of the Latin Fathers.

*Wafelinus*, surnam'd *Momalinus*, Prior of the Monastery of *St. Laurence*, in the Suburbs of *Liege*, who died A. D. 1147. wrote a Letter directed to *Gaufelin*, Abbot of *St. Florin*, in the same Diocese, in which he debates this Laurence Question, viz. Whether a Man and his Wife, who have coupl'd together carnally in the Night preceding a Festival, may receive the Communion the next Day? He makes it appear by many Arguments and Authorities cited to that Purpose, that Continency is enjoy'd those Persons who are desirous to partake of the Holy Sacraments; nevertheless, he is of Opinion that those, who having fallen in the Night into that Inconveniency thro' frailty, may be admitted to the Communion, provided they beg Pardon of God the next Day, make Confession of their Offence; and do Penance for it. Lastly, he leaves it to the Discretion of the Priest, either to permit them to communicate or to deny them that Privilege. This Letter was publish'd by Father *Mabillon*, in the first Tome of his *Analec'ta*.

*Amedeus*, Abbot of *Haute-Combe*, a Monastery of the Cistercian Order, and sometime Bishop of *Lausanna*, viz. from A. D. 1144. to 1149. is reputed to be the Author of eight Sermons, in Commendation of the Virgin *Mary*, which were printed at first at *Basil*, in 1537. afterwards publish'd by *Richard Gibson*, Jesuit, printed at *Antwerp*, in 1600, and inserted in the Collection of Sermons written by *St. Leo*, and other Fathers, as also in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

*Potho*, a Monk of *Prom*, flourish'd under the Emperor *Conrad*, and wrote five very Mystical Books, on the State of the House of God, that is to say, of the Church Militant, Prom. and Triumphant, in which he produces a great Number of very abstruse Notions, as well as in another Treatise call'd, *The Palace of Wisdom*.

*Philip*, Bishop of *Taranto*, the Favourer of *Leo* the Antipope, was depos'd upon that account in the Council of *Lateran*, held A. D. 1139. and retir'd to the Monastery of *Clairvaux*, where he receiv'd the Habit of a Monk from *St. Bernard*. He was made Prior of that Convent in 1150, and six Years after, Abbot of the Alms-Monastery of the Cistercian Order, in the Diocese of *Chartres*. Some time before the End of his Life, he return'd to *Clairvaux*, and died there. *Charles de Wisch*, has annex'd at the End of his Collection of the Authors of the Cister-



*of the Authors of this note.*  
*Serlo*, a Monk of *Cerisy*, chosen Abbot of *Savigny*, A. D. 1146. compos'd divers Sermons which were publish'd by Father *Tissier*, in the sixth Tome of the *Bibliotheca Cisterciensis*. He retir'd to *Cisteaux*, not long before his Death, which happen'd in 1158. There is also to be seen in M. *Colbert's* Library, a certain Manuscript, which contains a Treatise by *Serlo* on the Lord's Prayer.

*Gautier*, or *Gauterius*, of *Mauritania*, Bishop of *Laon*, flourish'd in the Year 1150. and wrote several Letters publish'd by Father *Dachery*, in the second Tome of his *Spicilegium*.

The first is directed to a certain Monk nam'd *William*, who doubted whether Children baptis'd by Hereticks, receiv'd the spiritual Grace appropriated to that Sacrament: He proves the Affirmative, because it is Jesus Christ, who effectually administers Baptism.

In the second, he explains the Mystery of the Incarnation.

In the third, he confutes the Opinion of a certain Doctor nam'd *Thierry*, who maintain'd, That God was Omnipresent by his Power, but not by his Essence.

In the fourth, he opposes the Opinion of another Doctor call'd *Albericus*, who asserted, That Jesus Christ was not afraid to die, and was not sensible of any Grief or Trouble before his Passion. *Gauterius* explains, in what Sense Death might be formidable to our Saviour, and of what sort of Fear and Sorrow he was capable.

In the fifth, he reproves *Peter Abaelard*, for going about to give a Definitive Explanation of the Mytery of the Trinity, and to demonstrate it by Reason, and opposes in particular, some of the Propositions that he asserted, or which were maintain'd by his Followers.

The last is a Letter directed to *Hugh* of *St. Victor*, and publish'd by Father *Maton*, in his Notes on *Robert Pullus*.

*Wolbero*, Abbot of *St. Pantaleon* at *Colen*, compos'd in the Year 1150. a Commentary on the Book of *Canticles* divided into four Books, and printed at *Colen* in 1650. This Author died in 1167.

*Luke*, Abbot of *St. Cornelius*, of the Order of *Premontre* near *Liege*, in like manner wrote a Commentary on the Song of *Solomon* which was extract'd out of that of *Apollonius*, and dedicated to *Miso*, Bishop of *Terouane*. This Abbot died in 1157. and his Book was printed at *Friburg* in 1538. as also in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

*Bartholomew de Foigny*, Bishop of *Laon*, was suspended, A. D. 1142. by *Ives*, Cardinal and Pope *Innocent II's* Legate, for Authorizing the unlawful Divorce of *Rodolphus*, Count of *Vermandois* from his Wife. Afterwards he made an entire Renunciation of his Bishoprick, and enter'd into a Monastery of the *Cistercian* Order. He wrote a Letter to *Sampson*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, to clear himself from an Accusation that was brought against him, for wasting the Revenues of the Bishoprick of *Laon*; by shewing, that what he had bestow'd on the Cathedral and on the other Churches of his Diocese, that stood in need of some Supplies, was but a very small Matter, and that his Successor would be to blame if he depriv'd them of it. This Letter is to be found in the last Collection of the Councils, Tom. 10. p. 1184.

*Radulphus Niger*, a Monk of *St. Germer*, in the Diocese of *Beauvais*, flourish'd A. D. 1157. and compos'd twenty Books of Commentaries on that of *Leviticus*, printed in the seventeenth Tome of the last *Bibliotheca Patrum*. Another Commentary on the Book of *Canticles* is likewise attributed to him, which was inserted among *St. Gregory's* Works; and 'tis also reported, that he wrote a Commentary on *St. Paul's* Epistles, an History of *France*, and a Chronicle; but we have no knowledge of these Works.

*S. Ælred*, or *S. Etheldred*, of the *Cistercian* Order, Abbot of *Reverby*, in the Province of *York* in *England*, flourish'd in the middle of the twelfth Century, and died A. D. 1166. He addic'ted himself to a spiritual Life, and affect'd to imitate *St. Bernard* in his manner of writing. The following Works written by him are still Extant, viz. thirty Sermons on the thirteenth Chapter of *Isaiab*, concerning the Calamities of *Babylon*, and of the *Philistines*, and *Moabites*: A Treatise call'd *The Mirror of Charity*, divided into three Books, with the Abridgment of that Treatise: Three Books of the spiritual Friendship, and a Discourse on these Words of *St. Luke*, *Jesus Christ being aged twelve Years*: A Fragment of his History of *England*, and twenty five Sermons printed in the *Bibliotheca Cisterciensis*. His Mirrour of Charity is a very fine Piece, full of solid Maxims on the Love of God, and on other Christian Virtues. In the Treatise of Friendship, which is compos'd in form of a Dialogue, he shews,

V O L. II.

That there can be no true Amity, but amongst Christian and Virtuous Persons. *Surius* has publish'd divers Lives of English Saints under the Name of this Author, but he wrote them himself in his Style. We have also amongst the Historians of *England* the Life of *St. Edward*, written by *St. Ælred*, and some other Historical Tracts relating to the Affairs of that Kingdom. His other Works were set forth by *Gilho* the Jesuit, and printed at *Doway*, A. D. 1631. as also in the *Bibliotheca Cisterciensis*, and in the last *Bibliotheca Patrum*. The Rule for Nuns falsely attributed to *St. Augustin*, is inserted under the Name of *St. Ælred*, in the Collection of Rules publish'd by *Holstenius*; and *Gilbert* of *Hoiland*, has made an *Encomium* on the same Saint, in the Continuation of *St. Augustin's* Commentary on the Book of *Psalms*.

*St. Hildegarda*, born at *Spanheim* in *Germany*, A. D. 1098. was the Daughter of *Hildebert* and *Mathilda*; she receiv'd the Vail at the Age of eight Years, and in process of time was chosen Abbess of *St. Ruperts* Mount near *Bingen* on the *Rhine*. The Fame of her Revelations and Miracles, procur'd her so great Reputation, that when Pope *Eugenius III.* came to *Trier* in 1148. *Henry* Archbishop of *Mentz*, and *St. Bernard* took an opportunity to acquaint him with the wonderful Operations that God perform'd by his Servant *Hildegarda*; insomuch that the Pope being much surpriz'd at the Relation, sent *Albert* Bishop of *Verdun* with some other Persons worthy of Credit, privately to make an Enquiry into the Truth of what was reported concerning that Nun. These Persons having interrogated her, she gave them a plain Account of her Condition, and deliver'd to them several Books, which she avouch'd to have written by Divine Inspiration. The Pope caus'd them to be read publicly in the presence of all the Prelates, and perus'd a considerable part of them himself: Whereupon all the Assistants were surpriz'd, and entreated his Holiness not to suffer so great a Light to be extinguish'd. Then the Pope wrote a Letter to *Hildegarda*, to congratulate her upon Account of those transcendent Graces which God had bestow'd on her, and to exhort her to preserve them; granting her at the same time a Permission to reside in the Place that she had chosen, to lead a regular Course of Life with the other Nuns, according to *St. Benedict's* Rule. The Popes who succeeded *Eugenius* viz. *Anastasius IV.* *Adrian IV.* and *Alexander III.* honour'd her in like manner with their Letters and Admonitions, as well as the Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Colen*, *Trier*, *Salzburg*, and many other Prelates of *Germany*, not to mention the Emperors *Conrad* and *Frederick*: She return'd an Answer to their Letters without deviating from her Character, that is to say, in a Mystical and Prophetical Style. The Collection of all these Letters is extant, with divers Visions directed to particular Persons; Answers to several Questions about the Holy Scriptures; and certain Explications of *St. Benedict's* Rule, and of *St. Athanasius's* Creed. These Works were printed at *Colen* A. D. 1566. and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. There are also three Books of Revelations which bear the Name of this Saint, printed with those of *St. Brigit* at *Paris*, in 1533. and at *Colen*, in 1628. *St. Hildegarda* died in 1180. and her Life was written in 1200. by *Thierry* or *Theodorie*, an Abbot of the same Order of *St. Benedict*. *St. Elizabeth*, Abbess of *Schonaw*, in the Diocese of *St. Elizabeth*, near the Monastery of *St. Florin*, which her Brother *Ecbert* govern'd in Quality of Abbot, was likewise famous for her Revelations. She flourish'd A. D. 1155. and died in 1165. aged 36 Years. There are three Books of Visions or Revelations, written by this Saint, and a Volume of Letters printed at *Colen*, in 1628. Her Brother *Ecbert* compos'd, besides the thirteen Discourses, against the *Cathari*, of which we have already made mention, the Life of his Sister, which is prefix'd to her Revelations: 'Tis also reported that he was the Author of some other Letters.

*Odo*, a Regular Canon of *St. Augustin*, wrote A. D. 1160. seven Letters about the Duties and Functions of Regular Canons, which are inserted in the second Tome of the *Spicilegium*, by Father *Luke Dachery*.

*John* of *Cornwall*, had *Peter Lombard* for his Tutor, but afterwards fell at variance with him upon several occasions. He studied for a long time at *Rome*, and obtained a great share of the Favours of Pope *Alexander III.* We have not any of his Works printed, but *Dr. Cave*, mentions two Manuscript Treatises of this Author, viz. one dedicated to Pope *Alexander*, under the Title of *A Discursion to Humane Philosophy, and of Heresies*; and the other call'd *A Summary of the Manner how the Sacrament of the Altar is made by the Vertue of the Cross, and of the seven Canons, or Orders of the Mass*.

In the Time of Pope *Alexander III.* *Folmar*, Provost of *Trieffenstein*, near *Wurtzburg* in *Franconia*, was accus'd of maintaining the Errors of *Nestorius* and *Elipandus*, concerning

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*St. Hildegarda Abbess of St. Ruperts Mount.*

*Thierry, Abbot of the Order of St. Benedict.*

*St. Elizabeth, Abbess of Schonaw.*

*Ecbert Abbot of St. Florin.*

*Folmar, Provost of Trieffenstein.*



cerning the Person and Adoption of Jesus Christ, and of spreading them abroad in *Bavaria*. Two Monks of that Country, viz. *Gerochus*, Provost of the Abby of *Reichersperg*, and another who was Dean of the same Monastery, wrote against him; the former in a Treatise of Antichrist, and the other in a Book written on purpose. Their Works are still extant in the Libraries of *Germany*, according to the Report of *Stewart*, who assures us, that they are worthy to be brought to Light; altho' those Authors seem to have fallen into an Error directly opposite to that of the *Eutychians*, or *Ubiquitarians*, in maintaining, That the Divine Perfections pass'd into the Humane Nature of Jesus Christ, and that the latter is become equal to the Godhead. *Stewart* has produc'd in his Collection the Epistle Dedicatory of the Dean of *Reichersperg's* Treatise, directed to *Henry*, Dean of the Church of *Wurtzburg*, and it is also inserted in the twenty third Tome of the last Edition of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

*Gilbert Foliot*, an *Englishman* by Nation, and Abbot of *Leicester*, was translated A. D. 1161. from the Bishoprick of *Hereford*, which he obtain'd in 1149. to that of *London*, and was one of the principal Adversaries of *Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. He wrote a Commentary on the Book of *Canticles*, which was publish'd by *Junius*, and printed in 4to. at *London*, in 1638. There are also seven of his Letters in the Collection of those of *Thomas Becket*. He died in 1187.

*Philip of Harveng*, Abbot of *Bonne Esperance*, of the Order of *Premontre* in *Hainaut*, flourish'd the Alms-giver, by reason of his extraordinary Liberality to the Poor, flourish'd A. D. 1150. and died in 1180. His Works were published by *Nicholas Chamart*, Abbot of *Bonne Esperance*, and printed at *Doway*, in 1621. according to the following Catalogue, viz. Twenty one Letters: A Commentary on the *Canticles*: Moral Observations on the same Book. Several Discourses on King *Nebuchadnezzar's* Dream, on *Adam's* Fall, and on the Damnation of King *Solomon*: Six Treatises of the Dignity, Learning, Uprightness, Continency, Obedience, and Silence of Clergymen. A Relation of the Lives of *St. Augustine*, Bishop of *Hippo*, and of *St. Amand*, Abbot of *Tongres*: The Passion of *Cyricius*, and *St. Julitta*, with that of *St. Salvius*: The Lives of *St. Foillan*, *St. Gisleen*, *St. Landelin*, *St. Ida*, and *St. Valtruda*: The Passion of *St. Agnes* in Elegiack Verse, with divers other Poetical Pieces, and some Epitaphs.

*Adamus Scotus*, a Regular Canon of *St. Augustine*, of the Order of *Premontre*, flourish'd A. D. 1160. and died in 1180. He compos'd a Commentary on *St. Augustine's* Rule: A Treatise of the triple Tabernacle of *Moses*: Another of the three kinds of Contemplation, and forty seven Sermons. Those Works were printed at *Antwerp* in 1695. and *Father Ouden* says, That he saw fifty three other Sermons, and a Soliloquy of the Soul, by the same Author, in the Library of the *Celestine* Fathers of *Mante*.

*Joannes Burgundus*, a Magistrate and Citizen of *Pisa*, was sent to *Constantinople*, to negotiate certain Affairs for that Republick at the Court of the Emperor *Manuel Comnenus*, where he met with some Copies of *St. Chrysostom's* Homilies, on *St. John* and *St. Matthew*, and translated them into *Latin*. He likewise translated *St. John Damascenus's* Treatise of the Orthodox Faith, and *Nemesius's* eight Books of Philosophy. The latter of those Works was printed at *Strasburg*, in 1512. This Author flourish'd in 1150. and died in 1184. His Translations are not very polite, but extremely faithful.

*Peter of Riga*, Chanter and Canon of the Church of *Rheims*, flourish'd A. D. 1170. He compos'd seven Books under the Title of *Aurora*, which contain the two Books of Kings, and the four Gospels in Verse, according to the literal and allegorical Sense. This Piece is still to be found in the Libraries; and *Father Oudin* assures us, That he had them all ready to be printed. However the Publick may well excuse him from taking that Pains, without suffering much detriment; in regard that such sort of Works are of no great usefulness.

*Henry*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, dispatch'd two Letters, A. D. 1170. in favour of *Dreux*, Chancellor of the Church of *Noyon*, whom Pope *Alexander III.* determin'd to condemn, viz. one to the Cardinals, and the other to the Pope himself: They are both written with a great deal of Freedom, and he complains, that notwithstanding the signal Services he had done to the Holy See, so little Regard was had to Persons, for whom he had a particular Esteem. However the Pope, return'd a very civil Answer, without granting his Request, shewing, That if he did not do what was expected, it ought not to be infer'd from thence, that he was not desirous by all means to give him Satisfaction; but that the present Conjunction of Affairs, would not admit of such a Compliance. Both the Letters written by this Archbishop, were publish'd by *M. Balusius*, in the second Tome of his Miscellaneous Works.

*Robertus Paululus*, a Priest of *Amiens*, compos'd A. D. 1178. three Books of the Offices of the Church, which were printed separately, and under the Name of *Hugh* of *St. Victor*, among the Works of that Author. The Treatise call'd the Canon of the Mystical Purification, which is also inserted among the Works of *Hugh* of *St. Victor*, ought in like manner to be restor'd to the same *Robert* of *Amiens*.

*Maurice*, surnam'd *de Sully*, from a small Town of that Name, situated on the River *Loire*, (which was the Place of his Nativity) was born of mean Parentage, nevertheless upon account of his singular Merits and extraordinary Learning, he was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Paris*, A. D. 1164 after the Death of *Peter Lombard*. *Henricus Gandavensis* assures us, that he compos'd Sermons for all the Sundays and Festivals of the Year, and certain Instructions for the Priests of his Diocese; the Manuscript Copies of which are kept in the French King's Library, and in that of *St. Victor*. He died, A. D. 1196. and was bury'd in the Abby of *St. Victor*.

*Gervase*, a Priest of *Chichester*, one of the Favourers of *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was in good repute for his Learning, and wrote a Commentary on the Prophet *Malachy*, which (as we are informed by *M. James*) was kept in the *Lomley* Library.

*Odo*, of the County of *Kent*, Prior of the Monastery of *Canterbury*, and afterwards Abbot of *Bel*, was likewise the Friend and Protector of *Thomas Becket*. He wrote divers Works, but we have none left, except a certain Letter directed to his Brother, a Novice in the Abby of *igny*, in which he exhorts him speedily to assume the Monastick Habit. This Letter was publish'd by *Father Mabillon* in the first Tome of his *Analecta*.

*Laborantius*, Cardinal with the Title of *St. Mary*, who flourish'd in the Year 1180. compos'd a Collection of *Canons*: A Treatise of Justice and Equity divided into four Parts, and dedicated to the Governor of *Sicily*: Another to *Hugh* Archbishop of *Palermo*: A Letter directed to the same *Hugh* against the *Sabellians*: And another Letter to *Vivian* Cardinal of *St. Stephen* concerning Appeals. All these Pieces are contain'd in a certain Manuscript of *St. Peter's* Church at *Rome*, cited by *Baronius* and *Possevinus*.

*Alulphus*, a Monk of *St. Martin* at *Tournay*, compil'd a Collection of Sentences and Maxims, taken out of the Works of *St. Gregory*, and call'd it *The Gregorial*. It is extant in Manuscript in several Libraries, and *Father Mabillon* has produced the Preface to it in the first Tome of his *Analecta*.

*Baldwin*, a Native of *Exeter*, in the County of *Devon*; a School-Master, became an Archdeacon, afterwards turn'd Monk, and was made Abbot of *Ferden*: From that Abby he was translated to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, A. D. 1181. and at last advanc'd to the Dignity of Archbishop of *Canterbury* in 1185. He accompany'd King *Richard I.* in his Expedition to the Holy Land, and died there in 1191. or 1192. 'Tis reported that Pope *Urban* sent him a Letter, the Superscription of which was to this Effect: To *Baldwin*, a most zealous Monk, a fervent Abbot, a luke-warm Bishop, and an effeminate Archbishop. The following Works written by this Prelate are contain'd in the fifth Tome of the *Bibliotheca Cisterciensis* set forth by *Father Tiffier*, viz. sixteen Treatises of Piety on different Subjects, particularly, on the Love of God, the twofold Resurrection, the Efficacy of the Word of God, the Angelical Salutation, &c. A Treatise of the Recommendation of Faith: And another of the Sacrament of the Altar dedicated to *Bartholomew* Bishop of *Exeter*.

*Isaac*, Abbot of *L'Etoile*, of the *Cistercian* Order in the Diocese of *Poitiers*, flourish'd in the End of the Century: He compos'd divers Sermons publish'd in the sixth Tome of the *Bibliotheca Cisterciensis*, with a Treatise of the Spirit and the Soul, attributed to *St. Augustine*: He is also reputed to be the Author of a certain Letter on the Canon of the Mass, which is contain'd in the first Tome of the *Spicilegium*.

The Abby of *Clairvaux*, has produc'd in the End of this Century three Abbots, who may be reckon'd amongst the Ecclesiastical Writers, viz. *Henry* the seventh Abbot, who wrote a Treatise call'd, *De peregrinante Civitate Dei*, and some Letters. *Peter* the eighth Abbot, who was the Author of some Letters, and *Garnier* his Successor, who compos'd divers Sermons. If any Persons are desirous to consult those Works, they may have Recourse to the third Tome of the *Bibliotheca Cisterciensis*.

*Gilbert* of *Sempringham*, an *Englishman*, and Founder of the Order of the Canons call'd *Gilbertines* in *England*, flourish'd in the End of this Century. He compil'd two Books of Constitutions for his Order, which are to be found in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

In the Library of *St. Germain des Prez* is to be seen, a Manuscript Collection of divers Sermons, which bear the Name

Of the Authors of  
Robertus Paululus,  
Priest of  
Amiens.  
Maurice de Sully,  
Bishop of  
Paris.

Gervase a  
Priest of  
Chichester

Odo Abbot  
of Bel.

Laboran  
Cardinal.

Alulphus  
Monk of  
St. Martin  
at Tournay.

Baldwin  
Archbishop  
of Winchester.

Isaac  
Abbot of  
L'Etoile.

Henry,  
Peter and  
Garnier  
Abbots of  
Clairvaux.

Gilbert of  
Sempringham



Name of *Christian*: Some are of Opinion, that this Author was Abbot of St. *Peter au Val*, in the Diocese of *Chartres*: Others attribute this Piece to *Christian* Archbishop of *Mentz*, who died, A. D. 1183. and who wrote (as it is generally believ'd) an History of the Emperor *Frederick's* Expedition to the Holy Land: But others with greater Probability ascribe it to one of the two *Christians*, Monks of *Clairvaux*, and the Pupils of St. *Bernard*, who were made Abbots and Bishops in *Ireland*, and of whom mention is made in Chap. 8. of the second Book of St. *Bernard's* Life. Let the Case be how it will, this Author has apparently taken many Notions out of the Works of that Saint.

*Gautier*, surnam'd *de Chatillon*, a Native of *Lisle* in *Flanders*, was the Author of the *Alexandreis*, or Poem on the Actions of *Alexander*, printed at *Strasburg*, A. D. 1531. and at *Lyons* in 1558. He also compos'd three Books in Form of Dialogues against the *Jews*, which *Father Oudin* says he has seen in Manuscript in the Library of the Monastery of *Premontre* at *Braine*.

*Garnier*, a Canon and Superior of the Abby of St. *Victor* at *Paris*, compil'd in the End of the Century, a Treatise call'd *The Gregorian*, containing certain Allegorical Explications on the Bible, taken out of the Writings of St. *Gregory* Pope. This Work was printed at *Paris*, A. D. 1608.

*Thomas*, a Monk of *Cisteaux*, is the Author of a Commentary on the *Canticles*, divided into twelve Books, and dedicated to *Pontius* Bishop of *Clermont*; altho' some Persons have attributed it to other Authors of the same Name, and *Paul de Reatino* a *Cordelier* took the Boldness to cause it to be printed at *Rome*, A. D. 1655. under the Name of *John Duns* surnam'd *Scotus*; but he was soon oppos'd by the Solicitor General of the *Cistercian* Order, who obtain'd a Decree of the Master of the Sacred Palace, by which it was declar'd, that that Commentary was unadvisedly printed under the Name of *Scotus*, and a Prohibition was made at the same Time, to sell or publish it for the future under that Name, but only under that of *Thomas* of *Cisteaux*. *Charles de Wisch*, who caus'd this Work to be printed in the *Bibliotheca Præmonstratensis* attributed it to divers *Thomas's*, and afterwards *John le Page* the Collector of the Library of *Premontre*, ascrib'd it to one *Thomas* Canon of that Order in the Monastery of *Quenoy*; but the true Author of it is *Thomas* Monk of *Cisteaux*, as it appears from the ancient Manuscripts which are extant in the Libraries of the same Order. It likewise bears his Name in the first Editions set forth by *Badius* at *Paris*, A. D. 1521. and at *Lyons* in 1571. This Author flourish'd in the End of the Century.

*Peter*, surnam'd *Comestor*, or the Eater, a Native of *Troyes* in *Champagne*, Priest and Dean of the Church of St. *Peter* in that City, acquir'd so great Reputation, that he was invited to *Paris*, and made Chancellor of the University. He retir'd near the End of his Life to the Mo-

nastery of St. *Victor*, and died there A. D. 1198. His principal Work, is a Scholastical History divided into sixteen Books, which comprehends an Abridgment of all manner of Sacred History, from the Beginning of *Genesis* to the End of the Acts of the Apostles; but he intermixes therein divers Passages of profane History, and some fabulous Narrations. This Work was printed at *Rutlingen* A. D. 1473. and afterwards at *Strasburg* in 1483. as also at *Basil* in 1486. and at *Lyons* in 1543. The Sermons, which *Busæus* caus'd to be printed under the Name of *Peter* of *Blois*, belong to this Author, as well as some others which are extant in the Libraries.

*Robert* of *Flamesbury*, a Regular Canon of St. *Augustine*, and Penitentiary in the Abby of St. *Victor*, was in good Repute for his Learning. He compos'd a large Penitential, which is kept in Manuscript in the Library of St. *Victor*, and in that of the College *Des Cholets*.

The *English* were always very accurate in their penitential Books, and two Authors were more especially famous for writing on that Subject in the End of the Twelfth Century. The first is *Bartholomew* Bishop of *Oxford*, a Manuscript Copy of whose Work is to be seen in the Library of St. *Victor*; and the other is *Odo* of *Chirton*, whose Piece call'd *The Summary of Repentance*, is extant in divers Libraries of *England*, with several Homilies by the same Author.

*Elie* of *Coxie*, so call'd from the Name of a Village in the Territory of *Furnes* in *Flanders*, the Place of his Nativity, was at first a Monk of *Cisteaux*, and afterwards Abbot of *Dunes*. He has left us two large Discourses made by him in the Chapter of *Cisteaux*, which are contain'd in the *Bibliotheca Ordinis Cisterciensis*. He died A. D. 1203.

*John*, a *Carthusian* Friar of the Monastery of *Des Portes*, flourish'd in the End of this Century, and compos'd five Letters on pious Subjects, viz. the first about shunning of the World; the second and third of Prayer, the fourth of the Care that ought to be taken to observe the Inclinations of the Heart; and the fifth of Perseverance in the State that one has once embrac'd, dedicated to *Bernard* his Nephew, a *Carthusian* Monk, who was tempted to quit that Order.

There is also a Letter written by another Monk of the same *Carthusian* Convent, nam'd *Stephen de Chaulmet*, about continuing in the Order into which one has been admitted, which was dedicated to the Novices of the Monastery of St. *Sulpicius* of the *Cistercian* Order. These two Authors wrote in the End of the Century.

*Zachary*, a Regular Canon (as some say) of the Order of *Premontre* in the Monastery of St. *Martin* at *Laon*, or according to others, Bishop of *Chrysopolis*, wrote a Commentary on *Ammonius's* *Evangelical Concord*, which was printed at *Colen*, A. D. 1535. and in the nineteenth Tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. We have no certain Account of the Life and Character of this Author, or of the time when he flourish'd.

## C H A P. XIII.

### Of the Writers of Ecclesiastical History of the Twelfth Century.

THE Twelfth Century has produc'd so great a Number of Historians, and historical Works, as well Ecclesiastical as Prophane, that 'tis in a manner impossible to give a particular Account of every one of them; nevertheless we have endeavour'd to

make a Catalogue of them, and at least to represent the Authors, and their Works in general: In order to do which more conveniently, and more methodically, we have distributed them under several Articles and Divisions.

The

1 2 3 4 5



## The Writers of General History.

**F**lorentius Bravo, an English Monk of Winchester, wrote a Chronicle from the Creation of the World to the Year of our Lord 1118. taken in part from that of *Marianus Scotus*, printed at London A. D. 1595. and at *Frankfort* in 1601. as also a Genealogical Account of the Kings of *England*, which is likewise annex'd to the *London* Edition. He died A. D. 1119. *Eckard*, Abbot of *Uringen*, in the Diocese of *Wurtzburg*, flourish'd A. D. 1130. and left a Chronicle to Posterity. *Tritheimius* makes mention of a Work of this Author, call'd, *The Lantern of Monks*, there are also extant certain Letters and Sermons written by him.

*Hugh*, a Monk of *Fleury*, compos'd A. D. 1120. a Chronicle from the Creation of the World to the Year 840. which was printed at *Munster* in 1638. The same Author wrote two Books concerning the *Royal Authority and the Sacerdotal Dignity*, which were dedicated to *Henry I.* King of *England*, and publish'd by *M. Baluzius*, in the fourth Tome of his *Miscellaneous Works*.

*Ordericus Vitalis*, born in *England* at *Attingesham* on the River *Severn*, A. D. 1075. was sent at the Age of eleven Years to *Normandy*, and plac'd in the Abby of *St. Evrou*, where he assum'd the Habit of a Monk, and compleated his Studies. He likewise enter'd into Holy Orders, and spent his whole Life in that Monastery; leaving 13 Books of Ecclesiastical History, from the Nativity of Jesus Christ to the Year 1142. which were publish'd by *M. du Chesne*, in the Volume of the *Historiographers of Normandy*.

*Anselm*, Abbot of *Gembours* in *Brabant*, continu'd *Sigebert's* Chronicle from the Year 1112. to 1137. This Continuation, with two others, the first of which is extended to the Year 1149. and the second to 1225. was set forth by *Albertus Miræus*, and printed at *Antwerp*, A. D. 1608.

The Birth of *Otho*, Bishop of *Frisinghen*, is no less illustrious than the Reputation he acquir'd by writing his History: For he was the Son of *Leopold* Marquis of *Austria*, and of *Agnes* the Daughter of the Emperor *Henry IV.* That Princess was twice marry'd, viz. at first to *Frederick* Duke of *Suevia* or *Schwaben*, to whom she brought forth two Sons, namely, *Conrad* the Emperor, and *Frederick* Duke of *Suevia*: But by her second Marriage with *Leopold*, she had *Leopold* Duke of *Bavaria*, *Henry* Duke of *Austria*, *Gertrude* Dutcheß of *Bohemia*, *Bertha* Dutcheß of *Poland*, *Ita* Marchioness of *Monferat*, *Otho* and *Conrad*. These two last being design'd by their Father for the Ecclesiastical Functions, *Otho* obtain'd the Government of a College, which his Father had founded at *Newburg*, and where he order'd himself to be bury'd: But *Otho* soon resign'd his Office to *Opoldus*, and being incited with an ardent Desire of becoming Master of the Liberal Sciences, went to *Paris*, where he compleated his Studies: Some Years after he turn'd *Cistercian* Monk, in the Abby of *Morimond*, with fifteen of his Companions. In 1138. the Emperor *Conrad*, his Brother, conferr'd on him the Bishoprick of *Frisinghen* in *Bavaria*, and honour'd him with the Dignities of Chancellor and Secretary of State. He accompanied that Prince in his Expedition to the Holy Land, A. D. 1147. and at last in 1156. leaving his Bishoprick, retir'd to the Abby of *Morimond*, where he died in the Month of *September* in the same Year.

This Prelate compos'd a Chronological History from the Creation of the World to his Time, divided into seven Books, and annex'd an eighth concerning the Persecution to be rais'd by Antichrist, and the Resurrection of the Dead. He wrote a very fine Style, with respect to the Age in which he liv'd, and much more politely than the other Historians of those Times. He was well versed in Scholastical Divinity, as also in *Aristotle's* Philosophy; and was one of the first, who (as *Radwic* has observ'd) introduced that Science into *Germany*. Upon which Account, 'tis not to be admir'd that he has been very favourable to *Gillebert de la Porree*, in the Dissertation prefix'd before his History: It was first published by *John Cuspinian*, and printed at *Strasbourg*, A. D. 1515. afterwards at *Basil* in 1569. and among the *German* Historiographers at *Frankfort* in 1585. and 1670. *Otho*, in like manner, wrote two Books containing the History of the Actions of *Frederick Barbarossa*, which are subjoyn'd at the End of his Chronicle. Moreover *Wolfgangus Lazius* says, that he saw an History of *Austria* compos'd by the same *Otho*, but there has been no talk of it since; neither has it as yet appear'd any where in Print.

*Godfrey of Viserbo*, so call'd from the Name of his Native Country, who was a Priest, Almoner, and Secretary of State to the Emperors *Conrad III.* *Frederick I.* and *Henry VI.* wrote an Universal Chronicle, dedicated to Pope *Urban III.* and call'd *Pantæon*, by reason of the great Variety of Occurrences contain'd therein: It ends at the Year 1186. and is inserted among the Works of the *German* Historians collected by *Pistorius*, and printed at *Frankfort* in 1584. It is reported that this Writer spent forty Years in travelling; that he made a prodigious Collection of all sorts of Observations during his Voyages; and that he understood the *Hebrew*, *Chaldaick*, *Greek*, and *Latin* Tongues. *Lambecius* makes mention of another Work by the same Author, which is to be seen in Manuscript in the Emperor's Library, bearing this Title, *The Mirror of Kings, or Genealogies of all the Kings and Emperors from the universal Flood to the Time of Henry VI.*

*Robert of Torigny*, a Monk, afterwards Prior of *Bec* Abby, and at last Abbot of *St. Michael's Mount*, compos'd a Supplement of *Sigebert's* Chronicle, and a Continuation to the Year 1184. as also a Treatise of the Monasteries and Abbies of *Normandy*; the History of that of *St. Michael's Mount*; a Commentary on *St. Paul's* Epistles taken from *St. Augustine*; and the History of the Reign of *Henry II.* King of *England*. Father *Luke Datchery* has caused to be printed at the End of *Guibert's* Works, the Supplement and Continuation of *Sigebert's* Chronicle, and the Treatise of the Abbies of *Normandy*, with a Letter written by the said *Robert*, and his Preface to the Commentary on *St. Paul's* Epistles.

*Otho* of *St. Blasius*, continu'd the Chronicle of *Otho* of *Frisinghen* to the Year 1190.

*John Brompton*, an English Monk of the *Cistercian* Order, and Abbot of *Jorval* in the Diocese of *Tork*, is the reputed Author of a certain Chronicle from the Year 588. to 1198. but the learned Mr. *Selden* assures us, that it was not written by him; that he only caus'd it to be transcrib'd, and that he did not live in this Century.

Historians



## Historians of England.

**T**HE Kingdom of England has brought forth so many approved Authors, who have employ'd their Pens in writing the History of their native Country, that they well deserve to be referr'd to a particular Article.

**Henry of Huntington**, the Son of a marry'd Priest named *Nicholas*, and the Pupil of *Albinus Andegavins* Canon of *Lincoln*, was made Canon of the same Church, and afterwards Archdeacon of *Huntington*, by *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincoln*, whom he accompanied in his Journey to *Rome*. He wrote the History of the *English* Monarchy from its first Foundation till the Death of King *Stephen*, which happen'd in 1154. It is dedicated to the said Bishop *Alexander*, and divided into eight or ten Books, being contain'd among the Works of the *English* Writers in Sir *Henry Savil's* Collection, printed at *London* A. D. 1596. and at *Frankfort* in 1601. Father *Luke Dachery* has likewise publish'd in the eighth Tome of his *Spicilegium*, a small Tract of this Author, concerning the Contempt of the World, dedicated to *Gauterius*. He there shews how the Things of this sublunary World ought to be contemned, relating many Examples of Misfortunes that happen'd to the great Personages of his Age, and the miserable Death of divers profligate Wretches: He declares, in the Preface to this Tract, that he had before made a Dedication to the same Person of a Collection of Epigrams, and of a Poem about Love. There are also in the Libraries of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* several other Manuscript Works of this Author, particularly a Letter concerning the *British* Kings, dedicated to *Warinus*: a Treatise of the Counties of *Great Britain*; another of the Image of the World; and a third of the *English* Saints.

**William Little**, known by the Name of *Gulielmus Neubrigenfis*, was born at *Bridlington* near *York*, A. D. 1136. and educated in the Convent of the Regular Canons of *Neutbridge*, where he embrac'd the Monastick Life: He compos'd a large History of *England*, divided into five Books, from the Year 1066. to 1197. This History is written with much Fidelity, and in a smooth and intelligible Style. It was printed at *Antwerp*, A. D. 1567. at *Heidelberg* in 1587. and lastly at *Paris* with *John Picard's* Notes in 1610. It is believ'd that he died A. D. 1208.

**Walter**, born in the Principality of *Wales*, Archdeacon, and even (as some say) Bishop of *Oxford*, translated out of *English* into *Latin* the History of *England*, compos'd by *Geffrey of Monmouth*, and continued to his Time.

**John Pyke**, wrote an History of the *English*, *Saxon*, and *Danish* Kings of *England*, and flourished with the former Historian under King *Henry I.*

**Gervase**, a Monk of *Canterbury*, compos'd several Treatises relating to the History of *England*, which are contain'd in Mr. *Selden's* Collection of the *English* Historiographers; particularly a Relation of the burning and repairing of the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*; an Account of the Contests between the Monks of *Canterbury*, and *Baldwin* their Archbishop; a Chronicle from the Year 1122. to 1199. and the Lives of the Archbishops of *Canterbury*.

**Geffrey Arthur**, Arch-deacon of *St. Asaph*, was chosen Bishop of that Diocese, A. D. 1151. He left his Bishoprick by reason of certain Commotions which happen'd in *Wales*, and retir'd to the Court of *Henry II.* King of *England*, who gave him the Abby of *Abbingdon* in *Com-mendam*. Afterwards in a Council held at *London*, A. D. 1175. the Clergy of *St. Asaph* caus'd a Proposal to be made to *Geffrey* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, either to return to his Bishoprick, or to admit another Bishop to be substituted in his room: He refus'd to return, designing to keep his Abby; but both the Abby and the Bishoprick were dispos'd of, and he was left destitute of any Ecclesiastical Preferment. He wrote, or rather translated out of *English* into *Latin*, an History of *Great Britain* from

the Beginning to his Time; which is full of Fables, dedicated to *Robert Duke of Gloucester*, and divided into twelve Books. It was printed at *Paris* A. D. 1517. at *Writers of Lyons* by *Potelier* in 1587. and by *Commelin* in the same Ecclesiastical Year; it is also inserted among the Works of the *English* History: Historians printed that Year at *Heidelberg*. It is reported that he, in like manner, translated out of *English* into *Latin*, the ancient Prophecies of *Merlin*, which were printed at *Frankfort* with *Alanus's* Observations, A. D. 1603.

The History of the Church of *Durham* was written by several Authors, the first of whom is *Turgot*, a Monk of that Diocese, who compos'd one from its first Foundation to the Year 1096.

*Simeon of Durham*, copied out *Turgot's* History almost word for word, from the Year 635. to 1096. and continu'd to 1154. He likewise wrote an History of the Kings of *England* and *Denmark*, from the Year 731. to 1130. A Letter to *Hugh* Dean of *York*, about the Archbishops of that City; and a Relation of the Siege of *Durham*. These three last Pieces were published by Father *Labbe*, in the first Tome of his Library of Manuscripts. The Historians of the Church of *Durham*, by *Turgot* and *Simeon*, were printed at *London*, with the Works of the other *English* Historiographers, A. D. 1652.

**William of Somerset**, a Monk of *Malmesbury*, is justly prefer'd before all the other *English* Historians. His History of *England*, divided into five Books, contains the most remarkable Transactions in this Kingdom, since the Arrival of the *Saxons* to the 28th Year of King *Henry I.* that is to say, from A. D. 449. to 1127. He afterwards added two Books, continuing the History to A. D. 1143. and annexed to the whole Work four Books continuing the History of the Bishops of *England*, from *Augustine* the Monk, who first planted Christianity in these Parts, to his Time. These Works were printed at *London*, and published by Sir *Henry Savil*, A. D. 1596. and at *Frankfort* in 1601. Father *Mabillon* has likewise set forth, in the first Tome of his *Benedictin* Centuries, the Life of *St. Adelm* Bishop of *Salisbury*, compos'd by this Author, who died A. D. 1143.

**John of Hexam**, a Native of the County of *Northumberland*, Monk and Provost of the Monastery of *Hagulstadt*, flourished about the Year 1160. He made a Continuation of *Simeon of Durham's* History of the Kings of *England* and *Denmark*, from A. D. 1130. to 1154. This Work is extant among those of the other *English* Historians, printed at *London* in 1652.

**Sylvester Girald**, born in *Wales*, flourished in the End of the Reign of King *Henry II.* to whom he dedicated a Natural History, a Topography of *Ireland*, and a History, in form of a Prediction of the Conquest of *Ireland* by that Monarch, printed at *Antwerp*. These Works were published by Mr. *Camden*, and printed at *Frankfort* in 1602. He also wrote an Itinerary of *Wales*, upon a Visitation there made by him, with *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to excite the People of that Country to undertake a Voyage to the Holy Land. This last Work is extant among the others, and was likewise printed at *London* in 1585. with a Description of the same Country of *Wales*. Besides these Pieces, he wrote the Lives of several Saints, and died Bishop of *St. Davids* in the Beginning of the following Century. One of his Letters is contain'd in Archbishop *Usher's* Collection of the Letters of *Ireland*, and divers other Works of this Author are found among the Manuscripts of the publick Libraries of *England*.

**Roger of Hoveden**, an Officer under King *Henry II.* and Roger afterwards *Regius* Professor of Divinity in the University of *Oxford*, compos'd the Annals of *England* from the Year 731. where venerable *Bede* ends to 1202. This Work is among those of the *English* Historians published by Sir *Henry Savil*, and printed at *London* A. D. 1595. as also at *Frankfort* in 1601.

## Historiographers of the Crusade.

**T**HE History of the famous Crusade, instituted under Pope *Urban II.* and the Conquests which the Western People made in the *Levant*, from the Year 1095. to 1099. have afforded Matter to many contemporary Historians, the greater Part of whom were Eye-witnesses of the Transactions related by them.

The first of these Historiographers is *Petrus Thentboilus*, who saw the most part of the memorable Actions which

he has committed to Writing; and from whom those that wrote after him, took a considerable Part of their Relations.

The second is a nameless *Italian* Author, who accompanied *Boamond* King of *Sicily* in the Expedition to the Holy Land. His Work is known by the Title of, *The notable Exploits of the French, and other Christians of Jerusalem*, and divided into four Books.



The third is *Robert*, a Monk of *St. Remy* at *Rheims*, who assisted in the Council of *Clermont* in the Year 1095. Afterwards made a Voyage to the Holy Land. At his return, he wrote the History of the War of *Jerusalem*, divided into eight or nine very short Books: He excuses himself in the Preface, upon account of the Roughness of his Style.

The fourth is *Baudry*, Abbot of *Bourgueil*, who was afterwards ordain'd Bishop of *Dol*, A. D. 1114 and died January 27. 1131. His History is divided into four Books; but he was not an Eye-witness of what he relates, although he assisted in the Council of *Clermont*: Therefore he contents himself only to follow, and to supply the Defects of an ancient nameless History, which was ill written, inserting such Accounts as he had receiv'd from others. This Author likewise wrote the Life of *St. Hugh* Archbishop of *Rouen*, and a Tract concerning the Monastery of *Fescamp*, published in the Book called *Neustria Pia*. To him also is attributed the Life of *Robert d'Arbrisselles*, which is in *Saxius*, and the History of the Translation of *St. Valentin's* Head, which is extant in *Bollandus's* Collection in *Febr.* 14. Moreover it is observ'd that he is the Author of the Life of *St. Sampson*, and that he promises certain Notes on the Pentateuch, in the Preface to his History. Lastly, 'tis reported that there is a small Manuscript Tract of the same Bishop *Baudry*, concerning the Visitation of the sick, in the Library of *Vicenna* in *Austria*. He was employ'd in writing his History near the End of his Life.

The fifth is *Raimond d'Agiles*, Canon of *Puy*, and Chaplain to the Count of *Toulouse*, who was an Eye-witness. He wrote this History at the Request of *Peter Ponce de Baladin*, a particular Friend of the said Count, who was kill'd in the Siege of *Arache*, and dedicated it to the Bishop of *Viviers*.

The sixth is *Albert*, or *Alberic*, Canon of *Aix* in *Provence*, who compos'd his History from the Relations of others: It is extended to the second Year of the Reign of *Baldwin II.* that is to say, to A. D. 1120.

The seventh is *Foucher*, a Monk of *Chartres*, who accompanied *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* in the Expedition to the Holy Land, A. D. 1095. His History is carried on to the Year 1124. But *Guibert* of *Nogent* accuses him of having written fabulous Narrations.

*Gautier*, or *Gauterius*, who assumes the Quality of Chancellor, is the eighth: He published an History of the Advantages obtain'd by the Western Christians at *Antioch*, A. D. 1115. and of the Misfortunes that befel them in 1119. He was an Eye-witness of those Occurrences, and was taken Prisoner in the War; but his History is not very accurate.

The ninth is *Guibert*, Abbot of *Nogent*, an Author of great Note, whose Works deserve to be specified in a separate Article.

The tenth is a nameless Writer, who has only made an Abridgment of *Foucher's* History, to the Year 1106. where he ended.

The eleventh is another anonymous Author, who compos'd a Relation of the same Transactions, under the Title of the History of *Jerusalem*: It was divided into two Parts, but the second is only extant, which begins at the Year 1110. and ends in 1124. This Author has in like manner only follow'd *Foucher*.

The twelfth, and most considerable of the Writers of this History, is *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, who has deduc'd it from the Beginning of the Crusade to the Year 1183. in 23. Books. It is probable that this Author was a Native of *Syria*; however he pass'd very young into the Western Countries, and having compleated his Studies, return'd to the *Levant*, where he was ordain'd Archdeacon of the Church of *Tyre*, A. D. 1167. Afterwards he was employ'd in the Negotiations that were transacted between the Kings of *Jerusalem*, and the *Greek* Emperors; and at last was advanc'd to the Dignity of Archbishop of *Tyre*, in the Month of *May* 1174. In 1179. he assisted in the

Council of *Lateran*, the Acts of which were drawn up by him: He return'd from *Italy* by *Constantinople*, and after having resided some time at the Court of the Emperor *Manuel Comnenus*, arriv'd at *Tyre* twenty Months after his Departure. The Patriarchal See of *Jerusalem* being then vacant, *William* of *Tyre* was nominated to fill it up; but a certain Clerk of *Auvergne*, named *Heraclius*, Archbishop of *Casarea*, was prefer'd before him; nevertheless *William* refus'd to acknowledge his Election, and cited him to *Rome*; where he went incontinently, and was kindly entertain'd by the Pope. In the mean while *Heraclius*, before he came thither, sent a Physician, who poyson'd *William* of *Tyre*: But the later foretold before his Death, that the Christians should lose the City of *Jerusalem*, and the real Cross, under the Government of *Heraclius*, which happen'd a little while after.

*William* of *Tyre* wrote his History by the Order of *Amaury* King of *Jerusalem*: He makes use of the Memoirs of other Historians to the Reign of *Baldwin III.* and afterward relates such Matters as fell within the Compass of his own Knowledge, but the twenty third Book is not finished. His Style is plain and natural, shewing much Sagacity of Judgment, Modesty, and Learning, with respect to the Time when he liv'd. He likewise compos'd the History of the *Levantine* Princes, from the Year 614. to 1184. but this Work is not as yet come to our Hands.

The thirteenth Historiographer is *James de Vitry*, who did not flourish till the following Century. This Author, after having been Curate of *Argenteuil*, became a Regular Canon in the Monastery of *Oignies*, in the Diocese of *Namur*. He preached up the Crusade against the *Albigens*, and afterwards against the *Saracens*, and took upon him the Cross for the Holy War in *Palestine*: He was ordain'd Archbishop of *Ptolemais*, and at last, by way of Recompence for the Services he had done the See of *Rome*, was invited thither by Pope *Honorius III.* and created Cardinal: He was also sent into *France* in Quality of Legate, to preach up a new Crusade against the *Albigens*, and at his return to *Rome* died there A. D. 1244. after having order'd his Body to be convey'd to *Oignies*. His History is divided into three Books; in the first of which, he gives an Account of the State of the Eastern Churches; in the second, of that of the Western; and in the last, of the Occurrences which happen'd in the *Levant* in his Time. There is also extant a Letter by the same Author about the taking of *Damietta*, which follows his History; and another Letter, containing a Relation of the Transactions before *Damietta*, which was written in 1219. to Pope *Honorius III.* and published by Father *Dachery* in the eighth Tome of his *Spicilegium*.

The fourteenth is a nameless Author, who liv'd at that Time, and wrote the History of *Jerusalem* from the Year 1177. to 1190.

To these Historians may be added divers Letters written by several Kings, Princes and Prelates, to *Lewis* the Young, King of *France*; as also a Relation of the taking of *Damietta* by *Oliver* of *Colen*, and some other Monuments gather'd together by *Bongarsus*, in his Collection of the Historiographers of the Crusade, call'd *Gesta Dei per Francos*, printed at *Hanaw* A. D. 1611. in which all the Works but now recited are contain'd. Some of them were printed separately, as the History by *Robert* Monk of *St. Remy*, of which there is an old Edition without the Printer's Name, or the Date of the Year; and another at *Basil* in 1533. There is only one Part of *Foucher's* History in this Collection, but *M. du Chesne* has publish'd it entire among the Works of the French Historiographers. *Alberic's* History was printed at *Helmstadt* in 1589. under the Title of *The Chronicle of Jerusalem*; that of *William* of *Tyre* was published by *Poisnot*, and printed at *Basil* in 1546. and afterward by *Henry de Pantaleon*, printed at the same Place in 1560. And lastly, *James de Vitry's* History was printed at *Doway* in 1597.

## Writers of Chronicles, and particular Histories.

*Hugh*, a Monk of *Verdun*, and afterwards Abbot of *Flavigny* in the Duchy of *Burgundy*, compos'd a Chronicle of *Verdun* divided into two Parts, one of which begins at the Nativity of *Jesus Christ*, and ends in the Year 1002. and the other contains the History to 1102. This Work was published by Father *Labbe*, who gives a very great Character of it, in the first Tome of his new Library of Manuscripts; but the second Part is much more valuable than the first.

*Baudry*, Secretary to *Gerard I. Lietbert* and *Gerard II.* Bishops of *Cambray*, afterwards Chanter and Canon of *Terouane*, and at last Bishop of *Noyon* and *Terouane*, wrote

the History of the Churches of *Cambray* and *Arras*, under the Title of the Chronicle of *Cambray*, published by *Colvenerius*, and printed at *Doway* A. D. 1615. This Author was ordain'd Bishop in the Year of our Lord 1097. and died in 1112.

*Leo* of *Marfi*, a Monk and Library-Keeper of Mount *Cassin*, was made Bishop of *Sessa*, and Cardinal Bishop of *Ostia*, by Pope *Paschal II.* A. D. 1101. He escap'd by Flight from *Rome*, with *John* Bishop of *Frescati*, when that Pope was apprehended by the Emperor *Henry V.* and run all about *Italy* to excite the People to take up Arms in his Defence: He also sign'd a Bull of the same Pope *Paschal*



*Paschal II.* in 1115. and died a little while after. He wrote a Chronicle of the Abby of Mount *Cassin* divided into three Books, which begins at the time of St. *Benedict*, and ends in that of the Abbot *Desiderius*, who was chosen Pope under the Name of *Victor III.* This Chronicle was printed at *Venice* A. D. 1513. at *Paris* with that of *Aimoin* in 1603. at *Naples* in 1616. and again at *Paris* in 1668. It is reported that there are some other Manuscript Tracts of this Author, particularly certain Sermons, and Lives of the Saints, &c. In the *Vatican Library* are to be seen several Letters of another *Leo*, in like manner Cardinal Deacon, who was promoted to that Dignity by *Urban II.* and who made a Register of the Letters written by the same Pope.

Another Cardinal Leo,

*Hariulfus*, a Monk of St. *Riquier*, compos'd a Chronicle of his Abby, printed in the fourth Tome of Father *Dachery's Spicilegium*; the Life of St. *Arnoul* of *Soissons*, publish'd by *Surius*; a Treatise of the Miracles of St. *Riquier*; and the Life of St. *Maldegisilus*, set forth by Father *Mabillon* in his *Benedictin Centuries*. This Author wrote in the beginning of the twelfth Century.

*Ruenerius*, a Monk of St. *Laurence* at *Liege*, who flourish'd A. D. 1130. is the Author of a Treatise of the Illustrious Personages of his Monastery, and of the Bishoprick of *Liege*, publish'd by *Chapeauville*, in his Collection of Monuments relating to the Church of *Liege*.

*Herman*, a Monk of St. *Vincent* at *Laon*, and afterwards Abbot of St. *Martin* at *Tournay*, flourish'd in the beginning of this Century. He wrote a large Narrative of the Restauration of the Church of St. *Martin* at *Tournay*, which contains the History of that Abby, from the Reign of *Philip I.* King of *France*, to his time; that is to say, to the Year 1150. being inserted in the twelfth Tome of Father *Dachery's Spicilegium*. He likewise compil'd three Books of the Miracles of St. *Mary* of *Laon*, printed with the Works of *Guibert* of *Nogent*, and another Manuscript Treatise about the Incarnation of *Jesus Christ*, dedicated to *Stephen* Archbishop of *Vienna*.

*Falco* of *Beneventum*, who was created Magistrate of that City by Pope *Innocent II.* left a Chronicle in History from the Year 1102. to 1140. in which he gives a particular Account of Matters relating to his native Country. This Work was publish'd by Father *Caracioli* of the *Theatine Order*, and printed at *Naples* A. D. 1626.

*Udascaleus*, a Monk, compos'd a Relation of the Controversies between *Herman* Bishop of *Augsburg*; and *Egino* Abbot of St. *Ulric*, with a Poem concerning the Voyage and Death of the said *Egino*, publish'd by *Canisius* in the second Tome of his Collection. This Author wrote in the time of Pope *Paschal II.* and of *Arnulphus* Archbishop of *Mentz*, some of whose Letters are inserted by him in his Relation.

*Alexander*, an Abbot in *Sicily*, compil'd four Books of the Life and Reign of *Roger* King of *Sicily*, which were printed at *Saragossa*, A. D. 1578. and the Book call'd, *Hispania Illustrata*. This Author wrote after the Death of King *Roger*, which happen'd in 1154.

*John*, a Monk of *Marmoutier*, wrote the History of the Actions of *Geoffrey Plantagenet* Count of *Angers* and Duke of *Normandy*, publish'd by *M. du Bouhel*, and printed at *Paris* A. D. 1610. as also in *M. du Chesne's* Collection of the Historians of *Normandy*.

*Geoffrey*, or *Walter de Vineauf*, of *Norman* Extraction, but born in *England*, after having run through a course of Learning in his native Country, travell'd beyond Sea, and acquir'd a great deal of Reputation. He compos'd a Work in Hexameter Verse, dedicated to Pope *Innocent III.* under the Title of *The new Poesy, or the Art of Speaking*; and another Treatise about the planting and improving of Trees. Both these Works are only in Manuscript; but in the second Tome of the *English* Historians, printed at *Oxford* in 1687. is contain'd his History, or the Itinerary of King *Richard I.* to the Holy-Land, which was attributed to other Authors; in the same Place are also found certain Copies of Verses on King *Richard*.

*Odo* of *Deuil*, Abbot of St. *Cornelius* at *Compeigne*, and afterward Successor to *Suger* in the Abby of St. *Denis*, wrote a Relation of the Voyage of *Lewis VII.* King of *France* to the *Levant*, publish'd by Father *Chifflet* in his Treatise of the Nobility of S. *Bernard*, printed at *Paris* A. D. 1660. This Author died in 1168.

*Laurence*, a Monk of *Liege*, being sent to *Verdun* residing in the Monastery of St. *Vito*, and was employ'd in writing a Chronicle of all the Bishops of that Diocese to the Year 1148. printed in the twelfth Tome of his *Spicilegium*: It is reported that he liv'd till A. D. 1179.

*Suger*, Abbot of St. *Denis*, famous as well for his Learning and Zeal in maintaining the Rights of the Church, as on account of the Nobleness of his Birth, and the considerable Employments he obtain'd in the State, wrote the Life of *Lewis* the Great King of *France*; divers Letters

relating to the publick Affairs of the Kingdom, during his Administration of the Government; a Treatise of his Transactions in the Abby of St. *Denis*; a Narrative of the Consecration of that Church; with certain Constitutions, and his last Will and Testament. These Monuments are no extant in the fourth Tome of the Historians by *du Chesne*; except the Account of the Consecration of the Church, which is not there entire, and to which Father *Mabillon* added a Supplement, in the first Tome of his *Analecta*. *Suger* was chosen Abbot of St. *Denis* A. D. 1122: during his residence at *Rome*, and consecrated in 1123 He died in 1153.

*Aldebert*, or *Albert*, Abbot of *Hildesheim*, flourish'd in the Year 1160. He wrote a Relation of the Restauration of his Monastery to the *Benedictins* under Pope *Engenius III.* which was publish'd by *Gretser*, and printed at *Ingolstadt* A. D. 1117.

*Teulphus*, a Monk of *Maurigny*, compos'd in the Year 1150. a Chronicle of his Monastery, from A. D. 1008. to 1147. which is to be found in the three Tomes of the Historians by *M. du Chesne*.

*Hugh* of *Poitiers*, a *Benedictin* Monk, Secretary to the Abby of *Vezelay*, began in the Year 1156. by Order of *Ponce* Abbot of *Vezelay*, the History of that Monastery, and completed it in 1167. under *William* Abbot of the same Abby. It is divided into four Books, and was publish'd by Father *Dachery* in the third Tome of his *Spicilegium*. *Richard*, an *English* Man of the County of *Northumberland*, Monk and Prior of the Monastery of *Hagulfstadt*, flourish'd A. D. 1180. and died in 1190. His Works were publish'd among those of the *English* Historians, printed at *London* in 1652. They are, an History of the Church and Bishops of *Hagulfstadt*; that of the Actions of King *Stephen*; and that of the War manag'd by *Standardius* from A. D. 1135. to 1139.

*Thierry*, or *Theodoric*, a Monk, wrote about the Year 1180. a compendious History of Ecclesiastical Affairs, and of the Kings of *Norway*, publish'd with another Piece of a Nameless Author, concerning the Expedition which the *Danes* undertook to the Holy Land, A. D. 1185. which was set forth by *Gasper Kirkman*, from the Memoirs of *John Kirkman* of *Lubec* his Uncle, and printed at *Amsterdam* 1684.

*Geoffrey*, a French Monk of the Monastery of St. *Martial* at *Limoges*, and afterward Prior of *Vigeois* in the same Diocese, who was ordain'd Priest in 1167. by *Geraud* Bishop of *Cahors*, wrote a Chronicle or History of *France* from the Year 996. to 1184. which was publish'd by Father *Labbe* in the second Tome of his new Library of Manuscripts.

*Gonthier*, or *Gonthierius*, a Monk of the Abby of St. *Amand*, had the Reputation of being a good Poet, and compos'd a Poem of the Exploits of the Emperor *Frederick Barberossa* in *Lombardy* and *Liguria* which on that account was call'd the *Ligurine*, and was printed at *Strasbourg*, A. D. 1531. as also at *Basil* in 1569. at *Frankfort* in 1584. among the *German* Historians. He likewise wrote a Treatise of Prayer, Fasting and Alms-giving printed at *Basil* in 1504. and 1507. The Lives of St. *Cyrcius*, and St. *Julia* in Verse, are also attributed to the same Author.

*Saxo*, surnam'd the Grammarian, by reason of the Purity of his Style, was a *Dane* by Nation, of the Isle of *Seeland*. He was Provost of the Church of *Roschild*, and Chaplain to *Abfalon* Archbishop of *Lunden*, who sent him to *Paris*, A. D. 1177. to conduct the Monks of St. *Genevieve* into *Denmark*. He wrote the History of his native Country to the Year 1186. *Erasmus* extols the Vivacity of of his Conceptions, the Nobleness of his Expressions, the Fluency of his Rhetorick, and the admirable Variety of his Figures, and wonders much, by what means a *Dane* could arrive at such a height of Eloquence in that Age. He chiefly affected to imitate *Valerius Maximus*. His History was publish'd by *Christian Petri*, Canon of *Lunden*, and printed at *Paris* A. D. 1514. *John Bebelius* caus'd it to be printed at *Basil* in 1534. as also did *Philip Leonicer*, and *John Fichard* at *Frankfort* in 1576. Lastly, *Johannes Stephanus* set forth a more large and correct Edition of it, with *Prolegomena* and Annotations, at *Sora* in 1644. This Author died in 1204.

*Ralph de Diceto*, an *English* Man by Nation, and Dean of St. *Paul's* at *London*, a Person well known on account of his Learning and Travels into foreign Countries, wrote a compendious Chronicle from the Creation of the World to the Year 1198. The first Part of it ending at the time of Pope *Gregory* the Great was never publish'd, because it only contain'd trivial Matters. He also compos'd certain Historical Tracts call'd *Portraits*, from A. D. 1148. to 1200. These Works are among those of the *English* Historians printed at *London* in 1652.



## Writers of Relations of the Lives and Miracles of Saints.

**A**nsherus Abbot of St. Riquier compos'd in the Year 1110. a Relation of the Life and Miracles of St. Angilbert Abbot of the same Monastery, which was publish'd by Father Mabillon in the first Tome of his *Benedictin* Centuries.

**Theofredus**, Abbot of Epternach in the Duchy of Luxemburg, wrote a large Account of the Life of St. Hilbert the first Bishop of Utrecht; four Books of Epitaphs of Saints, printed at Luxemburg A. D. 1619. and certain Sermons, which are insert'd in the Book call'd *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

**Ramaud**, or *Ramoldus* of Semur, the Son of *Dalmace de Semur* and *Armenberge de Verzey*, of an illustrious Family in Burgundy, being the Brother of *Hugh* Abbot of Cluny, was chosen Abbot of *Vezelay*, and assist'd in that Quality in the Council of *Troyes* A. D. 1104. He was afterwards promoted to the Archbishoprick of *Lyons*, and died in 1109. in the 57th Year of his Age, leaving a Narration of the Life of *Hugh* his Brother Abbot of Cluny, which is extant in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis* publish'd by M. *du Chesne*.

**Nicolas**, a Monk of *Soissons*, wrote in the Year 1120. the Life of St. *Godefroy* Bishop of *Amiens*, dedicated to *Robura* Bishop of *Soissons*, and referr'd to by *Surius* in November S.

**Domizio**, an Italian Priest, liv'd in the end of the preceding Century, in and the beginning of the present, under the Emperors *Henry IV.* and *Henry V.* He wrote in Heroick Verse, the Life of the Prince's *Matthias* printed by *Sebastian Tugnatelius* at *Ingolstadt* A. D. 1612. with the Letters of *Gebehard* of *Saltzburg*, *Sigefred* of *Mentz*, and *Stephen* of *Halberstadt*, relating to the Contest between the Emperor and Pope *Gregory*; as also the Treaty of *Bertholdus* of *Constance* about excommunicated Persons; the Lives of St. *Alman* of *Passau*, *Thiemo*, of *Saltzburg*, and *Anselm* of *Lucca*, written by nameless Authors. and *Uffo's* Treatise concerning the Transactions between the Emperor *Henry V.* and Pope *Calixtus II.* in 1119.

**Einub**, a Monk of St. *Augustin* at *Canterbury*, flourish'd in the beginning of this Century, and spent a considerable part of his Life in *Denmark*, where (as 'tis reported) he resided 24 Years. He wrote about A. D. 1120. an Historical Account of the Life and Passion of *Canut* King of that Country, which was publish'd by *Arnold Wbischfeld*. A. D. 1602. and afterward printed with *Mearnsus's* Notes at *Hanaw* in 1631.

**Gualbert**, a Monk of the Abby of *Marchiennes*, compos'd in the Year 1125. or 1126. two Books, concerning the Miracles wrought by St. *Rictrudus*.

**Pandolphus** of *Pisa* flourish'd A. D. 1130. and wrote the Life of Pope *Gelasius II.* who died at *Cluny* in 1119. It was printed at *Rome* in 1635.

**Fabrianus Tufus** Abbot of *Abbingdon* in *England*, wrote a Relation of the Life and Actions of St. *Adelm* an Abbot in *Scotland*. He flourish'd in the beginning of the present Century.

**Anselmus**, a Native of *Florence*, and Abbot of the Monastery of *Valumbra*, or *Vall'Ombrusa*, in the Territories of that City, who flourish'd in the beginning of the Century, has left us the Life of St. *John Gualbert*, and that of *Bernard Hubert* Cardinal, with a Narrative of the Translation of the Head of St. *James* the Apostle.

**Odo**, Abbot of St. *Remy* at *Rheims*, sent a Letter to Count *Thomas* Lord of *Concy*, which is still extant, and contains the Relation of a Miracle, which he heard at *Rome* from the Mouth of a certain Archbishop of *India* concerning the Body of St. *Thomas* the Apostle, which was inter'd in his Church. This Letter was written about A. D. 1135. for the next Year, *Odo* return'd from *Rome* to *France*, and gave Lands to the House of *Mont-Dieu* belonging to the *Carthusians*.

**Geoffrey the Gross**, a Monk of *Tiron*, wrote in the Year 1135. the Life of St. *Bernard* Abbot of that Monastery, referr'd to by the *Bollandists* in April 14.

**Ulric**, a Monk of St. *Blasius* in the Black Forest, who was afterwards promoted to the Bishoprick of *Constance* A. D. 1120. wrote the Life of St. *Gebehard* Bishop of *Angiburg* cited by *Canisius*, and that of St. *Conrad*, Bishop of the same City, whose Canonization he had obtain'd of

the Pope. In the end of his Life he left his Bishoprick, and return'd to the Monastery of St. *Blasius* in 1135. at the where he died in 1140.

**Archand**, a *Cistercian* Monk, and Tutor to the Novices in the Abby of *Clairvaux*, in St. *Bernard's* time, compos'd a Relation of the Life of St. *Geseba* a Hermit, which was publish'd by *Arnoldus Raifius* and printed at *Doway* Archand, A. D. 1626. It is also reported, that he made certain Sermons for the Use of the Novices. He flourish'd in *Clairvaux*, 1140.

At the same time *Siged*, *Ebo*, *Thimo*, and *Herbord*, wrote the Life of St. *Orbo*, who first planted Christianity in *Pomerania*, and died A. D. 1139. This Piece is insert'd by *Canisius* in his *Antiquities*.

To these Writers may be added *Robert*, Archdeacon of *Ostervand* in *Havnaur*, who compos'd a Narrative of the Life of St. *Albert*, a Monk and Priest of the Monastery of *Cresspin*, referr'd to by *Surius*, and a nameless Author, who wrote the Life of St. *Ludger* in *Verse*.

**Turstin**, Archbishop of *York*, who near the End of his Life retir'd to a Monastery of his Diocess call'd *Rippon* Springs of the *Cistercian* Order, wrote a small Tract concerning the Original of that Monastery.

**Thinand**, or *Theobald*, a *Benedictin* Monk of *Peter* at *Beze* in *Burgundy*, compil'd in the middle of the Century four Books, concerning the Acts, Translation, and Miracles of St. *Prudentius* Martyr, publish'd by Father *Labbe* in his new Library of Manuscripts.

**Hugh**, a Monk of *Cluny*, wrote in the Year 1160 a Letter giving an Account of the excellent Endowments of St. *Hugh*, sometime Abbot of the same Monastery, and afterwards the entire Life of that Saint, which is insert'd in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, and in *Surius*.

**Gautier**, or *Gauterius*, a Canon of *Terouane*, compos'd a Narration of the Life and Martyrdom of *Charles* first nam'd the Good Count of *Flanders*, which was set forth by Father *Sirmond*, A. D. 1615.

**Nicolas**, a Canon of *Liege*, wrote the Life of St. *Lambert*, publish'd by *Chapeauville* in his Collection of Pieces relating to the said Church of *Liege*.

**Alanus**, a Native of *Lisle* in *Flanders*, a Monk of *Clairvaux*, and afterwards Abbot of *Larivair*, a Monastery of the Order of *Clairvaux* in the Diocess of *Trier*, was made Bishop of *Auxerre* A. D. 1153. and compos'd an Abridgment of the Life of St. *Bernard*, publish'd by Father *Mabillon*. He left his Bishoprick to return to *Clairvaux*. in 1161. and died in 1152.

**Sibrand**, Abbot of *Mariegard* in *Friesland*, is the Author of an Account of the Life of St. *Frederick*, Founder of that Abby, who died A. D. 1175. *Sibrand* wrote some time after.

**Bertrand**, Abbot of *La Chaise-Dieu*, compil'd the History of the Life and Miracles of *Robert* the first Founder of that Abby, which is divided into three Parts, and was publish'd by Father *Labbe* in the second Tome of his new Library of Manuscripts.

**Roul**, or *Radulphus*, fir-nam'd *Tortarius*, wrote a Book concerning the Miracles of St. *Benedict*, set forth by Father *Mabillon* in the fourth *Benedictin* Century.

**Stephen**, Abbot of St. *James* at *Liege*, wrote in the beginning of the Century the Life of St. *Modoaldus* Archbishop of *Trier*, divided into three Books, and the History of the Translation of that Saint, publish'd by *Surius* and the *Bollandists*.

**Hugh**, a Monk of St. *Saviour* at *Lodeve*, compos'd a Relation of the Conversion of *Ponce de Lavaze*, Founder of that Monastery, which was set forth by M. *Baluzius* in the third Tome of his *Miscellaneous Works*.

**Herman**, a Jew of *Colen*, being converted by the Sermons of *Egbert* Bishop of *Munster*, and by the Conferences he had with Abbot *Rupert*, retir'd to a Monastery of Regular Canons in his native Country. He wrote a small Tract about his Conversion, publish'd by *Carpzovius* in the last Edition of *Raimond*, printed at *Leipsick* in 1687.

**Thomas**, a Monk of *Ely* in *England*, wrote an Account of the Life and Translation of St. *Etheldrith* the first Abbess of *Ely*, who died A. C. 679. This Piece was publish'd by Father *Mabillon* in the second *Benedictin* Century.



## C H A P. XIV.

## An Account of the Lives and Writings of the Ecclesiastical Authors of the Levant in the Twelfth Century.

THE County of Greece has produc'd in this Century a great number of Writers of good Note, who attain'd to much Skill as well in Divinity, as in the Canon and Civil Law. Of the chief of these we shall give a particular Account in this Chapter.

*Euthymius Zygabenus*, a Greek Monk of the Order St. Basil, flourish'd in the beginning of this Century, under the Emperor *Alexis Comnenus*, by whom he was highly esteem'd. He apply'd himself very much to the reading of the Writings of the ancient Greek Fathers, and compos'd the following Works. *Viz.*

A Collection of Passages taken out of the Fathers on divers Points of Religion against the Errors of the Hereticks, which is divided into two Parts, and call'd *Panoplia Dogmatica*, or the Defence of the Orthodox Faith against all Heresies. The Greek Text of this Work never as yet came to our hands, only a Latin Version made by *Zinnus*, printed at Lyons A. D. 1536. at Paris in 1556. at Venice in 1575. and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. A large Commentary on the 150 Psalms, and the 10 Canticles, taken out of the Works of the Fathers, which was printed in Greek at Verona A. D. 1530. and in Latin of *Santius's* Translation at Paris in 1543. and 1547. as also at Venice in 1568. *M. le Moine* has publish'd in the first Tome of his Collection of Monuments the Preface to this Commentary, in which the Author treats of several Questions relating to the Psalms. A Commentary on the four Gospels, printed in Greek at Verona in 1530. and in Latin of *Hentenius's* Version at Louvain in 1544. as also at Paris in 1560. *Simlerus* assures us, that there is a Manuscript Copy in *Sambucus's* Library, of a Commentary by this Author on the Catholick Epistles; and some Ecclesiastical Writers make mention of his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles. The Commentaries of *Euthymius Zygabenus* are Literal, Moral, and Allegorical; in the Literal, he makes it his Business to explain the proper signification of the Terms; his moral Discourses are solid, and his Allegories natural, and fitly adapted to the Matter in debate.

*Philip* surnam'd the Solitary, a Greek Monk, compos'd in the Year 1105. a Work call'd *Dioptron*, or The Rule of Christian Life, dedicated to *Callimachus*, and divided into four Books, a Version of which made by *Jacobus Pontanus* was printed at Ingolstadt A. D. 1604. and afterwards inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. It is written by way of Dialogue between the Soul and the Body, the Author introducing the former as a Tutor or Guardian, and the other as the Pupil: The Soul gives many moral Instructions to the Body, who acknowledges and approves the Truths laid down, owns her natural Infirmities, and even sometimes gives Advice to the Soul. The Author in this Discourse produces great Variety of fine Passages out of the Greek Fathers, and takes an Occasion to discuss some doctrinal Points, amongst others, the Necessity of Confession is more particularly inculcated. He also proves, that the Souls of the Righteous, after their Death, are translated to Heaven, and there enjoy everlasting Happiness; and explains several Questions about the Resurrection; but he chiefly treats of Points relating to Morality, and the State of humane Nature.

*Petrus Crisostomus*, or *Chrysostomus*, being translated from a certain Bishoprick to the Metropolitan See of Milan, in the beginning of this Century, was sent in Quality of Legate by Pope *Paschal II.* to the Court of *Alexis Comnenus* Emperor of Constantinople; where he disputed with much earnestness, both by word of Mouth and Writing against the Opinion of the Greeks, concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost. Upon his return, the Archbishoprick of Milan was contended with him by *Jordanes*, and he was condemn'd in a Council held at *Lutetia* in 1116 to leave it, and to return to his Bishoprick. The Discourse is still extant which he made to *Alexis Comnenus* about the Procession of the Holy Ghost: It is in Latin in *Baronius*, under the Year 1119. and in Greek and Latin in the first Tome of *Allatius's* Book, call'd *Græcia Orthodoxa*.

V O L. II.

*Eustratius*, Archbishop of Nice, was one of those Persons who reply'd to *Chrysostomus*: He was a Man of profound Learning and Skill, as well in Ecclesiastical as Civil Affairs. His Treatise against *Chrysostomus* is extant in Manuscript in several Libraries, and *Leo Allatius* makes mention of five other Treatises of this Author; but we have none printed, except certain Greek Commentaries on *Aristotle's* Analyticks publish'd at Venice A. D. 1536. and in Latin at Paris in 1543.

At the same time *Nicetas Seidus* wrote a Treatise against the Latins, the Design of which was to prove, that Antiquity is not always most Venerable, and therefore that greater Honour is not due upon that account to Old Rome than to the New. *Leo Allatius* produces a great number of Fragments taken out of this Treatise, in his Books of the Concord between the Greek and Latin Churches. L. 1. c. 14. §. 1, 2 L. 2. c. 1. §. 2. L. 3. c. 12. §. 4.

*Isaac*, an Armenian Bishop, being separated from the Communion of his Country-men, and turn'd out of their Society, compos'd against them in the Year 1133. divers Works, in which he confutes their Errors. In the first and chief of these Writings, he accuses them of being addicted to the Heresy of the *Aphartodocites*, that is to say, of believing that the Body of *Jesus Christ* was not like ours, but impassible, immortal, uncreated, and naturally invincible; that by the Incarnation it was chang'd into the Divine Nature, which absorb'd it, as a drop of Honey thrown into the Sea, is so far Intermix'd with the Water that it entirely disappears. He adds, that by reason of this Error, they did not attribute to the Holy Mysteries of the Eucharist the Name of the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*, but that of his Divinity or Godhead. *Isaac* confutes his Adversaries by several Passages of Holy Scripture, and Testimonies of St. *Athanasius*, and St. *Cyril of Alexandria*. Afterwards he reproves them upon account of divers Matters which relate only to Discipline, although he makes as many Errors of them as Heresies. *Viz.*

1. That they neglected to celebrate the Festival of the Annunciation in any Month of the Year, under pretence that the Virgin *Mary* did not conceive in March: *Isaac* maintains that she conceiv'd on the 25. Day of that Month, and endeavours to prove it by the Testimonies of *Eusebius*, St. *Athanasius*, and St. *Chrysostom*; but they are taken out of supposititious Pieces.

2. That they do not celebrate the Nativity of *Jesus Christ* with due Solemnity, contenting themselves only to commemorate in a mournful manner, without any Ceremony, the Annunciation of our Saviour's Nativity and Baptism in one Day.

3. That they do not mingle Water with the Wine in the Chalice in order to the Consecration.

4. That in the Administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, they make use of unleavened Bread. *Isaac* confutes this Custom, and affirms, that *Jesus Christ* us'd leaven'd Bread in the Institution of the Eucharist; and that although it were granted, that he made use of unleaven'd, yet that would not infer a Necessity of imitating him, in regard that the Church observes many Things in the Celebration of the Holy Mysteries, which are not conformable to what our Saviour did at that time. He produces several Examples in the eighth Chapter to that purpose.

5. That they were wont to make an Oblation of Oxen, Sheep, and Lambs, at the Altar.

6. That they have not a due Veneration for the Sign of the Cross.

7. That they sometimes join three Crosses together, and impose on them the Name of the Trinity.

8. That they usually sing the Trisagion, with *Petrus Fullo's* Addition; that is to say, in adding to these Words, Holy God, Almighty God, Immortal God, these, who wast crucify'd for us.

9. That they do not receive Ordination from the Archbishop of *Cæsarea*.

10. That they do observe a very rigorous Fast call'd *Aruburia*, in the Week proceeding *Tyrophagia*; that is to say,

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say,



say, the Week before the beginning of Lent, during which the Greeks abstain from eating Flesh, and live on White-Writers of meats. *Isaac* condemns this Custom as superstitious, and Ecclesiastical the Original of that Fast, relating the Reasons alleg'd in *cal History* vindication of it. Afterwards he makes an Exhortation to the *Armenians* to renounce their Errors, and absurd Customs contrary to the Faith and Discipline of the Church establish'd in the Councils, and by the Bishops of *Rome*.

Bishop *Isaac*'s second Treatise against the *Armenians* is not so large as the former: He there reckons up 29 Articles of heretical or erroneous Opinions to be imputed to them, the most part of which may be refer'd to those we have but now observ'd; adding,

- \* Lights, 11. That they do not solemnize the Festival of \* *Lumieres*, on the sixth day of *January*, in Commemoration of the Baptism of *Jesus Christ*.
- 12. That they usually make their consecrated Oils of Rape-seed, and not of Olives, and that they do not administer Unction at the Sacrament of Baptism.
- 13. That they permit none but those Persons who officiate to say the Lords Prayer.
- 14. That they do not blow upon baptis'd Persons.
- 15. That they do not shew due respect to the Images.
- 16. That during the time of Lent they do not resort to the Church, nor adore the Crosses.
- 17. That they were wont to eat Cheese on *Saturdays* and *Sundays* in *Lent*.
- 18. That they do not rightly honour the Saints.
- 19. That they do not observe the Week *Tyrophagia*.
- 20. That they appear before the Altar with their ordinary Habits, and that they keep their Hats on during the Celebration of Divine Service.
- 21. That they do not administer the Communion on Holy Thursday.
- 22. That they imitate the *Jews* in eating a Paschal-Lamb on *Easter-day*, with the Blood of which they sprinkle their Door-posts, and keep the rest to serve for Benedictions, causing a Victim painted red to be brought to the Church-door, where they sacrifice it with a great deal of Ceremony.

About that time the *Armenians* sent Legates to *Rome* to Pope *Eugenius III.* to enter into a Union with the *Latin* Church, whose Custom they follow'd in the use of unleaven'd Bread, and in some other Matters. This Embassy is refer'd to by *Ordo of Frisingen*.

*Michael Glycas*, a *Sicilian*, compos'd in the beginning of this Century his *Annals*, divided into four Parts: which is not only an historical Work, but also has some relation to Divinity, and natural Philosophy. In the first Part he treats of the Creation of the World: The second contains an History from the Creation of the World to the Nativity of *Jesus Christ*: The third continues the History from our Saviour to *Constantine the Great*: And in the fourth it is brought down to the Death of *Alexis Comnenus*. These *Annals* were printed in *Latin*, of *Lewenclavius*'s Version at *Basil* A. D. 1572. But they were publish'd in *Greek* and *Latin* by Father *Labbe*, and printed at *Paris* in 1660. *Jacobus Pontanus* likewise set forth two Discourses of the same Author, with the *Dioptron* of *Philip the Solitary*, printed at *Ingolstadt* in 1604. *Leo Allatius* produces several Fragments of divers Letters written by *Michael Glycas*, and cites a Treatise which he compos'd about the Procession of the Holy Ghost, dedicated to *Maximus Semerous*; another Piece concerning the Question, Whether *Jesus Christ* made use of unleaven'd Bread at his last Supper? And a Tract of the State of Souls separated from the Body. Lastly, *Possevinus* observes, that there are certain Treatises of this Author on the Holy Scripture, in the Emperor's Library at *Vienna*.

*Nicetas of Constantinople*. At the same time *Nicetas*, a Philosopher or Monk of *Constantinople*, wrote an Apologetical Treatise for the Council of *Chalcedon* against a certain Prince of *Armenia*, which was publish'd by *Allatius* in the first Tome of his *Græcia Orthodoxa*.

*Constantine Manasses*. *Constantine Manasses* flourish'd in *Greece* A. D. 1150. and wrote an Epitome of History, dedicated to *Irene* the Sister of the Emperor *Manuel Comnenus*, from the Creation of the World to the Reign of *Alexis Comnenus*, that is to say, to the Year 1081. The *Latin* Version of this Chronicle by *Lewenclavius* was printed at *Basil* in 1573. The *Greek* Text was publish'd separately by *Meursius* at *Amsterdam*, in 1616. but it was printed in *Greek* and *Latin* with the Notes of *Lewenclavius*, *Meursius*, *Allatius*, and *Fabrotius* in Folio at *Paris* A. D. 1655.

*Constantinus Harmenopolus*, a Judge of *Theffalonica*, flourish'd A. D. 1150. at the time when the Heresie of the *Bogomiles* began to appear: He was an able Lawyer, and compil'd a Dictionary of the Civil Law, which was printed in *Greek* at *Paris* in 1540. in *Latin* at *Lyon* in 1556. and in *Greek* and *Latin* with the Notes of *John Mercerus*,

and *Dionysius Gothofredus* at *Geneva* in 1587. as also a Collection of Canons divided into six Titles or Articles, of the first Tome of his  *Jus Græco-Romanum*, or Collection of *ecclesiastical* *Greek* and *Roman* Laws. To these Works may be added *cal History* his Treatise of the Seeds of Hereticks, with a Confession of Faith, which is inserted in the first Tome of *Fronto Dencens*'s Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

*John*, a Monk of the Island of *Oxia*, and Patriarch of the *Greek* Church of *Antioch*, A. D. 1150. is the Author of a small Treatise against the Custom that was then introduced of conferring Monasteries on Noblemen or Laicks. This Tract is mention'd by *Balsamon* and *Blasphores*, and was publish'd by *Cotelerius* in the first Tome of his Monuments of the *Greek* Church. Perhaps it may not be improper here to shew after what manner he treats of the Original and Progress of the Monastick Life.

'Our Lord *Jesus Christ* (says he) having descended from Heaven to Earth for the Salvation of Mankind, having also actually redeem'd us by his Death, and establish'd his Religion throughout the whole World; the Devil us'd his utmost Efforts to cause Men to return to their former exorbitant Courses: To which purpose he at first excited the Emperors and Potentates to raise cruel Persecutions against the Christians: Afterwards, when the Christian Religion was embraced by Kings and Princes, he caus'd Heresies to succeed Superstitions; but when these Means in like manner prov'd ineffectual, he made use of another Method, which was to induce the Christians to defer the Administration of Baptism: But our Ancestors the Successors of the Apostles, perceiving the Damage such Procrastinations brought to the Catholick Church, and that many Persons died without Baptism, ordain'd that all Infants should be baptis'd and educated in the Christian Religion by their Parents, or by their God-fathers and God-mothers. The Devil being thus defeated, had recourse to another Artifice; which was to corrupt the Manners of baptis'd Persons, well knowing that Faith without good Works is unprofitable to Salvation: Whereupon the Church enjoy'd Penance as an Antidote against these Disorders; but the Devil often caus'd the Penitents to fall again into the same vicious Courses, before the time of their Penance was expir'd. This difficulty of living virtuously and soberly in the World, caus'd many Persons to take a Resolution to retire to solitary Places there to lead an ascetic Life; inasmuch that their Reputation drew many People thither, who imitated their manner of Living; and their Number being thus encreased, they formed regular Societies, and erected Monasteries.

This Institution began in *Egypt*, and from thence was spread abroad throughout the whole World, as *St. Athanasius* and *Theodorus Studita* have observ'd. The Bishops, to render the Monastick Life more commendable, thought fit to confer on the Monks a kind of Consecration, or Benediction, which is as it were renewing the Baptismal Vows. There were among the Monks a great Number of Saints who wrote excellent Books relating to the Monastick Discipline, and by that means brought it to perfection. In the mean while the Devil not being able to endure their Proceedings, at first attack'd them by *Leo* the Image-breaker, who endeavour'd to extirpate their Order; but this Emperor was destroy'd, and after his Reign the Monks obtain'd so great Reputation, that they were permitted to receive Confessions, to impose Penances, and to give Absolution. How many Attempts has the Devil made to ruin an Order so well establish'd? He has caus'd Monasteries and Hospitals to be made over by Princes and Patriarchs to Lay-men: Indeed at first they were not consign'd to such Persons, to the end that they might make any Advantage of them, but that they might be re-establish'd and improved. Afterwards Covetousness being cloked with this specious Shew, the Emperors and Patriarchs began to grant Monasteries and Hospitals to Laicks, to gain profit by them. The Patriarch *Sisinnius* oppos'd this Abuse, which prevail'd from time to time, and which is at present so great, that almost all the Monasteries of Monks and Nuns are in the possession of Lay-men, pay even of those that are married.

The Patriarch of *Antioch* condemns the said Custom in the remaining Part of this Treatise, alledging the following Reasons: viz. 1. That the very Title of Donation imports a kind of Blasphemy; in regard that a Monastery, or Church, which bears the Name of our Saviour, of the Virgin *Mary*, or of the Saints, is given to a meer Man. 2. That the Donor has no Propriety in such Possessions. 3. That the Monasteries are Places of Retreat for Persons who are desirous to serve God, where his Praises are sung, and the Revenues of which are appointed for the Maintenance of the Saints, and of the Poor. 4. That the Government



vernment of the Church is subverted by such irregular Proceedings, when Secular Persons are substituted in the room of Monks. 5. That Monasteries, which are thus made over to Laymen, are soon ruin'd or demolished; and that under Pretence of enfranchising them under the Protection of some Lord, they are made subject to the Jurisdiction of such as are ready to pillage and ruin them; treating the Priors and Monks as Slaves, and allowing them only a very small Portion of the Revenues, and that too grudgingly, and as it were out of pure Charity. Besides that these Patrons cannot be persuaded to keep their Monasteries in Repair, nor to give Alms, neither do they take care that Divine Service be celebrated therein, nor that a regular Course of Discipline be duly observ'd: But, on the contrary, they apply the Revenues altogether to prophane Uses. That without having any regard to the Monastick Rules and Constitutions, which import, that whoever presents himself in order to be admitted to the Profession, shall undergo a Probation of three Years; they usually nominate Monks at their Pleasure, and enjoin the Priors to admit them by Virtue of their *Mandamus*. Lastly, that the Monks who are placed there, after so irregular a Manner, generally make no Scruple to live as dissolutely, eating Flesh inordinately, committing Outrages upon the Laicks, setting forth publick Shews, driving Trades, haunting Ale-houses or Taverns, and making their Monasteries common Receptacles for all sorts of Secular Persons.

6. That greater Disorders were occasion'd on that Account in the Convents of Nuns; the Ladies to whom they are consign'd often usurping their Revenues: That they take up their Abode, and cause Houses to be built within the Bounds of the Monasteries; and that they introduce Secular Persons, and entirely subvert the Monastick Discipline. From all these Arguments he concludes, that it is a very high Misdemeanour, and a kind of Impiety equal to Heresy, to put Monasteries into the Hands of Laicks; and that 'tis a mortal Sin for such Persons to take Possession of them; and that they who die in that State, without doing Penance for their Offence, (which frequently happens) incur Damnation. The Name of *Charistochairi* was then usually impos'd among the Greeks on those Laymen, who had any Abbies consign'd to them. *Theodorus Balsamon*, in his Remarks on the 13th. Canon of the seventh Synod, and *Matthæus Blastares*, are of a different Opinion from this Author, and approve the Donations of Monasteries which are made by Bishops, provided they be done on good Grounds.

There are extant two Homilies of *Germanus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, viz. one published by *Gretser*, on the Restoration of Image-worship, under the Empress *Irene*, an annual Commemoration of which was made on the first Sunday in Lent, and the other by *Father Combefis*, on the Burial of the Body of Jesus Christ.

*Arsenius*, a Monk of Mount *Athos*, compos'd in the Year 1150. a compendious Collection of Canons, which is inserted in *M. Jusfel's* Library of the ancient Canon Law.

*Andronicus Camaterus*, Governor of the City of *Constantinople*, and the Kinsman of the Emperor *Manuel Comnenus*, wrote at the same time a Treatise against the *Latins*, in form of a Dialogue, between the Emperor *Manuel* and certain Cardinals of *Rome*, concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost. This Book was afterwards refuted by *Pecens*. *Andronicus* is also the Author of another Tract, written by way of Conference between the same Emperor, and *Peter* Patriarch of the *Armenians*; and of a Treatise of the two Natures in Jesus Christ. These Works are not as yet printed, but 'tis reported that they are in the Library of *Bavaria*.

*George*, Archbishop of *Corfu*, was sent into *Italy* by the Emperor *Manuel Comnenus*, to assist in a Council held at *Rome*; but he did not pass beyond *Brundisium*, where he fell sick. However being recall'd by the Emperor, he was present in a Patriarchal Council conven'd at *Constantinople*. He wrote a Treatise of Purgatory, and another against the *Latins*, in Vindication of the use of leaven'd Bread in the Eucharist. *Allatus* makes mention of both these Works, which are in Manuscript in the Library of *Barberino*. *Baronius* has also published in *Latin* a *Monodia*, compos'd by this Archbishop in Honour of the Abbot *Nectarius*, with several Letters in his Annals.

*Antonius*, surnam'd *Melissus*, by reason of his singular Eloquence, a Greek Monk, apparently liv'd in this Century: He compil'd a Collection of Common Places, or Maxims, taken out of the Writings of the Greek Fathers, on the Vertues and Vices, which are divided into two Books, and were printed in *Greek* and *Latin* at *Basil* A. D. 1546. as also at *Geneva* in 1609. and in *Latin* at *Paris* in 1575. and 1589. They are likewise inserted in *Latin* in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

*Basil* of *Acris*, Archbishop of *Theffalonica*, being importun'd by *Adrian IV.* to come to an Accommodation with the Church of *Rome*, wrote a Letter to that Pope, to shew that the Greek Church is not Schismatical, and that the *Roman* is not superior to it. *Baronius* published this Letter with that of *Adrian* in *Anno* 1155. of his Annals. It is also extant, but somewhat different, in *Greek* and *Latin*, in the Collection of the *Greek* and *Roman* Law, with an Answer by the same Archbishop to certain Questions about Marriage.

*Lucas*, surnam'd *Chrysobergius*, promoted to the Patriarchal See of *Constantinople* A. D. 1148. or 1155. held a Council in that City in 1166. and died the Year following. In the Collection of the *Greek* and *Roman* Laws are contain'd thirteen Statutes by this Patriarch, relating to Ecclesiastical Matters; among others, one to prohibit Marriages between Relations to the seventh Degree of Consanguinity; another against Clerks who intermeddle with Secular Affairs; as also to forbid the performing of rash Oaths, with a Discourse about the Baptism of captive Children.

*Michael* of *Theffalonica*, Master of the Rhetoricians, and principal Defender of the Church of *Constantinople*, being condemn'd in the Year 1160. for maintaining the Heresy of the *Bogomiles*, retracted his Errors, and made a Confession of Faith, refer'd to by *Allatus* in the second Tome of his *Concordia Ecclesie Orientalis & Occidentalis*. L. 2. c. 12.

*Alexis Aristenes*, Oeconomus, or Steward of the Church of *Constantinople*, assisted in a Council held in that City A. D. 1166. and there cited the 37th Canon of the Council in *Trullo*, against *Nicephorus* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*. He wrote Annotations on a Collection of Canons printed in *Dr. Beverege's* Pandects.

*Simeon Logotheta*, who liv'd at the same time, in like manner compos'd Notes on the same Collection of Canons, but they are lost. He is also reputed to be the Author of a Piece concerning the Creation of the World, a Manuscript Copy of which *M. du Cange* had in his Possession.

*Joannes Cinnamus*, surnam'd the Grammarian, Secretary to the Emperor *Manuel Comnenus*, under whom he likewise serv'd in the Army, compos'd a History of the Reigns of the two Emperors nam'd *Comneni*, viz. *John* and *Manuel*, from the Year 1118. to 1176. *Leo Allatus* gives us this Character of the Author: 'His Style is fine, (says he) although he often makes use of foreign Terms, and Figures, taken out of the Sophisters Store-house; his Periods are concise and full; but the new Method of their Composition, renders them somewhat harsh and obscure.' This Author every where affects to imitate *Procopius*, and highly extols *Manuel Comnenus*: He was still living when *Andronicus Comnenus* usurped the Imperial Throne, by causing *Alexis* to be put to Death. His History, divided into four Books, was published in *Greek* and *Latin* by *Cornellius Tollius*, and printed at *Utrecht* A. D. 1652. *M. du Cange* in like manner caus'd it to be printed at the *Louvre*, divided into six Books, and illustrated with Annotations.

*Theorianus* was sent into *Armenia* by *Manuel Comnenus* to endeavour to procure a Re-union between that and the Greek Church. Upon his Arrival there, May 15 1170. he acquainted *Narsesus* their Patriarch with the Design of his Embassy, and deliver'd to him the Emperor's Letter: The Patriarch receiv'd it with due Acknowledgments of his Imperial Majesty's Favour, and agree'd to enter into Conference with *Theorianus* about the Opinions and Customs in which the *Armenians* differ'd from the *Greeks*. Their first Conferences were concerning the Error of the *Armenians*, with respect to our Saviour's Incarnation. *Theorianus* endeavour'd to convince them by a great Number of Testimonies of the Fathers, that there were two Natures in Jesus Christ; and after having discours'd largely of that Doctrine, he discuss'd the other Questions of less Consequence, which were in debate between the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, relating to the Festival of Christmas-day, the *Trisagion*, the Consecration of consecrated Oils with Olives, and not with Rape-seed; and the Custom of singing the Divine Office without the Church, which was disapproved by the *Greeks*. *Theorianus* vindicated the Practice of the latter in those Points, and oblig'd the *Armenian* Patriarch to acknowledge that they were not blame-worthy, and that these different Customs ought not to be insisted on, provided they were agree'd as to the same Matters of Faith. In order to fix his Judgment, *Theorianus* produc'd the Decree of the fourth General Council, and shew'd that it was conformable to St. *Cyril's* Doctrine. The *Armenian* Patriarch approv'd it, and engag'd to use his utmost Endeavours to get the Consent of those of his Nation, and to cause the Bishops to sign a Confession of Faith, by Virtue of which they should acknowledge the

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Council of Chalcedon, and anathematize Eutychius, Dioscorus, Severus, Timotheus, Elerus, and other Adversaries of that Council; and lastly, that for his part, he would always adhere to the Faith of the Greek Church, and continue in its Communion. Theoristus wrote, with his own Hand, a faithful Relation of these Conferences, and of every thing that was said and propos'd on both sides. He solidly confutes, and in a very methodical manner, the Error of the Monophysites, and discourses with a great deal of Moderation, of those Points that relate to the different Customs in use among the Armenians and Greeks. This Work was published by Lewenclavius, and printed at Basil A. D. 1578. as also afterwards in the Greek and Latin Edition of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, by Fronto Ducerus.

Hugh Etherianus flourished at the same time, and under the same Emperor Manuel, being a Native of Tuscany, from whence he passed to Constantinople, and resided in the Court of that Emperor, who had a very great Respect for him. However he did not forbear to write a Treatise in vindication of the Latins against the Greeks, in which he proves, that the Holy Ghost proceeds both from the Father and the Son. It is divided into three Books, and dedicated to Pope Alexander III. He is also the Author of another Piece, concerning the State of the Soul separated from the Body, in which he treats of the Original and Nature of the Soul; of its Union with the Body, and Separation from it, of its Sentiments and Functions in the future State; of the Resurrection of the Body; and of the Day of Judgment. These Works were printed at Basil A. D. 1543. and are also contain'd in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

Nicephorus Bryennius, a Macedonian, the Grandson of that Nicephorus, whose Eyes the Emperor Nicephorus Botaniata caus'd to be put out, for aspiring to the Empire, and the Son-in-Law of Alexis Comnenus, had the greatest share in the Administration of State Affairs under that Emperor. He improv'd his Skill in Politicks by an assiduous Application to the Study of the Liberal Sciences, and has left us a *Byzantine History* from the Year 1057. to 1081. which was printed in Greek with Father Poussin's Version and Notes at Paris A. D. 1661. and with those of M. du Cange at the End of *Cinnamus*, in the Volume of the *Byzantine History* set forth in 1670.

In the same Place is likewise to be found the *Alexias* of Anna Comnena, the Wife of Nicephorus, and the Daughter of the said Emperor Alexis Comnenus; she relates therein the History of her Father's Reign, from the Year 1069 to 1118. All learned Men generally give great *Encomiums* of this Work, by reason of its Elegancy, and extol the Genius and Learning of that Princess. The *Alexias* is divided into fifteen Books; the eight first of these were published in Greek with Hæfilius's Version and Notes at Augsburg A. D. 1610. and the entire Work was afterwards printed with the Translation and Notes of the same Author at Paris in 1651. This last Edition was follow'd with that of M. du Cange, who likewise illustrated it with excellent Annotations.

At the same time liv'd Joannes Zonaras, Secretary of State to the Emperor Alexis Comnenus, who having lost his Wife and Children embraced the Monastick Life, and to mitigate his Grief apply'd himself to study, and to the compiling of Books; insomuch that we are indebted to his learned Lucubrations for a great number of very useful Works, viz.

His *Annals*, or a compendious History from the Creation of the World to the Death of Alexis Comnenus, which happen'd A. D. 1118. This Work was taken out of divers Authors, by way of Extracts, and divided into three Tomes. It was printed in Greek with Wolfius's Latin Version at Basil A. D. 1557. and afterwards M. du Cange set forth a new Edition at the *Louvre* in 1686. which he divided into eighteen Books.

Commentaries on the Canons of the Apostles, as also on those of the Councils, and of the Canonical Epistles of the Greek Fathers; which were printed in Greek and Latin at Paris A. D. 1618. and 1622. and in Dr. Beverege's Collection at Oxford in 1672.

A Discourse of Impurity, inserted in the fifth Book of the *Jus Græco-Romanum*.

A Canon of the Virgin Mary, or a kind of Hymn, containing certain Collects, or short Prayers, made to the blessed Virgin against all Hereticks. Some part of this Work was published in Latin in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and was afterwards set forth entire in Greek and Latin, in the third Tome of Cotelierius's *Monuments of the Greek Church*.

A Preface to St. Gregory Nazienzen's Poetical Pieces, printed at Venice A. D. 1563. and a Treatise to prove that a Widow cannot marry her Husband's Cousin German.

Fifty six Letters, that are in the Emperor's Library at Vienna, and some of which were published by Vulcanius in his Notes on the Treatise of St. Cyril of Alexandria, concerning the *Anthropomorphites*.

Besides these Works, Lambecius makes mention of an Explication of the Canons relating to the Festival of Easter, some Fragments of which were published by Greiser. Allatius likewise cites his Discourse on the Adoration of the Cross; the Life of St. Sylvester; a Discourse about the Presentation of Jesus Christ in the Temple; and a Panegyrick on Sophronius Patriarch of Jerusalem. Pontanus makes mention of some of his Poems on the Procession of the Holy Ghost; and lastly, Henry Stephen had a *Lexicon* suppos'd to be written by the same Zonaras.

Joannes Phocas, a Native of Crete, after having serv'd in the Wars under the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, embraced the Monastick Life, and made a Journey to the Holy Land, A. D. 1185. Upon his return, he wrote a Relation of what he had seen and heard, which was published by Allatius, in his Collection of Miscellaneous Works, and bears the Title of, *A brief Description of the Places from Antioch to Jerusalem, and those of Syria and Phœnicia*.

Neophytus, a Greek Priest, and Recluse Monk, flourished A. D. 1190. M. Cotelierius set forth a Piece written by this Monk, containing a Relation of the Calamities that betel the Island of Cyprus, when taken by the English A. D. 1191.

John Bishop of Lydda, flourished in the Year 1194. and M. Baluzius has published a Letter by this Author to Michael chosen Patriarch of Jerusalem.

George Xiphylin, elected Patriarch of Constantinople in the Year 1193. besides an Ordinance about the Jurisdiction of Territories, which is extant in the Collection of the Greek and Roman Laws; two Synodical Statutes, concerning the Right of consecrating Churches by setting up Crosses in them; of which Custom Allatius makes mention of the Treatise of the George's, and of their Writings. This Author died A. D. 1199.

Demetrius Tornicius wrote in the Year 1193. under the Name of the Emperor Isaac, a Treatise of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, which is extant in the French King's Library. Allatius has likewise produc'd the Beginning of it, in his Book call'd *Concordia Ecclesiæ Orientalis ac Occidentalis*.

Lupus Protospatus, Captain of the Eastern Emperor's Life-Guards, and a Native of Apulia, compos'd a Chronicle of Occurrences in the Kingdom of Naples, from the Year 860. to 1102. This History was published by Antonio Caraccioli, a Theatin Monk, who caus'd it to be printed at Naples in 1626. with a Continuation to the Year 1519.

Michael Anchialius, who was promoted to the Patriarchal See of Constantinople in the Year 1167. and honour'd by Balsamon, with the Title of most excellent of the Sages, compil'd certain Synodical Statutes, prohibiting Clergymen to take upon them any secular Employments, or to ordain Clerks in another Diocess, &c. which are contain'd in the Collection of the Roman Laws, L. 3. p. 227. He also wrote an Account of the Conference he had with the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, when the Pope's Legates came to Constantinople to negotiate an Union between the two Churches; some Fragments of which are produced by Allatius.

Theodorus Balsamon, Chancellor and Library-keeper of the Church of Constantinople, and Provost of that of Blachern, was nominated Patriarch of Antioch; but in regard that that City was taken up by the Latins, he was never able to get himself actually install'd, and was also flatter'd by the means of the Emperor Isaac Comnenus, with the vain Hopes of being advanced to the Patriarchal See of Constantinople. He flourished from the Year 1180. to 1203. and during that time compos'd divers excellent and very useful Books, relating to the Canon Law of the Eastern Countries: The chief of which are his Commentaries on the Apostolical Canons; the General and Particular Councils; and the Canonical Letters of the Greek Fathers. He undertook this Work by the special Order of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, and of Michael Anchialius Patriarch of Constantinople, and compleated it under the Patriarch George Xiphylin, to whom he dedicated it. It was printed in Greek and Latin at Paris A. D. 1620. and in Dr. Beverege's Pandects of Canons, printed at Oxford in 1672.

Balsamon in like manner wrote a Commentary on Phostius's *Nomocanon*, and a Collection of Ecclesiastical Constitutions, printed in the second Tome of the *Bibliotheca Juris Canonici* by Justellus; as also Answers to divers Questions relating to the Canon Law, particularly, of the Erection of Bishopricks into Metropolitan Sees; of such Persons as are chosen Bishops of the Eastern Churches; of the Right of the Patriarchs over the Monasteries; of Festivals, &c. These last Works are to be found with an

Answer



Answer to certain Questions propos'd by Mark Patriarch of Alexandria, and Resolutions to several others in the second, fifth, and seventh Book of *Lewenclavius's* Collection of the Greek and Roman Laws. M. *Cotelerius* has likewise furnished us with two Letters of this Author, viz. One written to the People of Antioch, about the Fasts they ought to observe; and the other to *Theodosius*, Superior of *Papicius's* Monasteries, concerning the Custom of Shaving, Admitting, and Investing with the Habit, such Persons as present themselves to embrace the Monastick Life, a little while after their Appearance, without obliging them to submit to a Probation of three Years. The first of these Letters is inserted in the End of the second

Tome of the Monuments of the Greek Church; and the second, in the third Tome of the same Work. *Balsamon* without doubt is the most able Canonist that appear'd among the Greeks in these later Times. *Joannes Camaterus*, *Charophylax*, and afterward Patriarch of Constantinople, in the End of this Century, wrote in the Year 1199. a Letter to Pope *Innocent*, in which he declares that he cannot but admire that the Church of Rome shou'd assume the Title of the Catholick or Universal Church. There is also in the Collection call'd *Jus Græco-Romanum*, a Statute of this Patriarch about the Marriages of Confin Germans; He died A. D. 1206.

## CHAP. XV.

### Of the Original of Scholastical Divinity, and of the first Divines of that Faculty who flourished in the Twelfth Century.

THE Manner of treating of the Christian Religion, and of its Mysteries, has not been always uniform in the several Ages of the Church; but has been chang'd at several times, according to the various Occasions, or the different Inclinations of Men. The Apostles contented themselves only to teach with much Simplicity, the Doctrine they receiv'd from Jesus Christ; to propose it to Believers as the Object of their Faith; and to render it credible by the Means of Authority, by the Testimony of the Prophets, by our Saviour's Resurrection, and by Miracles. They never observ'd the difficult Points that might be form'd from the sacred Mysteries; neither did they take any Pains to make a thorough search into them, nor to discover all the Consequences arising from them, much less to explain them according to the Principles of Philosophy and human Reason. Neither were the holy Fathers, nor Ecclesiastical Writers, who liv'd in the first Ages of the Church, more careful to insist on the Explication of these Mysteries; nor did they make use of Philosophy, but only to extirpate the Errors of the Pagans, relating to their Gods, Idols, and false Worship, which might be easily confuted by the Light of Reason, and the Authority of the Philosophers. As for the Jews, and primitive Hereticks, they only alledg'd to convince them, the Authority of the holy Scriptures, and of Tradition, and the general Belief of all the Churches in the World; and in the Disputes they had with them, they never undertook to give particular Reasons for the several Mysteries, but only to prove, that they ought to be believ'd. It is true indeed, that in Process of time, the Heresies gave occasion more thoroughly to examine the Doctrines, and to fix the Terms that ought to be us'd in explaining them, and to draw Consequences from the Articles of Faith which were formally reveal'd; but the Fathers enter'd upon the Discussion of those Points, being only incited by a kind of Necessity: Neither were they so bold as to start a great number of new Questions relating to the Mysteries, nor to resolve them according to Philosophical Principles. Upon the whole, as they did not commit to Writing any Speculations about Doctrinal Points, but only with respect to the Heretical Opinions; so neither did they compose any particular Theological Treatise concerning the Doctrines of the Christian Religion, of set Purpose, but they treated of them whenever there was occasion to refute some new Heresy.

*Origen* was the first who undertook to compile as it were a Body of Divinity, in his Work call'd *The Principles*: But this new Undertaking did not at all prove successful, insomuch that the Author relying too much upon his own Knowledge, and being desirous to accommodate the Doctrines of Christianity to the Maxims of *Plato's* Philosophy, had the Misfortune to fall into many Errors, which have sullied his Memory. But such Inconveniences did not happen to those Divines, who contented themselves only to teach with the Simplicity of Catechists, the principal Mysteries of our Religion contain'd in the Apostles Creed, and to prove them by Passages taken out of the Holy Scriptures. In the Ages following the great Heresies of the *Arians*, *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, &c. the reverend Fathers were oblig'd to treat at large of the Mysteries of the Trinity, and of the Incarnation; but the Holy Scriptures, and Tradition, were the only Principles on which they grounded their Proofs, and they only made use of Argumentations to discover the Sense of the Passages of Scripture, and of the ancient Fathers. The same thing was done with respect to other

Heresies; and we do not find any other Arguments alledg'd to refute them, nor any other Rules made use of in the Councils to condemn them: But by little and little an over-weaning Curiosity induced Men to start divers new Questions relating to Theological Matters, particularly the Mysteries and other difficult Points of the Christian Religion. Indeed at first the Authority of Holy Scriptures, and of Tradition, was only brought to decide them, but afterwards Philosophy was also call'd in to their Assistance, more especially the *Platonick*, that was then most in vogue, and which seem'd most conformable to the Rules of Christianity. The Author of the Works ascrib'd to St. *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, who wrote in the End of the fifth Century, follow'd this Method, and treated in his Books of the Divine Attributes, and Hierarchy, of divers Theological Questions, according to the Principles of the *Platonick* Philosophers.

Some time after, *Boethius*, a Man well vers'd in *Aristotle's* Philosophy, made use of his Maxims to explain the Mysteries of the Trinity, and of the Incarnation; which engag'd him in Debates about some very subtle and intricate Questions. But St. *Joannes Damascenus* is the first who undertook methodically to discuss all sorts of Theological Questions, and to reduce them into an entire Body. In the Ninth Century, *Joannes Scotus Erigena* apply'd *Aristotle's* Method and Principles to the Resolution of several Questions relating to Points of Divinity; but his subtle Notions having led him into divers Errors; his Doctrine and Method were rejected by the Divines of his Time. The Study of the most necessary and most obvious Points being neglected in the Tenth Century, it is not to be admir'd, that no Application was made to those abstruse and difficult Questions; so that *Aristotle's* Philosophy was not begun to be taught in the publick Schools, according to the Method of the *Arabians*, till the Beginning of the Eleventh Century; neither was there any use of it made at first, in Theological Matters: But in process of time, Men, whose Heads were fill'd with those Notions, insensibly introduced them into Divinity, and apply'd them not only to illustrate and decide ordinary Questions, but to form a great number of new ones, which were never heard of before. *John* the Sophister, *Roscelinus* and St. *Anselm*, were the first who put this Method in practice; and after them *Abaelardus*, *Gillebert de la Porree* and many others, brought it into vogue, and made publick Lectures on that Subject. *Otho* of *Frisingen* introduced it into Germany, and within a little while after, it took place almost throughout all Christendom.

But forasmuch as it is difficult not to go astray in following a new Tract, some of the first Authors of this manner of handling Theological Points, particularly *Roscelinus*, *Abaelardus*, *Gillebert de la Porree*, as also *Amaury* or *Amalaricus*, and many others, in the Beginning of the following Century, fell into divers Errors; or at least expressed themselves in such a manner as was condemn'd by those Persons, who adher'd to the Sentiments and Method of Discourse us'd by the Ancient Fathers. There also happen'd another Inconvenience, which was, that the different Opinions of these Authors, about the most part of those Questions, gave occasion to many Contests and Disputes among the Divines; and in regard that the number of the Questions encreased daily, and every one to maintain his Opinions had recourse to the most subtle Topicks of the *Aristotelean* Logick and Metaphysick; the Disputes were almost innumerable, and became so full of Obscurities, intricacies, and Evasions, that only those



who were well versed in that Art, were able to comprehend any thing, and thus it was impossible to come to any Determination. Besides the uncouth Manner of handling the several Subjects, and the barbarous Terms that were us'd, render'd this kind of Study much more disagreeable.

To prevent these Inconveniences, *Peter Lombard*, Bishop of *Paris*, undertook to make a Collection of the Passages of the Fathers, and chiefly of *St. Hilary*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Jerome*, and *St. Augustine*, on the principal Questions that were then in debate among the Schoolmen; imagining by that means to put an end to their Disputes, and to form such Decisions, as the Authority of those Persons, on whose Testimonies they were grounded, might render venerable, and might even cause them to be receiv'd with common Consent. This Collection was call'd, *The Book of the Sentences*, (a Title then usually impos'd on Theological Works) and being preferr'd before all others, was receiv'd with so general Approbation, that in a little time, it became the only Model of Scholastical Divinity that was publickly us'd in the Schools; insomuch that the Author of it was call'd, by way of Excellency, *The Master of the Sentences*. But the Doctors of the Faculty, not contenting themselves with the Simplicity of this Work, made voluminous Commentaries on the Text, in which they renew'd their Contests; reviv'd the same Questions; and again intermix'd, with Theological Matters, the Principles of Philosophy, and the Maxims of *Aristotle*, which were never us'd by the Master of the Sentences: Nay, some proceeded so far, as to find fault with his Decisions, although they were express'd in the very Words of the Fathers. Thus Pope *Alexander III.* censur'd one of his Expressions; the Abbot *Joachim* wrote a Book against him; and the Faculty of *Paris* drew up a Catalogue of Articles, in which the Master of the Sentences was not usually follow'd. However, he may be esteem'd as the chief of all the School Divines; for although in his Work he has made use of a Method quite different from the others, as to the Manner of discussing the Theological Questions, yet his Book has always serv'd as their Model or Ground-work, and apparently they have done nothing else but commented upon it. Upon which account we are oblig'd to enlarge somewhat more on the Life, and personal Endowments, of *Peter Lombard*, as also on the Contents of his Work.

He was born in a Village near *Novaria* in *Lombardy*, from whence his Surname was taken, and perform'd part of his Studies at *Bologna*, where there was at that time a famous University, more especially for the Study of the Civil Law; but in regard that those of *France* were much more noted, with respect to the Faculty of Divinity, he took a Resolution to go thither, having obtain'd a Letter of Recommendation from the Bishop of *Lucca* to *St. Bernard*, in which he entreated him to take a particular Care of *Peter Lombard's* Education, whilst he apply'd himself to study in *France*. *St. Bernard* provided all things necessary for his Subsistence, as long as he resided at *Rheims*; and upon his Departure for *Paris*, recommended him to *Gildin* Abbot of *St. Victor*, to the end that he might maintain him *Gratis*. *Peter*, in a little time, acquire'd a great deal of Reputation, and was nominated Professor of Divinity in the University of *Paris*, of which he is also styl'd President by the contemporary Writers. He follow'd this Employment with so good Success, that the Bishoprick of *Paris* being vacant in 1150. *Philip* Archdeacon of *Paris*, the Son of King *Lewis* the Great, who was chosen Bishop of that City by the Chapter, resign'd his Place to him, and condescended so far as to permit a Stranger of an obscure Parentage, and of as mean Fortunes, to be preferr'd before him, by reason of his extraordinary Learning; although he was the Son and Brother of a King: A singular and rare Example of Humility! However, *Peter Lombard* did not long enjoy this Dignity; for he died July 20. A. D. 1164 and was buried in *St. Marcel's* Church, where the Licentiates of the Faculty of *Paris* are oblig'd every Year to compose a Form of Divine Service in honour of his Memory.

This Author wrote, besides the Book of Sentences, certain Commentaries on the *Psalms*, and on *St. Paul's* Epistles, which in effect are almost nothing else but Extracts out of the Commentaries of *St. Hilary*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Augustine*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Remegius*, or *Remy* of *Auxerre*. The Commentary on the Book of *Psalms* was printed at *Paris* A. D. 1541. and that on *St. Paul's* Epistles at the same Place in 1535.

His Collection of the Sentences is divided into four Books, and every Book into several Sections; the Division of the whole Work being grounded on *St. Augustine's* Axiom, That Knowledge has two Objects, viz. Things, and Signs; that Things are divisible into those that may be enjoy'd, and those which are only to be us'd; that is

to say, God and the Creatures. In the first Book he treats of those Things that ought to be enjoy'd, particularly the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, and the Divine Attributes. In the second, he specifies those Things the use of which is only allow'd, namely, the Creatures; discoursing of the Creation of the World; of the Fall of the Angels, and that of Man; of Grace and Free-will; of original and actual Sins, &c. In the third, he gives an Account of the Mystery of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, by Vertue of which Mankind is deliver'd from Sin; of Faith, Charity, and the other practical Vertues; and of the Commandments of God, which must be observ'd for the attaining to Salvation. The fourth and last Book, contains Matters relating to the Signs or Sacraments of the Church, except the seven last Sections, in which he treats of the Resurrection; of the last Judgment; and of the future State.

In the first Section of the first Book, he examines what are the Things which ought to be enjoy'd, and what are those that are only to be us'd, as also, what it is to enjoy and use Things; who are the Persons capable of enjoying and using them, and by what means both the one and the other is done. Then he proceeds to resolve these Questions according to the Maxims of *St. Augustine*, who maintains that we ought to enjoy God alone; that is to say, we ought only to adhere to him as our ultimate End, and to love him upon his own Account; and that we ought not to set our Affections on the Creatures; that is to say, not to love them but for God's sake, and not to adhere to them any farther than it seems good to the Will of God.

He proves, in the second Section, the Mystery of the Holy Trinity, by Passages taken out of the Old and New Testament.

In the third, he explains after what manner God may be known by the Creatures, and brings Comparisons taken from the Creatures, that may serve to give some Idea of the Mystery of the Trinity; and insists more particularly on that of the Soul consisting of divers Faculties, which are nothing but the Soul itself. He observes, at the same time, that this Comparison, is not alike in all Points, and shews the Difference.

In the fourth, he discusses this Question, *Whether it may be said, that God the Father is begotten himself; or whether it ought to be said, that he begot another God?* And concludes with *St. Augustine*, that it ought to be affirm'd, that God the Father begot another Person, who is God, and the same with him in Substance.

In the fifth, he examines another Question about the Generation of the Word; viz. *Whether it may be said, that the Father begot the Divine Essence, or the Divine Essence begot the Son; or whether one Essence produced another; or whether the Essence be neither produced, nor producing?* He relates divers Passages of the Fathers concerning these Questions, and maintains, that it cannot be said, that God the Father produced the Divine Essence; or that the Essence produced the Son; or that the Essence produced another Essence: But that it must be express'd, that the Father produced the Son and the Holy Ghost, who are two Persons of the same Substance, and of the same Essence with the Father.

In the sixth, he enquires, *Whether the Father begot the Son, Volens aut Nolens;* (as it is usually termed,) that is to say, by Necessity, or by his own Will? He replies with *St. Augustine*, that the Son of God was begotten according to Nature, and not according to Will; and that although God was willing to beget him, yet his Generation is not an Effect of that Will.

In the seventh, he proposes another more subtle Question; viz. *Whether the Father were endu'd with a particular Will and Power to beget his Son?* If an Answer be made affirmatively, it then follows, that the Father has a Power and Will which the Son has not, in regard that the latter is neither able nor willing to beget. He resolves this Difficulty by saying, that Generation is not an Effect either of the Will, or of the Power, but of Nature, and that is not a Thing. Afterwards he explains in what Sense *St. Augustine* said, that the Son had Power to beget; that is to say, that it is not by reason of Impotency that he did not beget.

In the eighth Section, he treats of the Nature, Immortality, and Purity of God: He affirms, that he is improperly call'd a Substance, and that there is nothing in God, that is not God himself.

In the ninth, he discourses of the Generation of the Son from Eternity.

In the tenth, he begins to treat of the Holy Ghost, and shews in what Sense he is call'd Charity.

In the eleventh, he proves that he proceeds from the Father and the Son.



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In the twelfth, he explains in what Sense it may be said, that the Holy Ghost proceeds chiefly from the Father; viz. in regard that the Son, from whom he proceeds, as well as from the Father, receives his Nature from the Father. He adds, that in this Sense it is said, that the Father sends the Holy Ghost by his Son.

In the thirteenth, he shews, that human Understanding cannot comprehend the Reason of the Difference between the Generation of the Word, and the Procession of the Holy Ghost; and declares in what Sense the Holy Ghost may be said to be *Ingenitus*.

In the fourteenth, he treats particularly of the temporal Procession, or Communication of the Holy Ghost; and maintains, that it is really imparted to Men; and that Men, though never so holy, cannot have Power to confer it, but only the Father and the Son.

He adds, in the fifteenth Section, that the Holy Ghost likewise communicates himself; and debates on that Occasion divers Questions relating to the Mission of the Son.

The same Subject is continu'd in the sixteenth Section.

In the seventeenth, the Author represents several Questions about the Mission of the Holy Ghost.

He explains, in the eighteenth, in what Sense the Holy Ghost is call'd a Gift, and how he is given to us.

In the nineteenth, he treats of the Equality of the Three Persons in the Holy Trinity, and of their Union in the same Essence.

In the twentieth, he proves the Equality of Power among the Three Divine Persons.

In the twenty first, he shews in what Sense it may be said, that the Father is God alone, the Son God alone, and the Holy Ghost God alone.

In the twenty second, he distinguishes the Terms that agree with the Three Persons in common, and do not agree with any in particular, as that of the Trinity: Those that agree with every one of the Three Persons, which express the absolute Attributes, or relative to the Creatures; as the being Infinite, Almighty, Creator, &c. And lastly, those that agree with one Person, but not with another; as to be the Father, to be Begotten, to be Given, &c.

He shews, in the twenty third, that all the Terms relating to the Substance cannot be said in the Plural Number, of the Three Persons of the Trinity, but only in the Singular. Thus it is not said, The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are Almighty; although every one of these Persons is declar'd to be Almighty. He excepts the word Person, which cannot be said of the Three Divine Persons in the Singular Number, but only in the Plural; for it cannot be said, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are one Person, but that they are Three Persons, or according to the *Greeks*, Three *Hypostases*.

In the twenty fourth, and in the twenty fifth, he examines divers Questions about the Terms of Unity, Trinity, and the Distinction in speaking of the Trinity.

In the twenty sixth, twenty seventh, twenty eighth, and twenty ninth, he discourses of the Relative Properties of the Three Divine Persons among themselves.

In the thirtieth, he treats of the Relative Properties of God, with respect to Men; as to be a Creator, &c. and shews, that they do not imply any Change or Alteration in the Divine Nature.

In the thirty first, he shews, that the Equality and Likeness of the Three Persons are not grounded on their Relative Properties, but on the Identity of their Nature.

In the thirty second, he lays down two principal Difficulties; viz. *Whether the Father and the Son mutually love one another by the Holy Ghost; or whether the Father be wise by the Wisdom he has begotten?* He acknowledges these Questions to be difficult; yet declares, that there is in God a certain Love, and a certain Wisdom, which are common to the Three Persons, although the Son be a Wisdom which is not the Father, nor the Holy Ghost; and the Holy Ghost a Love, which is neither the Father, nor the Son; nevertheless without imagining Two Wisdoms, or Two Loves, to be in the Trinity.

In the thirty third, he proposes this Question; viz. *Whether the Properties of the Persons are to be distinguished from the Persons themselves, and from the Divine Essence?*

He maintains the Negative, and condemns the contrary Opinion as Heretical.

He opposes the same Opinion, In the thirty fourth Section, and shews, that the Persons are not distinguished from their Nature.

In the thirty fifth, he begins to treat of the Attributes of God, which deserve a particular Consideration; such are his Omniscience, Omnipotency, Providence, Will, Predestination, &c. The Author shews, in this Section, that these Attributes are relative to the Creatures.

In the thirty sixth, he makes it appear, that all Things are expos'd to God's Omniscience, as well Good as Evil;

although Evil be not an Effect that proceeds from him.

In the thirty seventh, he treats of the manner of God's being every where, by his Presence, Power, and Essence; discoursing by the way, of the manner how Spiritual Creatures are in a Place, and how they pass from one Place to another.

Afterwards, returning to the Question about the Foreknowledge of God, he says, that it is not the Cause of Things, if it be taken for a simple Knowledge; but if his Will, Decree, and Inclination, be comprehended under that Name, in that Sense it is the Cause of all Things. That upon this account God cannot be the Author of Evil, because he does not require, nor ordain it, although he knows it. In the End of this Section, is produced the famous Distinction of the Composit, and divided Sensation, to explain how God's Foreknowledge cannot be erroneous, although the Things might happen otherwise. It is impossible that that should not happen which God has foreseen; that is to say, that it cannot so fall out that God should foresee it, and yet that it should not happen; but perhaps it might not happen, and then God should not have foreseen it.

In the thirty ninth, he proves, that the Omniscience of God has always been the same, and that it cannot be diminished or augmented.

In the fortieth, he begins to treat of Predestination, and distinguishes it from Foreknowledge, in regard that the former has respect only to the Good which God ought to do. Then he again makes use of the Distinction of Composit, and Divided Sensation; to explain in what Sense it may be said, that none of the predestinated Persons can be damned, nor any of the Reprobate sav'd. He makes Predestination to consist in an eternal Decree of God, by which he elected those whom he thought fit, and prepar'd Graces for them; and Reprobation in the Foreknowledge of their Sins, by Virtue of which he prepar'd everlasting Punishments to be inflicted on them.

In the forty first Section, he treats of the Causes of Predestination, and shews that it is purely Gratuitous; and that God has not chosen the Elect, because he knew them to be Righteous, but that he call'd them to be so by his Grace.

From Predestination he passes to Omnipotency; and explains, in the forty second Section, in what Sense God is Almighty.

He proves, in the forty third, that God can do an infinite number of Things, which he does not, and confutes the Arguments and Allegations brought by some Persons to evince the contrary.

In the forty fourth, he shews, that God can absolutely make Things more perfect than he has done, if respect only be had to the Quality of the Creature; but cannot do so, if the Wisdom and Intention of the Creator be taken into consideration. He adds, that God can always do what he has done, because he always has the same Power; although it happens that he cannot do in particular what he has already done.

He treats at large, in the forty fifth Section, of the Will of God, of its Nature and Effects, and of its different Kinds.

In the forty sixth, he explains in what Sense the Will of God cannot be ineffectual; and in what Sense he is willing, or unwilling, that Evil be committed: He has no Inclination to Evil, yet he is not absolutely willing to prevent it.

He proves, in the two following Sections, that the Will of God is always efficacious; that whatever he thinks fit inevitably comes to pass, and nothing happens but by his Will: That although he does not approve all the Inclinations of Men, nevertheless he willingly admits the Effects of their depraved Will, but does not approve the Act of it.

In the first Section of the second Book, the Author confutes the Error of those Hereticks, who admitted two Principal or Sovereign Beings; shews that God created Angels and Men, and discourses in general of their Nature, and of the End for which they were created.

In the second, he examines when, and in what Place, the Angels were created.

In the third, he treats of the State in which they were created; and maintains, that they were created in Uprightness, and that their Fall happen'd but some Moments after their Creation.

He adds, in the following Section, that they did not enjoy perfect Blessedness, till they were confirm'd in Good.

In the fifth, sixth, and seventh Sections, he debates divers Questions about the Fall of the Wicked, and the Confirmation of the Just.

In the eighth, he follows St. *Augustine's* Opinion, who believ'd that the Angels have Aerial Bodies; and upon



Occasion of that Question, he enquires after what Manner of the God was wont to appear to Men, and in what Sense it Original of is said, that the Devils enter into Humane Bodies. Scholastical In the ninth, he treats of the different Orders of the Divinity. Angels.

In the tenth, he examines whether any Angels of different Orders were sent, and gives an Account of the different Opinions of the Fathers, with respect to these Questions.

He proves, in the eleventh, that every one of the Elect has a Guardian Angel, yet owns that the same Angel may serve as a Guardian to several Persons; and afterwards proceeds to examine in what particulars the Knowledge of the Angels may be augmented.

In the following Sections, to the sixteenth, he explains the Work of the Creation.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth, he treats of the Creation of Man; and enquires in what his Likeness to God consists, when his Soul was created, and in what Place he was set.

He discourses, in the eighteenth, of the Formation of Woman; and endeavours to explain, why she was taken out of the Man's Rib.

In the nineteenth he treats of the State of Immortality, in which the first Man was created.

In the twentieth, he debates concerning the manner how Men were to be brought into the World, and how they were to be nourish'd, in case the State of Innocence had continu'd.

In the twenty first, he gives an Account after what manner the Devil tempted Man.

He discourses, in the twenty second, divers Questions relating to the Quality and Circumstances of the Sin of Adam and Eve.

In the twenty third, he resolves this difficult Point, *Why God permitted Man to be tempted, knowing that he was to fall?* And afterwards treats of the Knowledge with which the first Man was endu'd.

In the twenty fourth, he begins to discourse concerning the Free Will, and Grace, inherent in the first Man; and treats in general, in the two following Sections, of the Freedom of Grace, according to St. Augustine's Principles.

In the twenty seventh Section, he discourses of Vertue and Merit, which are the Effects of Grace and Free Will.

In the twenty eighth, he confutes the Errors of the Pelagians, as also those of the Manichees, and of Jovinian.

In the twenty ninth Section, he returns to the State of the first Man; and after having shewn, that Man even in the State of Innocency stood in need of operating and co-operating Grace, for the doing of Good, he debates certain Questions about the manner how he was expell'd Paradise, and concerning the Tree of Life which preserv'd him from Death.

In the thirtieth, thirty first, thirty second, and thirty third, he treats of Original Sin, and enquires in what it consists; how it is transferr'd from Parents to their Children; after what manner it is remitted by Baptism; whether Children contract the Sins of their Parents, as Original Sin, &c.

In the thirty fourth and thirty fifth, he discourses of the Nature of Actual Sin.

In the thirty sixth, he shews, that there are Sins which are both the Cause, and the Punishment of Sin.

He makes it appear, in the thirty seventh, that God is the Author of the Actions, by which Sin is committed, and of the Punishments of Sin, although he is not the Author of Sin.

In the thirty eighth, he demonstrates, that it is the End and Intention of the Will which renders the Action either Good or Bad; and that in order to its being Good, it must of necessity be terminated in God.

In the thirty ninth, he enquires into the Reason, *Why, of all the natural Faculties, the Will only is susceptible of Sin?*

In the fortieth, he continues to shew, that an Action to be denominat'd Good, ought to have a good End and Intention.

In the forty first, he produces divers Passages of St. Augustine, about the necessity of Faith, and of an upright Will, to avoid the committing of Sin; and shews, that the corrupt Will is the Cause of Sin.

He enquires in the forty second, *Whether the Will and the Action be two different Sins?* And afterward explains the Division of the seven Capital Sins; shewing, that they derive their Original from Pride and Concupiscence.

In the forty third, he relates the Opinions of St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine, concerning the Sin against the Holy Ghost.

Lastly, he makes it appear, in the forty fourth Section,

that the Power of committing Sin proceeds from God; and that the Power the Devil has to tempt us to Evil, ought to be resisted. Of the Original of Scholastical Divinity.

The third Book begins with the Questions relating to the Mystery of the Incarnation. In the first Section, the Author lays down the Reasons, Why it was more expedient that the Son should be Incarnate, rather than the Father, or the Holy Ghost; and discusses this Question, *Whether two Persons were in like manner capable of being Incarnate.*

In the second Section, he treats of the Union of the Word, with the Body and the Soul.

In the third, he shews, that the Body taken by the Word was free from the corruption of Sin; that the Virgin Mary herself was then also free from Sin; and that in the very moment that the Humanity of Jesus Christ was conceiv'd, the Word was united to it.

He enquires, in the fourth, *Why the Incarnation is attributed to the Holy Ghost, rather than to the other Persons of the Trinity; and in what sense it is said Jesus Christ was conceiv'd and born of the Holy Ghost?*

In the fifth Section, he treats of the Union of the Person of the Son with the Humane Nature; and shews, that the Word was not united to the Person, but to the Nature.

In the sixth, he gives an Account of these Propositions; viz. *God was made Man, God is Man*; and produces three several Explications of them made by the Fathers.

The same matter is farther handled in the seventh Division.

In the eighth, he resolves this Question, *Whether it may be said, that the Divine Nature was born of the Virgin Mary?* And discourses of the two fold Nativity of Jesus Christ.

In the ninth, he produces certain Passages of the Fathers, concerning the Adoration of the Body of Jesus Christ.

In the tenth, he proposes this Question, viz. *Whether Jesus Christ, quatenus Man, be a Person or a Thing?* He maintains the Negative, and afterwards proves that the Quality or Title of *Adoptive Son* cannot be appropriated to him.

In the eleventh, he asserts, that neither ought Jesus Christ to be call'd a Creature, without adding *quatenus Man*.

In the twelfth, he discusses divers Questions; *Whether it may be said of Jesus Christ as Man, that he always was, or that it was possible that he might not be God?* He determines, that it cannot be said of the Person of Jesus Christ, but only of his Humane Nature.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth Sections, he treats of Knowledge, Grace, and the Power of Jesus Christ, *quatenus Man*.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth, he proves that Jesus Christ took upon him the Infirmities of Humane Nature, Sin and Ignorance only excepted, and that he was capable of undergoing sufferings.

In the seventeenth, he explains the two-fold Will of Jesus Christ.

In the eighteenth, he discourses of what Jesus Christ merited for himself, and of what he merited for us.

In the nineteenth, he treats of Redemption. In the twentieth, he enquires, *Why Jesus Christ redeem'd us by his Passion and Death? And whether he could not have done it by some other Means?*

In the twenty first, he proposes this Question; viz. *Whether the Word remain'd united to the Body of Jesus Christ, as well as to his Soul, after his Death?* And concludes in the affirmative.

In the twenty second, he enquires, *Whether it may be said, that Jesus Christ was Man during the time that his Body lay in the Sepulchre?*

In the following Sections, he treats of Faith, Hope, and Charity.

In the thirty third, he discourses of the four Cardinal Virtues.

In the thirty fourth, of the seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and chiefly of the Fear of God.

In the thirty fifth, he explains the difference between Wisdom and Knowledge.

In the thirty sixth, he treats of the Connexion of all the Virtues, and of the Relation they have to Charity.

The four last Sections of this Book, contain a compendious Explication of the Decalogue.

The Holy Sacraments are the principal Subject treated of in the last Book.

In the first Section, he gives a definition of the Sacraments; shews the Causes of their Institution; observes the difference between those of the Old and New Law; and treats in particular of Circumcision, which he believes to have been so necessary for the Remission of original Sin, that he affirms, that the Children of the Jews, who died with-



without partaking of that Sacrament, were consign'd to Damnation.

In the second, after having nominated the seven Sacraments of the new Law, he discourses of the Baptism by St. John the Baptist.

In the third, he treats of the Baptism of Jesus Christ, and after having confirm'd St. Ambrose's Opinion, that Baptism might be absolutely administer'd in the Name of Jesus Christ, he enquires, *When the Baptism of Jesus Christ was instituted, and under what Form the Apostles baptis'd Persons?* As also, *Why Water is us'd in the Administration of this Sacrament, and no other Liquor; and how many Immersions ought to be made in Baptizing?*

In the fourth Section, he treats of the Effects of Baptism; shewing how some Persons receive the Sacrament, and the Grace of the Sacrament; and how others receive the Sacrament without the Grace, and the Grace without the Sacrament. He proves that Infants receive both; and adds, that they even receive actual Grace, which afterwards enables them to perform good Actions.

In the fifth, he makes it appear from St. Augustine's Principles, that Baptism administer'd by an unworthy Priest, is no less Holy than that which is perform'd by the Hands of a worthy one; because the effective Power of baptizing is inherent in Jesus Christ, which he does not communicate to the Ministers.

In the sixth Section he observes, that the Bishops, or Priests, have a Right to administer this Sacrament; although in case of necessity it may be done by Lay-men, and even by Women: And that it is valid by whomsoever it be administered, nay when perform'd by Hereticks, provided it be done in the Name of the Holy Trinity. He asserts, that an Infant cannot be baptis'd in the Mother's Belly, and afterwards handles several other Questions relating to the Form and Ceremonies of Baptism.

In the seventh Section, he treats of the Sacrament of Confirmation; and at first observes, that the Form of this Sacrament are the Words pronounc'd by the Priest, when he anoints the Forehead of the baptis'd Person with the Holy Chrism. The Author adds, that the Administration of this Sacrament was always reserv'd to the Bishops; that they alone are capable of administering it effectually in due Form; and that it cannot be reiterated.

He begins, in the eighth Section, to discourse of the Sacrament of the Eucharist; and after having shewn some of the ancient Figures of this Sacrament, proceeds to treat of its Institution; of its Form, which he makes to consist in these Words, *This is my Body, this is my Blood*; and of the Things contain'd therein. He says, three Things are to be distinguish'd in the Eucharist; viz. the Sacrament consisting in the visible Species of the Bread and Wine; the Sacrament and the Thing, which is the proper Body, and the proper Blood of our Lord, contain'd under the Species; and the Thing, which is not the Sacrament, that is to say, the mystical Body of Jesus Christ, or the inward Grace.

In the ninth Section, he distinguishes two Manners of receiving the Body of Jesus Christ, viz. one Sacramental, which is common to the worthy, and to the unworthy Communicants; and the other Spiritual, which is peculiar only to the former.

In the tenth, he proves the real Presence, and the changing of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and refutes the Opinion of those, who believe the Eucharist to be only a Figure.

In the eleventh, he at first enquires of what Nature this Change is, and proves it to be Substantial, inasmuch that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are under the Accidents, which before cover'd the Substance of the Bread and Wine, which is annihilated or return'd to the first Matter. He confutes those Persons who asserted, that the Substance of the Bread remain'd after the Consecration; and afterwards gives an Account, why the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are administer'd to us under two different Kinds, and why Water is intermix'd with the Wine.

In the twelfth, he endeavours to explain divers Questions relating to the Eucharistical Species, and affirms, that the Accidents remain therein without the Subject; and that they only are broken and divided into many Parts. Afterwards he discourses of the Quality which is peculiar to this Sacrament, as also of its Institution and Effects.

In the thirteenth Section, he acknowledges, that unworthy Ministers may consecrate the Elements; but denies, that it can be done by excommunicated Persons, and declared Hereticks.

In the fourteenth, he begins to treat of Repentance; distinguishing the Vertue of Repentance from the Sacrament of Penance: He gives divers Definitions of Repentance, and shews the Necessity of it, as also that it may be often reiterated.

In the fifteenth, he proves that one cannot be truly penitent for one Sin, without actually repenting of all.

In the sixteenth, he distinguishes the three Parts of Repentance.

penitence; viz. the Compunction of the Heart, the Confession of the Mouth, and the Satisfaction of Works; and of the discourses in particular of the Satisfaction that ought to be made for venial Sins.

He treats of Confession, in the seventeenth Section, and shews, that it is requisite to confess one's Sins to a Priest, in order to obtain the Remission of them.

In the eighteenth, he treats of the Sacerdotal Power, and of the Use of the Keys; and after having produced different Opinions relating to that matter, concludes, That God alone has the Power of absolutely Binding and Loosing the Sinner, by cleansing the Pollution of his Sin, and remitting the Penalty of eternal Damnation: That the Priests do indeed bind and loose, by declaring that such Persons are bound or loosed by God, and by imposing Penance, or by readmitting to the Communion those whom they have excommunicated.

In the nineteenth, he discourses of the Qualities requisite in Ministers, who are employ'd to bind and loose Sinners; nevertheless he acknowledges that unworthy Priests have the Power of the Keys as well as the worthy.

The twentieth Section contains the Opinions of the Fathers concerning the Repentance of dying Persons.

In the twenty first, he discourses of the Expiation of light Sins by the Pains of Purgatory; of the general Confession of venial Sins, and of the Penalties to be inflicted on Priests, who divulge matters related to them in Confession.

In the twenty second, he proposes this Question, viz. *Whether Sins that have been once forgiven, return by the Commission of following Sins?* And after having produced the Reasons on both sides, leaves the Question undecided.

In the twenty third Distinction, he treats of the Sacrament of Unction, which he believes to have been instituted by the Apostles; the Effect of it being the Remission of Sins, and the Comfort of the sick Person: He also proves that this Sacrament may be reiterated.

In the twenty fourth he treats of the Functions and Dignity of the seven Orders, and of the different Dignities among Bishops.

In the twenty fifth, he discourses of the validity of Ordinations made by Hereticks; and after having produced different Opinions, seems to approve that of those who affirm, that Persons who were ordain'd in the Church still retain the Power of ordaining, though they turn Hereticks: but deny that those whom they ordain have the same Power. Afterwards he treats of Simoniacal Ordinations, and of the Age requisite for admission into Orders.

In the twenty sixth, he shews the Antiquity of the Sacrament of Marriage.

In the twenty seventh, he enquires in what Marriage consists, and distinguishes a Promise of future Marriage, from Marriage contracted by the present Consent of the Parties.

In the twenty eighth, twenty ninth, and thirtieth, he gives a farther Account of the Conditions that ought to be annexed to such a Consent as is necessary for the Consummation of Marriage.

In the thirty first, he explains the Advantages of Marriage, which are Fidelity, the lawful Procreation of Children, and the Benefit of the Sacrament, and treats of the contrary Vices.

In the thirty second, he discourses of Matters relating to the Continency of married Persons at certain times.

In the thirty third, he relates divers Considerations of the Fathers, with respect to the Polygamy of the Patriarchs.

In the thirty fourth, he treats of the Impediments that render Persons incapable of contracting Marriage, and which makes their Marriage void and of none effect.

In the thirty fifth, he shews that a Man may be divorced from his Wife upon the Account of Adultery, and that they may be afterwards reconcil'd. The Author adds, that he who has committed Adultery with a Woman may marry her, after her Husband's decease, provided he were not accessory to his Death, and did not promise his Wife to marry her in his Life-time.

In the thirty sixth Section, he treats of the Impediment that arises from the difference of Age, and Condition between the Parties who contract Marriage.

In the thirty seventh, he discourses of the Injunctions of Celibacy observ'd by Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons, and of Pope Calixtus's Ordinance, declaring such Marriages null.

In the thirty eighth, he treats of the Impediment of a Vow.

In the thirty ninth, of that of difference in Religion.

In the fortieth, forty first, and forty second, of the Degrees of Consanguinity and Affinity, as well Temporal as Spiritual.

The other Sections, contain divers Questions concerning the Resurrection; the State of the Elect, and of the



Reprobates after their Death; Prayers for the Dead; the Invocation and Intercession of the Saints; the Circumstances of the last Judgment: the several Degrees of Beatitude and Glory; and the State and Torments of the Divinity. Damn'd, with which ends the fiftieth Section of the fourth Book, by the Master of the Sentences.

This Work was publish'd by *John Aleaume*, and printed at *Paris* A. D. 1565. and at *Lyon* in 1581. It was also revis'd by *Antony de Monchy*, and reprinted in the same City in 1618. and in other Places. The Author makes it his chief Business (as we have already hinted) to collect the Opinions of the Fathers concerning all the Questions discussed by him: He adds very little of his own, except sometimes in reconciling certain Passages which seems to be contradictory; and when he cannot bring them to an Agreement, he usually leaves the Question undecided. He avoids to meddle with Questions concerning which the Fathers have writ nothing, and scarce ever makes use of Philosophical Terms and Arguments, much less of *Aristotle's* Authority, who is often cited by the other Schoolmen.

The Book of Sentences, by *Robert Pullus*, is not a Collection of Passages of the Fathers, as that of *Peter Lombard*, but a Theological Work, in which he himself resolves certain Questions which were propos'd, either by Ratiocination, or by Proofs taken out of Holy Scripture. This Author, surnamed *Pullus*, or *Pullen* or *Pulley*, being an *English* Man by Nation, pass'd over into *France* and flourish'd in the Schools of *Paris*. He return'd to *England* about the Year 1130. and there re-establish'd the University of *Oxford* in 1133. He was made Archdeacon of *Rocheſter*, and although he enjoy'd that Benefice, yet forbore not to go back to *Paris*, where he resided in Quality of Professor of Divinity. However, his Metropolitan thought fit to recall him, and not being prevail'd with, even upon *St. Bernard's* Request that he might still remain at *Paris*, caus'd the Revenues of his Archdeaconry to be seiz'd on, to oblige him to return to *England*. Whereupon *Pullus* appeal'd to the See of *Rome*, and having much Interest in that Court, was not only vindicated against the Archbishop, but also invited to *Rome* by Pope *Innocent II.* and created Cardinal and Chancellor of the Church of *Rome* by *Lucius II.* in 1144. This Dignity was enjoy'd by him till the third or fifth Year of the Pontificate of *Eugenius III.* when he died A. D. 1150.

Cardinal *Pullus's* Book of Sentences is divided into eight Parts, in the first of which he treats of the Existence of God, of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity, and of the Divine Attributes.

In the second, of the Creation of the World, of the Angels, of the Nature of Man, of the Origine of the Soul, of *Adam's* Fall, of the Corruption of humane Nature, and of Original Sin.

In the third, of the Law, of the Circumcision, of the Law of Grace, and of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ.

He continues his Discourse concerning that Mystery in the fourth Part; where he also treats of Faith, Hope, and Charity; of Purgatory; and of the State of Souls after their Separation from their Bodies.

In the fifth, he treats of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, of the Gift of Faith, of the Sacraments, of Baptism, of Confirmation, of the Remission of Sins, of Charity, and of Sin.

In the sixth Part, he discourses of the Effects of Sin; of Concupiscence; of Ignorance, and other Punishments of Sin; of the Temptations of the Devil; of the Assistance of good Angels, and their Functions; of Repentance; and of the Priest's Power of binding and loosing, and of the Use that they ought to make of it.

The same Subject is farther handled in the seventh Part, where he also treats of the Fruits of Repentance; of Church-Discipline; of Ecclesiastical and Civil Power; of the Distinction of Sacred Orders; of the Qualities of Ministers; and of Marriage.

In the eighth Part, he treats of the Eucharist; of the last Judgment, and of the State of the blessed and damned Spirits.

This Author is somewhat obscure, but argues with a great deal of Judgment: His Style is not altogether rude, neither is it perplexed with Scholastical Terms and Distinctions: He does not start any subtle and Metaphysical Questions, but only such as relate to Points of Doctrine, Discipline or Morality; neither does he resolve them by Principles of Logick or Philosophy, but by Passages of the Holy Scripture, and according to the received Doctrine of the Church, and of the Fathers, which he makes use of as a firm Basis or Ground-work. He sometimes produces certain Particular Opinions, which nevertheless are common to him with many of these ancient School-

men; and he is one of those who have maintain'd the fewest erroneous or dangerous Opinions. In the first Part of he says, that the Father and the Son are Two Principles of the Holy Ghost; but this Expression may be taken in a good Sense, and he never asserted, that the Father and the Son were Two Principles or Essences of a distinct Substance; but Two Persons, who produced a Third by an Action, which, although really the same, may be virtually distinct. He shews, in discoursing of the Sacrament of Penance, that it does not take away the Guilt of Sin, but only remits the Punishment; and that the Priest's Absolution is a Declaration that the Penitent is absolv'd from the Guilt of his Sin, and that he is freed from the Punishment due to it, by the Satisfaction made by him to God: An Opinion which the Author holds in common with many ancient School-Divines. There are also found in his Book some other Opinions which are not approv'd; and amongst others, That the Union of the Word was not made with an animated Body, but with the Mass of Flesh, of which the Body was first form'd, and afterwards the Soul: That the Torments of the Damned may be diminished: That the Devils are not as yet cast into everlasting Flames, and that they sinn'd even at the very Instant of their Creation: That if the First Man had not committed Sin, those who are damned would not have been brought forth into the World: That the Saints do not really descend on Earth in Apparitions: And that *St. Benedict* had a clear Knowledge of God in this World, even such as the blessed Spirits have in Heaven.

This Author is one of those who have most peremptorily affirmed, That the Souls are immediately created by God at that Instant when they are united to their Bodies, and that the Angels are pure Spirits. He likewise maintains, That the inward Intention of the Minister is not necessary for the Validity of the Sacrament; that without the Love of God Sin could not be forgiven; that Infants dying without Baptism are damn'd, and that for that Reason they are not bury'd in consecrated Ground. For matter of Discipline, it may be observ'd, That Confession made to Laicks for Venial Sins, and even for Mortal ones, in case of Necessity, when there was no Priest present, was in use at that Time: That not only the Communion, but also Absolution, was also deny'd to Criminals condemn'd to Death: That Priests were wont to discipline their Penitents: That Parents were prohibited to enter the Church till their Children were baptiz'd: That it was permitted to receive, but not to exact Money, for the Administration of the Sacraments, and even for the Celebration of Mass: That Fast was usually broke at Noon, or at the Hour of \* None, but that there was no Collation: That the Custom of Fasting on *Fridays* was observ'd, although not reputed to be of very great Antiquity, and that *Saturday-Fasts* were not so regularly kept: That in many Churches some Repast was taken on holy *Thursday* in the Evening, and that this Custom began to prevail: That Baptism, even that of Infants, was reserv'd for solemn Days: That the Participation of the Cup in the Communion among the Laity was still in use, but seldom put in Practice: And that the Belief of the corporal Assumption of the Virgin *Mary* was established by the Custom of the Church.

This Work, by *Robert Pullus*, was published by Father *Mathoud* of the Congregation of *St. Maur*, illustrated with learned and curious Notes, and printed at *Paris* A. D. 1655. The Ecclesiastical Writers, who cite this Author, mention some other Works compos'd by him; particularly a Commentary on the *Psalms* of *David*, another on the *Revelation* of *St. John*, a Treatise of the Contempt of the World, four Books concerning the Sentences of the Doctors, a Volume of his Lectures, and several Sermons. We have none of these Works printed; neither is it known, whether any of them be still extant in Manuscript, except certain Sermons which were in *Petavius's* Library.

*Peter of Poitiers* made use of a more Scholastick Method than any of the above-mention'd Authors: He succeeded them in the Divinity-Chair of the Schools at *Paris*, and was promoted to the Dignity of Chancellor of the Church of that City, which he enjoy'd during 38 Years. He compil'd his Collection of the Sentences in the Year 1170. dedicated it to *William* Archbishop of *Sent*, and died in 1200. In the Doctrinal Points, he follows the Master of the Sentences, but uses a quite different Method, as to the Manner of handling the Matters: For he explains and resolves all the Questions by the Principles of Philosophy, and treats of them as a Logician, with formal Arguments, after a very dry and uncouth Manner. This Work was set forth by Father *Mathoud*, at the End of that of *Robert Pullus*. *Peter of Poitiers* likewise wrote certain Allegorical Commentaries on the Books of *Exodus*,



*Gautier*, or *Gauterius*, a Regular Canon of *St. Victor*, in the End of this Century, took upon him to confute the new Method of these Divines, and compos'd a Work which he call'd, *A Treatise against the four Labyrinths of France*, viz. *Peter Abaelard*, *Gillebert de la Porree*, *Peter Lombard*, and *Peter of Poitiers*, whom he accuses of having asserted many Heresies and Errors, in treating of the

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by *Hugh of St. Victor* deceased in 1142. but it is not so evident a Proof to shew, that *Richard* is not the Author of it; because the latter not dying till the Year 1173. and *Philip* being born in 1165. he might joyn him with King *Lewis* the Young his Father. However, this very Passage makes it appear, that the Author of that Work could not have written later than the Reign of *Philip Augustus*; since he is the last of the Kings of *France* mention'd by him, and consequently the said Author flourished in the Twelfth Century. As for the literal Notes, it cannot be doubted, that they were the genuine Works of *Hugh of St. Victor*, of which the following are still extant; viz. his Preface concerning the sacred Books, and the inspired Pen-men of them; his Notes on the Pentateuch; on the Book of *Judges*; on the Books of the *Kings*; and on some *Psalms*. These Notes are concise, and do not recede from the literal and historical Sense. Those that he made on the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, and on the Prophecies of *Joel* and *Obadiab*, are larger, and Allegories are intermixed with them. To these Explications of the Books of the Holy Scripture are annex'd others, which he wrote on the Book of the Hierarchy attributed to *St. Dionysius the Areopagite*. We might also add his Explication of the Decalogue, and those of *St. Augustine's* Rule, which are of the same Style.

The four Books of the Cloister of the Soul; the four other Books of the Soul; the small Tract of the Physick of the Soul; the two Books of Birds; and those of the spiritual and carnal Marriages, belong to *Hugh de Folier*, a Monk of *Corby*: I also ascribe to the same Monk, the Dialogue between the Flesh and the Spirit, the Style of which is different from that of *Hugh of St. Victor*; nay, perhaps he is the Author of the four Books of the Mystical Ark, and of the Ark of *Noah*, which bear the Name of the *Benedictine* Monk of *Saxony*: Inasmuch that in the second Tome of the Works of *Hugh of St. Victor*, there are but very few of his genuine Pieces; viz. the Soliloquy of the Soul; the *Encomium* of Charity; the Discourse on the Manner of Praying; the Discourse of the Love of the Bridegroom, and of the Spouse; the four Books of the Vanity of the World, and the 100 Sermons.

The last Tome contains Dogmatical Works; the first of which is called *Didascalick*, or *Instructive Institutions*, being divided into seven Books, in which are certain Rules for studying, and general Notions of the Sciences. In the fourth, he treats of the sacred Books, of the Writings of the Fathers, and of the Councils and Canons. In the fifth, of the Sense of the Holy Scriptures: In the sixth, of the Manner of reading it; and in the last, which is the largest, of the Manner of attaining to the Knowledge of God, and of the Trinity, by the Creatures.

The second, relates to the Will and Omnipotence of God; in which he examines this Question; viz. Whether his Power be of a larger Extent than his Will?

The following Tracts are compos'd on divers Questions relating to the Mystery of the Incarnation, particularly in reference to the Will of Jesus Christ, his Wisdom and Knowledge, concerning the Union of the Word with the human Nature; against the Opinion of the Master of the Sentences, that Jesus Christ is not a Thing; and touching several other Scholastical Questions; besides three Conferences about the Incarnation, and a Treatise of the Perpetual Virginity of the Virgin *Mary*.

To these Treatises are subjoyn'd five Books, call'd *Miscellanies of Theological Learning*, which contain many common Places concerning Passages of the Holy Scripture, and divers Points of Divinity and Morality.

The three Books of Divine Offices, and that of the Canon of the mystical Offering, belong to *Robert Paululus*, a Priest of the Church of *Amiens*, of whom we have made mention elsewhere.

The small Tract, by way of Dialogue between Master and Scholar, concerning the Law of Nature, and the written Law, contains brief Resolutions of a great number of Theological Questions.

The Summary of the Sentences, divided into seven Treatises, is a compendious System of Divinity.

But his chief Theological Work, is a Treatise of the Sacraments, divided into two Books, of which the first comprehends twelve Parts, and the second, eighteen. It is one of the largest Treatises of Divinity that was compos'd in the Twelfth Century, and the Author therein explains the Questions after a very clear manner, altogether free from the Logical Method and Terms, without involving himself in the Labyrinth of obscure and intricate Speculations. He proceeds to resolve these Questions by Passages of the Holy Scripture, and according to the Principles of the Fathers, more especially of *St. Augustine*, whose Doctrine he follows, affecting even to imitate his Style; which gave occasion to some Persons to call him, *The Tongue of that*

*Father*. He was a Native of *Flanders*, born in the Territories of *Tpres*, and not in *Saxony*, as it was generally suppos'd: But he spent his Life in *France*, in the Monastery of *St. Victor*, of which he was a regular Canon and Prior. He died Feb. 11. A. D. 1142. aged forty Years. His Works were printed at *Paris* in 1526. at *Venice* in 1588. at *Mentz* in 1617. and at *Rouen* in 1648.

This Author had for his Pupil *Richard*, a Scots Man by Nation, and a Regular Canon of the same Monastery, who likewise attain'd to the Office of Prior in the Year 1164. and acquir'd much Reputation by the great Number of his Writings. We have but now observ'd, that to him may be attributed the Collection of Questions on the Bible, part of which is printed amongst his Works, and the rest among those of *Hugh of St. Victor*. The following Works on the Holy Scripture are undoubtedly his.

Three Treatises of critical Remarks and History; that is to say, the first to explain the Form and Parts of the Tabernacle; the Second, to give a Description of *Solomon's* Temple, and of every Thing that was contain'd therein; and the third, to adjust the Chronology of the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, concerning the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*. To these Treatises must be added a larger Explication of the Temple in *Ezekiel*. These four Treatises relate altogether to critical Matters, and have no regard to Allegories, nor to mystical or moral Significations.

His other Commentaries are not of the same Nature, as not being literal; but allegorical, moral or dogmatical: They consist in Explications of divers *Psalms*; a Commentary on the Book of *Canticles*; Questions on certain difficult Passages of *St. Paul's* Epistles; and a large Commentary on the Apocalypse. The other Works of *Richard of St. Victor* are of two Sorts; some of them being Pieces relating to Points of Doctrine, and others being Treatises of Piety and practical Divinity.

Among the former are to be reckon'd his Treatise of the Trinity, divided into six Books: A Tract dedicated to *St. Bernard*, concerning the Attributes appropriated to every one of the Divine Persons: His Treatise of the Incarnation: Two Treatises of the *Emmanuel*, or on these Words of the Prophet *Isaiah*, *Behold, a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son, and shall call his Name Emmanuel*; in which he proves against a certain Jew, that these Words can be interpreted of none but the Virgin *Mary* and Jesus Christ: A Treatise of the Power of Binding and Loosing, in which he follows the common Opinion of the School-Divines of his Time, concerning the Effect of the Keys, and the Power of the Ministers: A Discourse of the Sin against the Holy Ghost: Certain Explications dedicated to *St. Bernard* on some difficult Places of Scripture: A Discourse to explain in what Sense the Holy Ghost is said to be the Love of the Father, and of the Son: And a Treatise of the Difference between Moral and Venial Sins.

His Works of Piety and Morality are these; viz. A Treatise of the Means of rooting out Evil, and promoting Good: A Discourse on the State of the inward Man: Three Books of the Instruction of the inward Man, or of the spiritual Exercise, upon occasion of the Dreams of *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Daniel*: A Treatise of the Preparation of the Soul for Contemplation: Five Books of the Grace of Contemplation, on the Ark which was set in the Tabernacle, with an Addition containing some Allegories on the Tabernacle: A Discourse or Meditation on the Plagues that will happen on the Day of Judgment: Another Discourse on the Day of the last Judgment: A Treatise of the Degrees of Charity: Another of the four Degrees of fervent Charity: A Discourse of the two Passovers, with a Sermon on the Festival of *Easter*: A Discourse of the Baptism of Jesus Christ: A Sermon on the Effusion of the Holy Ghost: A Tract concerning the Comparison that is made of our Saviour to the Flower, and of the Virgin *Mary* to the Branch: Another about the Quality of the Standard of the People, attributed to Jesus Christ: And lastly, two Discourses; viz. One concerning the Difference between *Abraham's* Sacrifice and that of *David*; and the other relating to the Difference between the same Sacrifice, and that of the Virgin *Mary*.

This Author died March 10. A. D. 1173. and his Works were printed at *Paris* in 1518. and in 1540. as also at *Venice* in 1592. at *Colen* in 1621. and at *Rouen* in 1630. He shews a great deal of Subtlety in his Theological Treatises, and argues methodically with an Exactness befitting an able Logician. His critical Pieces are very accurate for his Time, but his Style is not very lofty, and upon that Account it is, that his Treatises of Piety, though full of excellent Matter, have not all the Grandeur, nor all the Energy that might be wished for.



## C H A P. XVII.

## Of Gratian's Collection of Canons.

**A**lthough many Collections of Canons, Decretals, and Passages of the Fathers, relating to the Canon-Law, were compil'd before the Twelfth Century; yet none of them was generally follow'd, or publickly taught: They were look'd upon as the Work of private Persons, and the Decisions contain'd in them had no greater Authority than the Monuments out of which they were taken; whilst every one apply'd them to his particular Benefit, but none made them the Subject of publick Lectures. The Collection which *Gratian* a Monk of St. *Felix* at *Bologna*, and a Native of *Chiast* in *Tuscany*, compleated in the Year 1151. met with much better Success; for as soon as it appear'd, it was so favourably receiv'd, that the Canonists taught it publickly, and in a little Time, a great number of Commentaries were written on that Work.

In the ancient Manuscripts, and in the first Editions, it bears this Title, viz. *The Concord of disagreeing Canons*, and afterwards was call'd, *The Book of Decrees*, or simply, *The Decrees*. It is divided into three Parts, the first of which contains Matters relating to the Law in general, and the Ministers of the Church, under the Name of Distinctions; the second, divers particular Cases, upon occasion of which are debated many Questions that are call'd, *The Causes*; and the third, entituled, *Of the Consecration*, such Matters as relate to the Divine Offices, and the Sacraments.

In the first twenty Distinctions of the first Part, he treats of the Division of the Law; of the different Sorts of Laws, as well Civil as Ecclesiastical; of the Authority of the Canons, of the Councils, and of the Decretals of the Popes; of the sacred Orders; of the Qualities of Persons who ought to be ordain'd; of the Form and Ceremonies of Ordination; of the Functions and Conduct of Clergymen; of the Power of the Pope, and of the Bishops; of the Use of the *Pall*, and of every Thing that relates to the Ministers of the Church. This Part is divided into 101 Distinctions.

In the second, containing thirty six Causes, every one of which comprehends divers Questions, every Question being likewise divided into several Chapters; the Author treats of Simony; of Appeals; of Incumbents depriv'd of their Benefices; of the Quality of Witnesses and Accusers; of Elections; of the Government of Churches; of Ecclesiastical Censures; of last Wills and Testaments; of Burials; of Usury; of what ought to be observ'd with respect to † outrageous or distracted Persons; of Sentences pass'd contrary to the due Forms of Law; of Monks and Abbots, and their Rights; of those who assault Clergymen; of *Commendams*; of Oaths; of War; of Heresies; of Infractions of the Canons; of Sorcerers; of Marriage, and its Impediments; of the Degrees of Consanguinity; and of Rapes. In the thirty second Cause, he has inserted a Dissertation concerning Repentance, in seven Sections; in which he follows the Error of some Writers of Penitentials, who do not believe Confession to be of Divine Right, or absolutely necessary for the Remission of Sins.

The third Part contains five Distinctions, or Sections; viz. the first, concerning the Consecration of Churches, the Celebration of Mass, and the Divine Service; the second, concerning the Eucharist; the third, about the solemn Festivals of the Year, and the Use of Images; the fourth, about the Sacrament of Baptism, and its Ceremonies; and the fifth, concerning Confirmation, Fasts, manual Labour, and some other Points of Discipline. Some Articles have been since added from Time to Time, under the Title of *Palea*, which is suppos'd to be the Name of the Author of these Additions, which were call'd *Protopalea*, or *Palea*.

The first Edition of this Work was printed at *Mentz*,

A. D. 1472. and the second at *Venice*, four Years after: The third is that of *Paris* in 1508. which is the first that bears the Name of *Gratian*; whose Text is to be found in these Editions after the same Manner that it was written by him; that is to say, full of false or erroneous Quotations: For *Gratian* has not only cited in his Collection, the false Decretals of the Popes, and other supposititious Works, but is also often mistaken in quoting one Author, or one Council for another, or in relating Passages otherwise than they are in the Original; upon which Account it was judg'd Expedient to correct the Faults of this Author. *Antony de Mouchy*, and *Antony Contius*, were the first that undertook to do it in *France*, in the preceding Age, and the whole Work was printed with their Notes at *Antwerp* in 1570. and 1573. At the same Time the Popes having consider'd the Importance of this Undertaking caus'd several Persons to be employ'd in it, in order to publish a new Edition of *Gratian's* Decretal, corrected; and at least clear'd of the principal Errors: They began to set about the Work under the Popedom of *Pius IV.* and carry'd it on under his Successor *Pius V.* but did not compleat it till the Time of *Gregory XIII.* They apply'd themselves more especially, 1. To correct the Errors that had crept into the Text of *Gratian*, through the Negligence of the Transcribers or Printers, by revising it exactly according to the ancient Manuscripts. 2. By substituting the Name of the true Author of the Passages cited by *Gratian*, in the room of that which he had set down, when it was evident that he was mistaken. 3. By observing the Differences between the genuine Text and that which is quoted by *Gratian*, and even correcting it in the Text of *Gratian* in those Places, where he only copies out their Words.

When this Work was compleated, it appear'd at *Rome* in 1580. with the Approbation of Pope *Gregory XIII.* who prohibited it to be published after another Manner. Whereupon it was soon printed according to the Copy of the *Roman* Edition in many Places; viz. at *Venice* in 1584. at *Paris* in 1585. at *Frankfort* in 1586. and 1590. and at *Lyons* in 1591. and a great number of Editions of it have been since set forth. Whilst the *Roman* Edition was preparing for the Press, the famous *Antonius Augustinus*, Archbishop of *Taragona*, compos'd certain Dialogues concerning the Correction of *Gratian*, and afterwards made Additions to the same Edition, when he had procur'd a Copy of it. This Piece was printed at *Taragona* A. D. 1587. the next Year after his Death, and some Time after at *Paris*, but it was published with much more accuracy by *M. Balusius* in 1682. *Antonius Augustinus* discovers a vast number of Faults, Over-sights, and Errors in *Gratian's* Decretal, and makes many curious and very useful Remarks; to which may be added those of *M. Balusius*, which are no less judicious. But whatsoever Correction of this Work has been already, or can be made for the future, it is difficult, or rather impossible, to bring it to that Perfection which is requisite for a general Collection of the Canons and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, that is to serve as it were a perpetual Standard.

However *Gratian's* Collection was generally receiv'd and taught in the Schools as soon as it appear'd, but within a little while after, were added to it certain new Decretals of the Popes, particularly of *Alexander III.* of which were made Collections like those that are found in the End of the third General Council of *Lateran*, and these were likewise explain'd publickly. It is against this new Body of Law, which began to be Vogue, that *Stephen de Tournay* declaims, in his 251 Letter, of which we have already related the Passage, to which we desire the Reader to have Recourse upon this Occasion, because it may serve as a Conclusion to what we have said in this, and in the preceding Chapters.



## C H A P. XVIII.

## Of the General Councils held in the Twelfth Century.

**O**f the General Councils held in the Twelfth Century. Although the Name of Oecumenical, or General Council, denotes an Assembly compos'd of Bishops of all the Churches of the World; nevertheless the eight first General Councils held in the *Levants*, chiefly consist'd in Bishops of the Eastern Churches, those of the Western being represented by the Legates of the See of *Rome*, who often were accompany'd with few or none of the Prelates of the Western Churches: But after the Separation of the *Latin* Church from the *Greek*, it was scarce possible any longer to hold Councils, in which the *Latins* and *Greeks* were willing to assemble together, in order to pass their Judgments in Ecclesiastical Affairs, or unanimously to make common

Constitutions. Therefore the succeeding General Councils were compos'd only of a great number of Prelates of the Western Churches conven'd by the Popes, who were wont to publish Decisions conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline which the Bishops of these Councils had approv'd and confirm'd. There were three of this Nature held at *Rome* in the Twelfth Century; viz. the first under Pope *Calixtus II.* the second under *Innocent II.* and the third under *Alexander III.* We have already produc'd a Relation of the first, with the Extract of its Canons, in treating of the Investitures; so that it remains only to give the like Account of the second and the third.

## The second General Council of Lateran.

**O**f the second General Council of Lateran. Pope *Innocent II.* having obtain'd the quiet Possession of the See of *Rome*, by the Death of *Peter of Leon*, conven'd in the Month of *April* A.D. 1139. a Council in the Palace of *Lateran*, call'd, the second General; which (as they say) was compos'd of near a thousand Prelates, and of which thirty Canons were published.

The first imports, That all Clergymen, who were ordain'd by Simony, shall be depos'd from the Dignity which they have unjustly usurped.

The second, that all those, who have bought or sold any Benefice, shall be depriv'd of it, and branded with Infamy; and that nothing shall be exacted for the conferring of Ecclesiastical Dignities and Livings.

The third, that none shall entertain those who are excommunicated by their Bishop.

The fourth, that the Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy, shall endeavour to please God and Men, by their inward Disposition, as well as by their outward Behaviour: That they shall give occasion of Scandal to none, neither by the Colour nor Fashion of their Habits: That they shall be cloath'd after a regular and modest Manner: And that they, who neglect to observe this Rule, shall be depriv'd of their Benefices, unless they be reform'd, after having been admonish'd by their Bishops.

The fifth, forbids the Pillaging of the Goods, or Revenues of the Bishops after their Death.

The sixth ordains, that those who officiate as Subdeacons, or have enter'd into Orders of a higher Station, if they marry, or keep Concubines, shall lose their Offices or Benefices.

The seventh, prohibits the hearing of Mass of Priests who are married, or keep Concubines; declares the Marriages of Priests to be null; and ordains, that those who have contracted it shall be divorc'd, and put to Penance.

The eighth, regulates the same Thing, with respect to Virgins consecrated to God, if they marry.

The ninth, forbids Regular Canons, or Monks, to study the Civil Law, or the Art of Physick, in order to make Profit by the Practice of those Sciences.

The tenth, enjoyns Laicks, who have Churches or Tithes in their Possession, to restore them to the Bishops under pain of Excommunication; prohibits the conferring of Archdeacons or Deaconries on any Persons but Priests and Deacons; declares that those who have procur'd them without entering into Orders, shall be depriv'd of them, if they refuse to be ordain'd: And in like Manner forbids the granting of them to young Men, who are not admitted into Orders, or the demising of Churches to Priests for Rent.

The eleventh ordains, that Priests, Clerks, Monks, Travellers, Merchants, and Country People, shall have free Liberty to come and go with Safety at all times.

The twelfth, specifies the Days and Times when it is forbidden to make War, and exhorts the Christians to Peace.

The thirteenth, condemns Usury and Usurers.

The fourteenth, prohibits military Combats that were practis'd at Fairs, and ordains, that those who are mortally wounded in Rencounters shall be depriv'd of Christian Burial; although Penance, and the *Vaticum*, ought not to be deny'd them.

The fifteenth, denounces an Anathema against those who abuse a Clergyman, or a Monk, and prohibits the Bishops to give them Absolution, except in case of Necessity, till they have made an Appearance before the holy See. The same Canon re-establishes the Right of Sanctuary for Churches and Church-yards.

The sixteenth, is a Prohibition to lay Claim to Prebends, or other Benefices, by Right of Succession.

The seventeenth, reinforces the Laws against Marriages amongst Relations.

The eighteenth, denounces an Anathema against Incendiaries, and declares them to be unworthy of Christian Burial; forbids to give them Absolution, till they have made Restitution for the Damage done by them; and enjoyns them for Penance to take a Journey to the holy Land, or to *Spain*, for the Service of the Church.

The nineteenth, suspends for a Year, and condemns to Restitution, the Archbishops or Bishops, who shall take upon them to remit the Rigor of the Punishment ordain'd in the preceding Canon.

The twentieth imports, that Kings and Princes have a Power to execute Justice, in consultation with the Bishops and Archbishops: A Canon which cannot be understood but in reference to Ecclesiastical Persons.

The twenty first, forbids to admit into Orders the Sons of Priests; unless they have led a religious Course of Life in Monasteries, or in Canonical Houses.

In the twenty second, Priests are admonish'd not to suffer Laicks to be deceiv'd by false shews of Penance; and it is observ'd therein, that that Penitence is of none Effect, when only one Crime is repented of, without reforming the others; or when one continues to dwell in the Confines of Sin, by retaining an Office or Employment that cannot be exercised without Sin; or when one bears Malice in the Heart; or when one refuses to give Satisfaction to an injur'd Person; or when we do not freely forgive those who have done us an Injury; or lastly, when an unjust War is maintain'd.

The twenty third, is against Hereticks who condemn the Sacraments.

The twenty fourth, forbids to exact any Thing for the holy Chrism, for the consecrated Oils, and for officiating at Burials.

The twenty fifth, deprives those Persons of their Benefices, who receive them from the Hands of Laymen.

The twenty sixth, prohibits Nuns to reside in private Houses.

In the twenty seventh, they are likewise forbidden to appear in the same Choir with Monks or Canons, in order to sing the Divine Offices.

The twenty eighth, prohibits the Canons of Cathedral Churches, under pain of Anathema, to exclude Persons of known Piety from the Election of Bishops, and declares those



those Elections to be null, that they make without sending for, and advising with them. The twenty ninth, denounces an Anathema against Slingers and Archers.

The thirtieth, declares to be null the Ordinations made by Peter of Leon, and other Hereticks or Schismatics.

The second General of Lateran.

### The third General Council of Lateran.

**P**ope Alexander III. conven'd in the Year 1179. a great Council at Rome, which is call'd, the third General of Lateran, to reform a great number of Abuses that had crept into the Church; to make Constitutions about Matters of Discipline; to condemn the Albigens, and other reputed Hereticks; to maintain the Immunities of the Church; and to redress many Grievances that were become very common. This Council which began to sit on the second Day of March, was compos'd of about three hundred Bishops, and published twenty seven Capitularies, or Articles of Canons.

The first, is a Decree for preventing the Schisms of the Church of Rome in the Election of the Popes, ordaining, That if all the Cardinals cannot agree to chuse the same Person, he shall be esteem'd as lawful Pope, who shall obtain two Thirds of their Suffrages in his Favour; but that he cannot be ordain'd, or acknowledg'd as such, who has less than two Thirds of the Votes: Provided nevertheless that this Constitution shall not be prejudicial to the Custom of other Chapters, in which the Consent of the greater and sounder Part usually prevails; by reason that the Contests which arise in those Bodies, may be determin'd by the Judgment of the higher Powers, whereas the Church of Rome cannot have Recourse to any Tribunal that is superior to it.

The second, declares to be null the Ordinations made by the three Antipopes, Octavian, Guy, and John de Struma; deprives those of Benefices who receiv'd them from their Hands; abrogates the Alienations of Church-Revenues made by the said Antipopes; and suspends from Orders those Clergymen, who took an Oath to maintain the Schism.

The third ordains, that a Person nominated to be chosen Bishop shall be thirty Years old; that he shall be born in lawful Wedlock, and noted for his Learning, and the Probity of his Manners: That when his Election is confirm'd, when he has taken Possession of the Revenues of his Church, and when the time prescrib'd by the Canons for his Ordination is expir'd; he who had a Right to dispose of the Benefices, which he enjoy'd before he was made Bishop, shall have free Liberty to confer them: That the Deaneries, Archdeacons, Curacies, and other Church-Livings, with the Cure of Souls, shall be granted only to those who have attain'd to the Age of twenty five Years: That they who are advanced to a higher Dignity, if they do not cause themselves to be ordain'd in due time, shall be depriv'd of their Benefices, without a possibility of reinstating themselves by virtue of an Appeal. It is also declar'd, that this Constitution shall be observ'd not only with respect to those who shall receive Induction to Benefices for the future, but also in reference to Incumbents, if the Canons require it: That those who neglect to observe it in carrying on their Elections, shall be depriv'd of their Right of electing, and even of their Benefices for three Years: And lastly, if the Bishop infringe it, or consent to the Infringement of it, he shall lose the Right of conferring Spiritual Livings; which shall be granted by the Chapter, or by the Metropolitan.

The fourth Constitution, regulates the Number of Horses which the Prelates may keep for their Equipage, during the Visitation of their Diocesses; that is to say, forty or fifty are allow'd to Archbishops; twenty five to Cardinals; twenty or thirty to Bishops; five or seven to Archdeacons, and two to Deans: Now in regard that this Number is very considerable, it is declar'd in the End of the Canon, that what is granted by way of Toleration, ought only to be put in execution in Churches which have large Revenues, and that in those Places where the Ecclesiastical Revenues are very mean, the Superiors shall take care not to overburden their Inferiors in visiting them; and that it is not the meaning of the Decree, to enlarge the Privilege of those, who were not accusom'd to have so great a Retinue. The Bishops are likewise forbidden to oppress the inferior Clergy with Taxes and Impositions, although they are permitted upon urgent Occasions to demand of them necessary Supplies: But the Archdeacons and Deans are absolutely prohibited to lay any Taxes upon the Priests or Clerks of their Jurisdiction.

The sixth, regulates the Formalities of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in which are observ'd two common Abuses, viz. One, that the superior Clergy, fearing lest the Inferior should withdraw themselves from their Jurisdiction by an Appeal, frequently begin with suspending or excommunicating them, without having sent them any Monitory before; and the other, that the Inferior, on the contrary, who fear the Censure of their Superiors, appeal without having receiv'd any Wrong, and to maintain their unjust Practice, make use of the Remedy appointed for the Relief of the Innocent: Therefore to prevent these Abuses, it is ordain'd, That the Superiors shall pronounce no Sentence of Suspension or of Excommunication against the inferior Clergy, unless it were preceded by a Canonical Monition; if the Crime of which they are guilty be not of the Number of those, that render the Persons *ipso facto* excommunicated or suspended; and the Inferior are forbidden for enter an Appeal, before Issue be joyn'd: As for those, who make a lawful Appeal, it is decree'd, that a competent Time shall be allow'd them to prosecute it, and that in case they neglect to do it, within the limited Time, the Bishop, after the expiration of that Term, may make use of his Authority: Lastly, that if the Party summoned present himself in Court, and the Appellant does not appear, the latter shall be oblig'd to re-emburse the former all his Charges. It is also requir'd, that this Ordinance be regularly observ'd, more especially in Monasteries, and with respect to religious Persons.

The seventh, condemns the Abuses which passed into a Custom, of exacting Money for Induction to Benefices; for the Burial of the Dead; for the Benediction of Mariages, and for the Administration of the Sacraments. The Bishops are likewise forbidden to impose new Duties on the Churches; to augment the old ones, and to appropriate any part of their Revenues to their own private Use, and they are enjoyn'd to maintain the Liberty of their Churches.

The eighth, prohibits to bestow, or even to promise, Spiritual Livings, before they become vacant; ordains Patrons to make their Presentations within six Months after the Vacancy; and grants to the Chapter the Right of nominating to such Benefices, as are too long left vacant by the Bishop, when they are in his Gift; also to the Bishop, the like Right of nominating to those that ought to be conferr'd by the Chapter, upon the same Default: But if both Parties neglect to do it, the Right is declar'd to devolve on the Metropolitan.

The ninth, reforms the Abuses that prevail'd under colour of Privileges granted to the Knights Templars, and other religious Societies, who by virtue of these Privileges attempted many Things against the Authority of the Bishops: For they receiv'd Churches from the Hands of Laicks; admitted excommunicated Persons to the Participation of the holy Sacraments; allow'd them Christian Burial; placed and displaced Priests in several Churches by their own arbitrary Power, and without acquainting the Bishops; frequently celebrated Divine Service in Churches that lay under a Suspension; and weaken'd the Episcopal Authority by Combinations and Fraternities. To put a stop to the career of these Abuses, the Council prohibits all privileged People to entertain excommunicated Persons; enjoins them to present to the Bishops those Priests whom they would have put in the Churches, which do not by undoubted Right belong to their Jurisdiction; and that these Priests shall give an Account of their Spiritualities to the Bishops, and of their Temporalities to the religious Society on whom they depend; so that these Benefices cannot be taken from them without the Consent of the Bishops. It is also farther declared, that if the Knights Templars come into Places lying under a Suspension, they shall only have Liberty to perform Divine Service once in them; and that the Members of their Society shall not be exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Bishops. This Regulation is extended to all other Societies, that enjoy any Privileges, and make an ill use of them.



The tenth imports, That Money shall not be exacted *The second* for the admitting of Monks into Monasteries; that they shall *general of* not be suffer'd to have any Personal Estate; that they *Lateran.* shall not live privately in Towns, Villages, or Parishes, but in large Convents; that they shall not go out of them alone; that the Monks, who give any Thing for their Entrance into a Monastery, shall not be advanced to Sacred Orders; and that they who exact any Thing upon that Account, shall be depos'd from their Office; that he who enjoys private Possessions, unless they were given him by the Abbot for his Office, shall be excommunicated; that an Abbot, who neglects to put this Order in execution, shall be degraded from his Dignity; that Priors, or Commissions, shall not be given for Money; that Conventual Priors shall not be chang'd, unless for a just Cause, as in the Case of Dilapidation, or Irregularity, or if it be judg'd expedient to remove them to higher Station.

The eleventh, renews the Prohibitions so often reiterated with respect to Clergy-men, who are in Orders, to keep Company with Women; condemns Sodomites to very severe Punishments; and forbids Ecclesiastical Persons to frequent the Monasteries of Nuns, unless upon some emergent Occasion.

The twelfth, forbids all Clerks, who are maintain'd by Church-Revenues, to exercise the Functions of Attorneys or Solicitors in Law-suits, unless it be to manage their own affairs; or those of the Churches, or those of the Poor, who are not able to defend themselves. They are also prohibited in this Canon, to serve as Receivers or Judges to Lay-Lords, under the Penalty of being suspended from the Exercise of their Ministerial Functions. The same Thing is likewise more rigorously forbidden to Monks.

The thirteenth, enforces a Prohibition to the same Person to possess several Benefices, with the Cure of Souls, and ordains residence therein.

The fourteenth, in like manner, prohibits the Plurality of Prebends, and condemns the Proceedings of Laicks, who put Clergy-men in the Churches, and turn them out whenever they think fit; who take upon them to distribute the Goods and Revenues of the Church at their Pleasure; and who exact Duties, and lay Taxes on the Churches, and on Ecclesiastical Persons. Therefore they who persist in such Practices for the future, are threaten'd to be anathematiz'd; and the Priests and Clerks, who receive Benefices from the Hands of Lay-men, to be depos'd: The latter are also forbidden, under pain of Excommunication, to summon Clergy-men before their Judges; and it is decreed, that they who retain the Tithes, and other Church-Revenues, shall be depriv'd of Christian Burial.

The fifteenth ordains, That the Estate or Goods which Clergy-men have got out of the Revenue of their Benefices, shall be left to the Churches to which they belong, whether they have so dispos'd of them by their last Will and Testament or not. By this Canon is also abolished the Custom of Deans commissioned by the Bishops to exercise Episcopal Jurisdiction, who upon that account exact a certain Sum of Money.

The sixteenth determines, That in Chapters, affairs shall be transacted according to the Advice of the greater, and more sound part of the Canons.

The seventeenth, provides a Remedy for the Inconvenience that happens, when the Lay-Patrons are divided, and present several Clerks for the same Church. It is or-

dain'd, That he shall be prefer'd who is the most worthy, and has the greatest Number of Suffrages.

The eighteenth, orders the Settlement of a School-Master in all the Cathedral Churches, for the Instruction of Youth, to whom is to be allotted a Benefice of a sufficient Revenue for his Maintenance; in consideration of which, he is forbidden to exact any Thing for granting a Licence to teach, and oblig'd to deny it to those who are not capable of performing that Employment.

The nineteenth prohibits, under the Penalty of an *Anathema*, the Taxes and Impositions laid by Magistrates on the Churches, and Ecclesiastical Persons; at least unless the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy, having regard to the Exigencies of the State, especially when the Revenues of the Laity are not sufficient for the discharging of them, shall judge it expedient that the Churches should contribute somewhat to that purpose.

The twentieth, condemns the Turnaments in which Soldiers fight, and often kill one another, to shew their Courage and Dexterity.

The twenty first prescribes, under pain of Excommunication, the observing of a Truce, that is to say, of a Cessation of all manner of Acts of Hostility, from *Wednesday-Evening* at Sun-set to *Monday-Morning*, from Advent to the Octave after the Epiphany; and from *Septuagesima* till the Octave after *Easter*.

The twenty second ordains, That Monks, Clerks, Pilgrims, Merchants and Peasants, who come and go to manage the Affairs of Husbandry, shall pass on the Roads with Safety, and that no new Tolls shall be exacted of them.

The twenty third, grants to Lepers, who are sufficiently numerous for the keeping of a Church, a Church-yard, and a Priest, a Licence to that purpose, upon Condition that they do no Injury to the ancient Churches, as to their Parochial Rights.

The twenty fourth, forbids Christians to furnish the *Saracens* with Iron, Arms, Ship-tackle or other Instruments of War, and excommunicates those who list themselves in their Service at Sea, as also such Persons as seize on the Goods of those that have suffer'd Shipwreck.

The twenty fifth ordains, That Publick Usurers shall be depriv'd of the Communion during their Life-time, and of Christian Burial after their Death.

The twenty sixth declares, That it ought not to be endur'd that the *Saracens* should have Christian Slaves, nor that the Christians should reside among them. It gives permission to receive the Testimony of Christians against the *Saracens*, and ordains that those who are converted to the Christian Religion, shall remain in the quiet Possession of the Estates which they enjoy'd before.

The twenty seventh Canon is that which relates to the *Albigensis*, and others who were reputed Hereticks in those Times, of which we have already given some Account elsewhere.

These are all the Regulations that were made in the third General Council of *Lateran*. *Bartholomew Laurent*, fir-nam'd *Poin*, who publish'd the Acts of this same Council, has annexed to it a large Collection of divers Constitutions of *Alexander III.* and of the Popes who preceded or succeeded him, which he look'd upon at least, in part, as a Sequel of this Council, because he found it in the same Manuscript: But this Work does not in any manner belong to the Council, and ought not to be esteem'd as a part of it; so that we shall take no farther Notice of it in this Place.

## C H A P. XIX.

### Of the Provincial Councils held in the Twelfth Century.

*Of the provincial Councils of the twelfth Century.* WE shall only treat in this Chapter of those Councils which made Regulations of the Church-Dicipline, or that determin'd any important Ecclesiastical Affairs, and we shall pass by in silence a great Number of lesser Councils, which were held only to re-establish or confirm the Privileges of par-

ticular Churches and Monasteries; or to consecrate certain Churches; or to translate the Relicks of Saints; or to pass Judgment concerning the Differences between Churches and private Persons about Temporalities; or lastly, to condemn or to acquit some Persons accused of Crimes.

The



## The Council of Valence held in the Year 1100.

**I**N the Year 1100. John and Benedict the Popes Legates, arrived in France, and call'd a Council at *Autun*, which was held in the Month of September at *Valence*. It was compos'd of twenty four Prelates, as well Archbishops as Bishops and Abbots, and the Deputies of the Archbishop of *Lyons* assisted therein. The Canons

of *Autun* accus'd their Bishop of Simony, and the Matter was warmly debated on all sides, but the Determination of it was referr'd to the Council of *Poitiers*. *Hugh* Abbot of *Flavigny*, who was turn'd out by the Monks, obtain'd Letters of Restabration in this Council of *Valence*.

The Council of Valence. in 1100.

## The Council of Poitiers held in the Year 1100.

**T**HIS Council was assembled on the Octave of *St. Martin* in the same Year. The Bishop of *Autun*, not having sufficiently cleared himself of the Accusation brought against him, was depos'd and excommunicated, notwithstanding his Appeal to the Pope in this Council, and in the preceding: For the Legates had declared, that no regard ought to be had to that Appeal, since they were invest'd with the whole plenitude of the Pontifical Power. This Council was compos'd of eighty Dignitaries, as well Bishops as Abbots, and in it was pronounced a solemn Excommunication against King *Philip* for retaking *Bertrade*. The Abbot of *St. Remy* at *Rheims* was confirm'd in his Abby; the Case of *Drugo*, Treasurer of the Church of *Châlons*, was argu'd, and it was made to appear, that he could not possess that Benefice, having another in another Diocess: Lastly, a certain Church was adjudg'd to *Ives* Bishop of *Chartres*, which had been usurped from him, and sixteen Canons were made in this Council.

The first imports, That only the Bishops or Abbots shall be empower'd to administer Clerical Tonsure to the Monks, that is to say, to engage them in the Monastick Life by vertue of that Ceremony, and that they ought only to confer it on those Persons who actually turn Monks.

The second, That nothing shall be exacted upon account of such Tonsure, nay not so much as for the Sizzers and Napkins that are us'd in performing the Ceremony.

The third ordains, That Clerks shall not do Homage to Lay-men, and shall not receive Church-Livings from their Hands,

The fourth, That the Benediction of the Sacerdotal Habits, and of the Utensils belonging to the Altar, shall be reserv'd to the Bishop.

The fifth, That the Monks shall not be allow'd to wear the Maniple, unless they exercise the Office of Sub-deacons.

The sixth, That the Abbots shall not make use of Gantlets and Sandals, nor of the Ring, in officiating, unless they have obtain'd a Privilege from the See of *Rome*.

The seventh, That Prebends shall neither be bought nor sold, and that no Household-Provisions shall be exacted for conferring of them.

The eighth, That no Prebends, nor no other Benefices, shall be dispos'd of during the Life-time of the Incumbents.

The ninth, That the Clerks and Monks shall not buy any Altars or Tithes of the Laicks.

The tenth declares, That the regular Canons may baptize, preach, enjoyn Penance, and bury the Dead, with a Licence from the Bishop.

The eleventh, That the Exercise of these Functions, is

forbidden to Monks.

The twelfth ordains, that those Clerks, who carry about Relicks to get Money by them, shall not be suffer'd to preach.

The thirteenth, that the Archbishops shall not exact of the Bishops, nor the Bishops of the Abbots, any Copes, Carpets, Basons, or Napkins, for their Consecration.

The fourteenth, that Laicks shall have no share in the Offerings made at the Altar, nor in the Gratuities allow'd to the Priests, especially upon the account of Burials.

The fifteenth, that no authoriz'd Judges shall seize on the Revenues of the Bishops, either in their Life-time, or after their Death.

The sixteenth, and last Canon, confirms every Thing that Pope *Urban* had ordain'd in the Council of *Clermont*; particularly concerning Tithes and Altars unjustly retain'd by Laicks, as also concerning the Celibacy of Priests, Deacons, Sub-deacons, and Canons, and the Prohibition to hold two Prebends, or two Dignities in two several Churches. Moreover it is related in a certain ancient Chronicle, that this Council ordain'd, that the Bishops should have a Right to recover their Possessions.

King *Philip*, to cause the Excommunication which was denounc'd against him in the Council of *Poitiers* to be taken off, wrote to the Pope, that he was ready for the future not to have to do carnally with *Bertrade*. Whereupon the Pope referr'd the Management of that Affair to *Richard* Bishop of *Albano* his Legate, who held at *Beaugency* a Council of the Bishops of the Provinces of *Rheims* and *Sens*, in which the King and *Bertrade* took an Oath upon the Holy Gospels, that they would no longer have carnal Copulation together, and that they would not see one another, but in the Presence of such Persons as could not be suspected, till they had obtain'd a Dispensation from the Pope. However the Bishops and the Legate durst not give them Absolution, but reserv'd the Determination of the Matter to the Pope: Afterwards *Richard* being departed from France, the Pope granted a Commission for that purpose to *Lambert* Bishop of *Arras*, with the Archbishops and Bishops of the Provinces of *Rheims*, *Sens* and *Tours*, whom he empower'd to absolve the King, in case he renounc'd his unchast Correspondence with *Bertrade*, and engag'd no longer to see her, unless it were in the presence of unsuspected Persons. At last, *Lambert* Bishop of *Arras*, *Diambert* Archbishop of *Sens*, *Radulphus* Archbishop of *Tours*, and many of their Suffragans, being conven'd at *Paris* A. D. 1105. receiv'd the Oaths of the King and of *Bertrade*, conformably to the Tenor of the Pope's Letter, and gave them Absolution upon those Conditions.

The Council of Poitiers in 1100.

## The Council of Anse.

**I**N the Year 1100. the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, *Lyons*, *Tours*, and *Bourges*, and eight Bishops, assembled at *Anse* near *Lyons*, held a Council, in which they debated Matters relating to the Voyage to the

Holy Land, and excommunicated all those Persons, who had taken upon them the Cross, but had not made the Journey, till they should perform their Vow.

The Council of Anse.



## The Council of Troyes.

**R**ICHARD Bishop of *Albano*, Legate of the See of *Rome*, held a numerous Council at *Troyes* in *Champagne* A. D. 1104. in which *Godfrey* was cho-  
Troyes in sen Bishop of *Amiens*, and *Hubert* Bishop of *Senlis* accused

of Simony, clear'd himself by Oath: This Council approv'd of, and confirm'd the Privileges of the Monasteries of the Church of *St. Peter* at *Troyes*, and of the Abby of *Molefine*.

## The Council of Beauvais held in the Year 1114.

**G**ODFREY, who was ordain'd Bishop of *Amiens* in the preceding Council, being ill us'd in that Country, took a Resolution to quit his Bishoprick; insomuch that in the Year 1114. *Conon*, the Pope's Legate, having call'd a Council at *Beauvais*, the People of *Amiens* demanded another Bishop, and *Godfrey's* Letter was read, in which he declar'd that he had renounc'd his Bishoprick. The Council, that nothing

might be done with precipitation, reserv'd that Affair to be determin'd, in the Council of *Soissons*. However they made a Constitution in which it was declar'd, That the Revenues, of which the Churches had a quiet Possession during a Year and a Day, should belong to them forever; provided that this Possession should take Place only against Lay-Men, and that a Possession of thirty Years shall be requisite to transfer a Right from one Church to another.

## The Council of Rheims held in the Year 1115.

**C**ONON, held a Council the next Year at *Rheims*, in which he excommunicated the Emperor *Henry*,

and oblig'd *Godfrey*, to return to *Amiens*.

## The Council of Toulouse held in the Year 1119.

**P**OPE *Calixtus* II. being arriv'd in *France*, held June 6. A. D. 1119. a Council at *Toulouse*, compos'd of certain Cardinals, and of the Archbishops and Bishops of *Aquitaine*, in which he publish'd ten Canons.

The first, is against those who buy or sell Spiritual Livings.

The second imports, that no Man shall be made a Provost, Arch-Priest, or Dean, who is not a Priest; nor an Archdeacon, who is not a Deacon.

The third ordains, that Hereticks, who contemn the Communion of the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*, the Baptism of Infants, Holy Orders, and Lawful Wedlock, shall be excommunicated, and that the same Punishment shall be inflicted on their Adherents.

The fourth, forbids Princes and Lay-men to possess

Tithes, Oblations, Monasteries, or other Revenues belonging to the Churches.

The fifth, prohibits to make Slaves of Free-men.

The sixth ordains, that Clergy-men shall not be oblig'd to perform any manner of Service to Laicks for Church-Revenues.

The seventh, that none shall seize on the fourth Part of the Offerings which belong to the Bishop.

The eighth, that neither Bishops, nor Priests, nor any other Ecclesiastical Persons, shall be permitted to leave their Benefices to their Heirs, as an Inheritance by Right of Succession.

The ninth, that nothing shall be exacted for the Consecrated Oyls, Holy Chrism, or the Burial of the Dead.

The tenth, that the Monks, Canons, or Clerks, who quit their Profession, shall be excommunicated.

## The Council of London held in the Year 1125.

**I**N the Year of our Lord 1125. *John de Crema*, Legate of the See of *Rome*, *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Turstin* Archbishop of *York*, twenty Bishops, and about forty Abbots, assembled at *London*, made seventeen Decrees, in which they prohibit Simony; to give or to receive any Thing for Ordinations; to receive a Spiritual Living from the Hands of Laicks; to chuse a Successor to such Livings; to confer them on Persons who are not in Orders; to deprive a Clergy-man of a Benefice without a Legal Sentence passed against him by

his Bishop; to ordain one who belongs to another's Diocese; to entertain one who has been excommunicated by his Bishop. Clerks are likewise forbidden to cohabit with strange Women, and to follow Usury; Witchcraft is condemn'd, and Marriages are prohibited between Relations to the seventh Degree; but it is declar'd, that Husbands who endeavour to get their Wives divorced, under pretence of Consanguinity, are not allow'd to make Proof of it by Witnesses.

## The Council of London in the Year 1127.

**W**ILLIAM Archbishop of *Canterbury*, held another Council at *London* two Years after the former; in which he renew'd the most part of those Constitutions, adding some others against

the Plurality of Benefices, also concerning the Restitution of Tithes, and the Plainness that ought to be observ'd by the Abbesses in their Habits and Attire.

## The Council of London held in the Year 1138.

**P**ART of the same Constitutions were reviv'd in the Council held at *London*, A. D. 1138. during the Vacancy of the See of *Canterbury*, by *Alberic* Cardinal Bishop of *Ostia*, the Pope's Legate in *England*. This Council was compos'd of eighteen Bishops, and about thirty Abbots, and in it were publish'd seventeen Canons; of which the following are not comprehended in the preceding Councils: viz. The second, which forbids the keeping of the consecrated Elements in the Eucharist, above eight Days, and ordains, that they shall be reverently carry'd to the Sick by the Priests or Deacons, and even by Lay-men, in case of Necessity: The fourth, which prohibits a Bishop, who is sent for by another Bishop to consecrate a Church, to exact any Thing besides his Right of Procuracion: The tenth, in which is refer'd

to the Pope the giving of Absolution to those who have misus'd Priests, or Persons consecrated to God: The twelfth, being a Prohibition to build a Chappel without a Licence from the Bishop: The thirteenth, in which Church-men are forbidden to engage in Warlike Affairs, and to bear Arms: The fourteenth, prohibiting Monks to quit their Profession: The fifteenth, which forbids Abbesses to be attir'd, and to have their Heads dressed after the manner of Secular Women: And the seventeenth, which imports, That School-Masters shall not be permitted to let out their Schools to others for Money. Lastly, *Theobald* Abbot of *Bec*, was chosen Archbishop of *Canterbury* in this Council, and divers means were treated of for the making Peace between the Kings of *England* and *France*.

## The Council of Rheims held in the Year 1131.

**P**OPE *Innocent* II. as it has already been declar'd, held a Council at *Rheims*, A. D. 1131. in which he crown'd *Lewis* surnam'd the Young, King of *France*, and publish'd seventeen Canons very advan-

tageous to the Church, but since they are recited in the second general Council of *Lateran*, it were needless to produce an Extract of them in this Place.



## The Council of Rheims held in the Year 1148.

*The Council of Rheims in 1148.*  
**T**His Council conven'd by Pope *Eugenius III.* March 22. A. D. 1148. publish'd eighteen Canons, which are all among those of the second general Council of *Lateran*. We have already given an Account

of the Transactions therein; relating to the Condemnation of *Gillebert de la Porrée*.

*The Council of Rheims in 1148.*

## The Council of Tours held in the Year 1163.

*The Council of Tours in 1163.*  
**T**His Council held at *Tours* by Pope *Alexander III.* on the 28. Day of *April*, was compos'd of seventeen Cardinals, 127 Bishops, and of a very great Number of Abbots, and other Ecclesiastical Persons. *Arnulphus*, Bishop of *Lisieux*, made an excellent Discourse before mention'd; *Alexander* renew'd his Bull, of Excommunication against *Ottavian*, and the ten following Canons were publickly set forth.

The first, forbids the dividing of Prebends, and the changing of Dignities.

The second, condemns Usury, more especially that by Vertue of which the Interest of Things left in pawn by poor People, amounts to a greater Sum than the Principal.

In the third, Clergy-men are forbidden to bestow Churches, Tithes, or Offerings on Laicks.

The fourth, is against the *Albigens*, which we have already recited in discoursing of those People.

The fifth, prohibits the letting out of Churches to Priests for an Annuity or yearly Rent.

The sixth, forbids the exacting of any Thing for admission into Orders; for Nominations to Benefices; for the Burial of the Dead; for the Holy Chrism; and for consecrated Oils.

The seventh, is a Prohibition to Bishops to grant Commissions to Deans, or to Arch-Priests, for the carrying on of Judiciary Proceedings in their room, or instead of Archdeacons.

By the eighth, Monks are forbidden to go out of their Cloisters in order to study, or to become Professors of the Civil Law, or to practise Physick.

The ninth, declares the Ordinations made by *Ottavian*, and by the other Scismaticks or Hereticks, to be void and of none effect.

The tenth, proposes new Methods for maintaining the Revenues and Liberty of the Churches, and ordains, That

whenever the Chaplains, who reside in the Castles, perceive any Injury to be done to the Church, they shall make an Address to the Lord of the Castle, to demand Restitution; and if he neglect to do it within the space of eight Days, the Celebration of the Divine Offices shall be suspended in the Castle; except that of Baptism, Confession, and the Communion, in case of Danger of Death: Only it is permitted to say Mass privately once a Week in a neighbouring Village, to consecrate the Host: It is added, That if the Inhabitants of the Castles continue in their Obstinacy forty Days, the Chaplains shall absolutely abandon the Place. They are also order'd to retire in three Months, if they be charged with any manner of Services, and enjoyn'd to get Information when the Booty is brought in; whether any of it belong to the Churches, or be claim'd by Clergy-men: All the Vicars and Chaplains are requir'd to take an Oath to observe these Injunctions.

By this Canon, the Inn-keepers and Inhabitants of Towns or Villages, are forbidden to entertain excommunicated Persons: Church-yards and Ecclesiastical Revenues are exempted from all manner of Rent-charges and Assessments: The Excommunication to be inflicted on those who misuse Clergy-men is reviv'd, with a Reservation of that Cause to the See of *Rome*. All manner of Converse or Correspondence is prohibited with Persons who lie under a Sentence of Excommunication: The Deans are enjoyn'd to take care that these Ordinances be duly put in execution, and to give notice to the Bishop or Archdean, of the Trespasses that shall be committed upon them. The Abbots, Monks, Priors, Abbesses and Prioreesses, are likewise freed from all manner of Rent-charges, and Impositions. Lastly, an *Anathema* is denounced against Clergy-men and Laicks, who shall presume to buy or to sell any Revenues or Possessions, which they know to belong to the Church.

*The Council of Tours in 1163.*

## The Council of Cassel in Ireland.

*The Council of Cassel in 1172.*  
**I**N the Year of our Lord 1172. *Henry II.* King of *England*, having made himself Master of *Ireland*, call'd a Council at *Cassel*, compos'd of the Prelates and other Clergy of *Ireland*, in which the following Canons were establish'd.

The first imports, that all the Faithful in *Ireland* shall be oblig'd not to inter-marry with their near Relations, but to contract lawful Marriages.

The second, that all the Children shall be made Catechumens at the Church-door, and shall be baptized in the Church.

The third, that all the Faithful shall pay to their respective Parish-Churches Tithes, as well of Cattel, and of the Fruits of the Earth, as of their other Revenues.

The fourth, that all the Church Revenues shall be exempted from all manner of Taxes and Impositions.

The fifth, that when a certain Sum is made up, that is to say, stipulated or agreed to be paid for the Murder

of a Person; the Clergy-men, who are the Heirs of the deceased Party, shall not be oblig'd to pay any Part of the Fine.

The sixth, that all the Faithful when slain Sick shall make their last Will and Testament in the presence of their Confessor; and that they, who have a Wife and Children, shall divide their moveable Goods into three Parts; One of which shall be allotted to the Wife, another to the Children, and the third for the funeral Expences: That if they have no Children, they shall leave one Moiety of their Goods to their Wives; and if they have no Wife, their Children shall have a Moiety.

The seventh, that a Mass and \* Vigils shall be said for those who die after having made Confession, and that the accustomed Duties shall be paid to them.

The eighth, that Divine Service shall be celebrated in all the Churches, according to the Rites and Customs of the Church of *England*.

*The Council of Cassel in 1172.*

## The Council of Avranches held in the Year 1172

*The Council of Avranches in 1172.*  
**T**hirteen Canons were published in the Council which was held at *Avranches* A. D. 1172. by the Cardinals *Theoduin* and *Albert*, for the giving of Absolution to *Henry II.* King of *England*.

The first, forbids the conferring of Benefices with the Cure of Souls on Children.

The second, is a Prohibition to bestow on the Sons of Priests, the Churches that were possessed by their Fathers.

The third, is likewise a Prohibition to give part of the Offerings to Laicks.

The fourth, prohibits the appointing of Churches to be serv'd by annual Vicars.

The fifth, obliges the Curates of large Parishes to provide a Vicar, when they have means to do it.

By the sixth, the Ordination of Priests without a Title is prohibited.

The seventh, forbids the letting out of Churches to farm for a Year.

The eighth, prohibits the depriving the Priests, who perform their Functions therein, of a third Part of the Tithes belonging to them.

The ninth, grants a Licence to those Persons, who are in possession of Tithes, to bestow them on such Clerks as they shall think fit, on condition that they shall After-Avranches wards return to the Church to which they belong of very good Right.

The tenth, forbids a Husband to turn Monk, whilst his Wife remains in the Secular State; unless they be both too old to get any Children: The same Thing is forbidden with respect to the Wife.

The eleventh, advises Fasting and Abstinence during the time of Advent.

The twelfth, prohibits the placing of Clergy-men as Judges in the Civil Courts of Judicature.

The thirteenth, determines nothing as to the Estates of excommunicated Persons; the Perquisites claim'd for the Benedictions of Marriages and Baptism; and for the giving of Absolution to those who lye under a Sentence of Excommunication; by reason that the Bishops of *Normandy* refus'd to admit that Decree.

*The Council of Avranches in 1172.*



## The Council of London, held in the Year 1175.

The  
Council of  
London in  
1175.

**T**HE two *Henries*, Kings of *England*, being arriv'd at *London*, met with *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the rest of the Prelates of the Realm, who held a Council on the *Sunday* preceding the Festival of the *Ascension*, in which the Archbishop *Richard* published the following nineteen Canons.

The first ordains, that they who have enter'd into holy Orders, and keep a Concubine, whom they refuse to expel, shall be depriv'd of all Manner of Ecclesiastical Office and Benefice: That the Clerks who are in Orders, below the Degree of a Subdeacon, and are married, shall not be divorced from their Wives; but shall no longer enjoy their Spiritual Livings: That they who are Subdeacons, or in superior Orders, and contract Marriage, shall be compell'd to part with their Wives: And lastly, That the Sons of Priests shall be incapable to succeed their Fathers in the Churches possessed by them.

The second, forbids Clergymen to enter Victualling Houses, to eat or to drink there, except when they are travelling on the Road.

By the third, Clerks, who are in Orders, are forbidden to assist at Trials in capital Cases.

The fourth ordains, that the Archdeacon shall oblige those Clergymen who wear long Locks of Hair to cut them off, and that they shall be cloath'd modestly.

By the fifth, Bishops are prohibited to ordain the Clergy of another Diocess, by reason of the Inconveniences that may arise from that Practice.

The sixth, forbids the Trial of Criminals to be manag'd in Churches, or in Church-yards.

The seventh and eighth, renew the Prohibitions to exact any Thing for the Administration of the Sacraments; for

the burying of the Dead; or for admittance into Orders, or the Monastick State.

The ninth, in like manner, forbids the making over of Churches to any Person under Pretence of endowing them; as also the exacting of any thing for the Presentation to a Benefice.

The tenth, prohibits religious Persons to follow the Trade of Merchandizing, or to be Farmers, and likewise Laymen to take Spiritual Livings to farm.

By the eleventh, Clergymen are prohibited to bear Arms.

The twelfth imports, that the Vicars who endeavour to retain the Benefices of those who have the Title, contrary to their Promise or Engagement, shall be no longer suffer'd to exercise their Functions in the same Diocess.

The thirteenth ordains, that Tithes shall be paid of all Things.

The Tenor of the fourteenth is, that a Clergyman, who is cast in his Trial, ought to be condemn'd to defray the Charges of it; and that if he has not wherewithall to pay, he shall be punish'd according to the Bishop's Discretion.

The fifteenth ordains, that there shall be only ten particular Prefaces, for the Festivals which are specified in that Canon.

The sixteenth, prohibits the administering of the consecrated Bread in the Communion steeped in Wine.

The seventeenth, forbids the Consecration of the Eucharist any otherwise than in a Gold or Silver Chalice, and abolishes the Use of Tin Chalices.

By Virtue of the eighteenth, clandestine Marriages are forbidden.

The nineteenth, is a Prohibition to marry Children, who have not attain'd to a competent Age of maturity, unless it be in case of Necessity, or for the promoting of Peace.

## The Synod of York, held in the Year 1195.

The Synod  
of York in  
1195.

**H**UBERT Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Pope's Legate in *England*, held at *York* a Synod of the Clergy of that Church in the Month of *June*, *A. D.* 1195. in which, after having depos'd

*Robert* Abbot of *St. Mary*, by reason of his Weakness and continual Distempers, he published certain Ordinances relating to Church-Discipline, more especially about the Celebration of the Eucharist.

The first imports, that the salutary Host, being the most excellent of the Sacraments, the Priest ought to use all possible Diligence and Application, to the end that it may be consecrated with Humility, received with Fear, and distributed with Reverence: That it is requisite that the Minister of the Altar be sure that he offer Bread and Wine with the Water in the Sacrifice; and that he cannot celebrate the Mass, unless he have a Minister who is endu'd with some measure of Knowledge: That care ought to be taken to keep the Host in a neat Box, to renew it every *Sunday*, and to carry it to the Sick in a Clerical Habit, and with Discretion.

The second, enjoyns the Archdeacons to take care that the Canon of the Mass, which he calls *Secretum Missæ*, be very correct.

The third, forbids Priests to oblige Laicks to cause a certain Number of Masses to be said instead of Penance, or to make Bargains for the Price of Masses.

The fourth, contains a Prohibition to require more than three Persons to stand as Sureties for a Child at the Baptismal Font; that is to say, two God-fathers and one God-mother, when it is a Boy; or two God-mothers and one God-father, if it be a Girl: Deacons are likewise forbidden to baptize, except in a Case of very great Extremity, or to administer the Eucharist, or Penance; but Priests are enjoyn'd to go readily whenever they are sent for to baptize Children, or to give the holy Communion to sick Persons.

The fifth, provides for the keeping of Churches, and their Ornaments, in good Repair; and ordains, That the Eucharist shall be consecrated in a Silver Chalice, in those Churches that have Means to procure one.

The sixth imports, that the Clergymen, who have receiv'd the Crown from the Hands of the Bishop, shall have Tonsure with it; but if they neglect to observe this Ordinance, they shall be compell'd to do it by the Forfeiture of their Benefices; and they who have receiv'd neither, by the Order of the Archdeacon or Deans. He recommends to Priests the wearing of Habits suitable to their Profession.

By the seventh it is enjoyn'd, That Ecclesiastical Justice shall be administer'd *Gratis*.

The eighth, ordains the Payment of Tithes without any Diminution.

The ninth, prohibits Monks to take Offices or Licences from their Superiors to farm, and to travel or to go out of their Monastery without a just Cause, and without a Companion: As for the Nuns, they are likewise forbidden to go out of their Convents, unless accompanied with their Abbesses or Prioresses.

The tenth, forbids the letting out of Tithes to farm to Laicks, although they were associated with a Clergyman.

The eleventh ordains, that the Curates shall publish thrice a Year the Excommunication against perjur'd Persons with extinguished Candles, and shall denounce them excommunicated every *Sunday*. This Case is reserv'd to the Archbishop, to the Bishop, or to the Grand Penitentiary.

The twelfth, renews the Prohibitions so often made, That Clergymen should keep unchast Correspondence with Women, and regulates the Manner of trying those who are accus'd of that Crime.



## The Council of Montpellier, held in the Year 1195.

The Council of Montpellier in 1195.

**M**R. Michael, Legate of the Sec of Rome, passing over to Spain A. D. 1195. upon occasion of an invader which the Saracens had made against the Christians in the Territories of his most Catholic Majesty, who was oblig'd to retire to those of the King of France; held a Council of the Bishops of the Province of Narbonne at Montpellier, in which he reviv'd and published many Decrees of the latter Councils and Popes; amongst others, some about Peace and Truce; against Robbers and Pyrates; concerning Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and the Prohibition to

lay Taxes on Churches; against Usurers; about the Habits and Manners of the Clergy; the Frugality to be observ'd by Bishops in keeping their Tables, &c. He leaves the Archbishop of Narbonne, and his Suffragan Bishops, at liberty to denounce Ecclesiastical Censures against the Infringers of these Ordinances, or to supersede them, accordingly as they shall judge most expedient, lest the Hereticks should take an occasion from a general Suspension of long continuance, to pervert the Faithful, and to corrupt their Principles.

The Council of Montpellier in 1195.

## C H A P. XX.

## Observations on the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Twelfth Century.

Observations on Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Of the Authority of the Pope.

**T**HE Illustrations that we have inserted in the Body of this Work, as to the most important Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Twelfth Century, may serve to supersede any farther Pains that might be expected here, in making several Remarks on the Doctrine and Discipline of that Age. For, as to the Original and Progress of Scholastic Divinity, recourse may be had to what we have said in the XV Chapter. As to the Manner of explaining the Holy Scriptures, it would be requisite to consult the Observations made in Chap. XVI. And as to the Reception of *Gratian's* Decretal, only to peruse what has been related in Chap. XVII. Neither is it necessary to enlarge on the Heresies and Errors which appear'd in the Church in those Times, or on the Doctrines that were established against them, since we have already treated of them in particular Chapters. Indeed the Affair of the Investitures might supply us with some Reflections, if we had not discours'd at large on that Subject in the second Chapter; so that nothing more remains to be said, concerning the Schisms of the Popes, and the Contests they had with the Emperors and Kings, which rent the Church, and occasion'd innumerable Calamities. I shall only observe here, That these Diffusions were so far from diminishing the Power of the Popes, that they serv'd even to corroborate and augment it: For it was in this Century, that they established their Sovereignty in Rome, and their Independency of the Emperor, and even assum'd to themselves a Right of conferring the Imperial Crown: They extended their Jurisdiction and Authority over the Churches farther than they had hitherto done, and met with much less Opposition in their Attempts than in former Times. The most part of the Councils were call'd either by them, or by their Legates, and they were the Authors of the Constitutions that were made therein, and to which the Bishops scarce did any Thing else but give their Consent. Appeals to the Pope in all sorts of Causes, and in favour of all sorts of Persons, were become so frequent, that no Affair was transacted, the Determination of which was not immediately refer'd to the Court of Rome; which oblig'd those Persons, who had any Zeal for the maintaining of Church-Discipline, and among others St. Bernard, publicly to complain of the Abuse. And indeed, they were constrain'd to find out some means to prevent it, in the third General Council of *Lateran*, by forbidding Appeals that were enter'd before the Sentence was pronounced, and by ordaining that the Appellants should be oblig'd to prosecute them within a limited Time.

The Discipline of the Church was likewise weaken'd by the frequent use of Dispensations, which were granted at Rome, with so much facility, that that Abuse is esteem'd by St. Bernard as one of the most notorious Disorders that ever happen'd in the Church. The Popes had a very great share in the Collating of Bishopricks: For although the Bishops were then chosen by the Clergy, and ordain'd by the Metropolitan; nevertheless the Decision of the Differences that arose about the Validity of the Election, being of necessity refer'd to the Consistory of Rome, the Popes had an absolute Power to favour whom they should think fit; and if the Metropolitan refus'd to ordain him, whose Election was approv'd by them, they were in a Capacity to ordain him themselves. Sometimes they sent a Legate to assist on their behalf in the Election, where certain Persons were recommended to the Electors, or to the Patrons of the Benefices, and it would be difficult to have no Regard to such Recommendations. The Elections of the Popes were reserv'd solely and wholly to the Cardinals, whose Dignity was advanced to such a degree of Height, that they were not only reputed to be superior to Bishops, but also to Patriarchs and Princes. These Cardinals were then chosen indifferently out of all Nations, and France produced above Fifty in that Age.

The Manners of the Clergy were more regular in this Century than in the two preceding; inasmuch that Simonical Practices, and other Enormities were not committed by Ecclesiastical Persons, neither so frequently, nor so publicly: It was forbidden to exact any Thing for the Administration of the

Sacraments, for Ordination, or for the Collation of Benefices; yet this was practis'd at Rome, and elsewhere, under divers Pretences. Hitherto it was strictly prohibited, that they who were in Orders should marry; nevertheless when they did so, they were not divorced from their Wives; but only were degraded, turn'd out of the Clergy, or put to Penance: 'Twas only in this Century, that these Marriages were declar'd null, and that those Persons who had contracted them were constrain'd to be divorced; at least the first Ordinance which imports such an Injunction, is that of the first General Council of *Lateran*. The Constitution which excluded the illegitimate Sons of the Priests from the Clergy, was generally receiv'd, and many were enacted to prevent the Continuance of Spiritual Livings in Families, as it were a peculiar Inheritance. The Clergy-men us'd their utmost Efforts to exempt their Persons and Estates from the Jurisdiction of the Secular Powers, and the Bishops, who as yet were wont to administer Ecclesiastical Justice personally, began to have Officials, whose Name and Functions were unknown till that Time: They likewise communicated their Episcopal Authority to Deans and Curates; which Custom was forbidden by the third General Council of *Lateran*: They excommunicated or suspended the Laicks, who usurp'd or retain'd the Revenues belonging to the Church, or who meddled with the Disposal of Spiritual Livings: However they themselves sometimes bestow'd Altars, that is to say, Benefices on Lay-men, to enjoy the Revenues of them for a Time; and these sorts of Benefices were call'd *Personats*: This Custom prevail'd in like manner amongst the Eastern Churches, where the Emperors and Patriarchs granted the Revenues of certain Monasteries to Laicks. The Visitations of the Ordinaries became so very chargeable to the Curates, that there was a Necessity of regulating their Retinue. Lastly, all the Bishops were oblig'd to have in their Cathedrals a Person capable of teaching the Arts and Sciences, and Universities began to be form'd in the great Cities; amongst which those of *Paris* and *Bologna* were the most Famous; the former for the Study of Divinity, and the other for that of the Civil Law.

The Doctrine of the Sacraments was reduced in form of a methodical System in this Age, and divers Questions were discuss'd on that Subject, which never were started before. We shall not at present insist on them, but only observe certain particular Points of Discipline: The Administration of Baptism, even that of Infants, was reserv'd for solemn Days; but Parents were not allow'd to assist at that of their Children, and the triple Immersion was still in use. The Custom of publick Penance for publick Offences was not entirely abolished; but it was very seldom put in practice, by reason that Remission of Sins must be obtain'd by other Means, more especially by Crusades and Pilgrimages. The granting of Absolution for certain Crimes began to be reserv'd to the Pope, and the Bishops: At first, the Species of a Sin in general was not reserv'd, but a particular Action which appear'd to be enormous; and afterwards the Offence of those Persons, who abus'd Clergy-men, was generally refer'd to the Pope's Cognizance. Publick Confessions at the Point of Death were likewise in use; but the Benefit of Absolution, and of the Communion, was deny'd, at least in France, to Malefactors condemn'd to Death: Persons who were in Distress, out of a Principle of Devotion, often caus'd themselves to be laid on Aches, having their Bodies cover'd with a Hair-cloth, or clothed in the Habit of a Monk: Voluntary Mortifications, such as the Penitential Shirt, the Hair-cloth, and the Scourging Discipline which Penitents gave themselves, or caus'd to be given by others, were very much us'd in those Times: They were wont to eat only once a Day, on the Days of Abstinence; but they began to break their Fast at the Hour of *None* in Lent, and at Noon at another Time: *Fridays* Fast was observ'd more regularly than that on *Saturdays*. The Participation of the Eucharist under both Kinds was customary during the whole Century; although in the beginning of it

Observations on Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Observations on the Discipline of the Sacraments.

\* One of the Canonical Hours.



*Observations on Ecclesiastical Affairs* some took the two Species both together, by steeping that of the Bread in that of the Wine, and in the end of the same Century, some took only one. The Term of *Transubstantiation* was then us'd by certain Writers, to express the Change of the Elements of Bread and Wine, into the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*. Then also the Priests receiv'd Alms for their Masses, but it was forbidden to demand any; and although they offer'd the Sacrifice for certain Persons in particular, yet it was not doubted but that it was offer'd by them at the same Time for all the Faithful; to which purpose see a remarkable Passage of *Arnulphus of Lisieux*, which we have related in the Account of the Works of that Prelate. Constitutions were published about the Time, during which the Hosts might be kept; but the Ordinations, and even the Consecrations made by Schismatics, or by Hereticks were reputed to be void, and of none effect.

*Remarks on the Monastick Life.*

To say somewhat in like manner concerning the Monastick State, we shall observe that the *Benediction* of Monks, which was first introduced in the Eastern, and afterwards in the Western Churches, became as it were necessary, and that an express Profession was enjoy'd, which till then was never requir'd. This Benediction was usually given by a Bishop, or by an Abbot; nevertheless, a simple Monk might also perform the Ceremony, and it was not forbidden to be reiterated: When a Monk was made Abbot, he receiv'd the Benediction from his Diocesan; yet such Benediction was not judg'd absolutely necessary. It appears that it was customary in those Times, both in the *Levant*, and in the Western Countries, that the Monastery should receive Money or Goods of those Persons, who were to be admitted into them; but that it was prohibited to exact any Thing on that Account. The *Cistercian* Order, which was small and poor in the beginning, soon became so numerous and rich, that it gave some Cause of Jealousy to that of *Cluny*, and to all the other Black Friars. There arose several Contests betwixt them, as well by reason of the Difference of their Customs, as upon Account of temporal Interests, and more especially, because the *Cistercian* Monks receiv'd those of the Order of *Cluny*, who were desirous to pass over to them: It likewise fell out sometimes, that the *Cistercians* retir'd to *Cluny*, and were there entertain'd; but they procur'd a Dispensation from the Pope for that purpose, and it does not appear, that those of *Cluny*, who went to *Cisteaux*, observ'd the same Formality. This Custom of passing thus from an Order of a moderate, to another of a more austere Discipline, began to be introduc'd in the twelfth Century. The greatest part of the Monasteries obtain'd Exemptions of the Popes to withdraw themselves from the Bishop's Jurisdiction; an Abuse that was condemn'd by St. *Bernard*, and which the Prelates were afterwards oblig'd to restrain in the third General Council of *Lateran*. Some considerable Abbots were permitted by the Pope to wear the Episcopal Ornaments; viz. the Mitre, the Dalmatick, the Gloves, the Sandals, and even the Crosier: Although those who were of a more moderate

*Observations on Ecclesiastical Affairs* Temper disliked this Custom; nevertheless it became so frequent, that many Abbots usurped that Right, without any Licence from the Pope; and it was necessary that the third General Council of *Lateran* should forbid it them, as well as the simple Monks, who were not in Orders, the wearing of Maniples. Monks were likewise prohibited, in the first General Council of *Lateran*, to administer the Sacraments, and to exercise any of the Functions of Curates; but this Prohibition did not hinder, but that many were taken out of Monasteries to be made Bishops and Cardinals. It was also very customary for Bishops to retire in the end of their Life into Monasteries, and having spent the Remainder of their Days in pious Exercises, to die in those Places of retreat. The Order of *Grandmont* was founded in the beginning of the Century, by *Stephen Muret*; this Society being compos'd of Hermits dwelling in little Cells, which were separated and shut up within the same Inclosure: The Rule which he enjoy'd them to follow, was very judiciously compos'd, and approv'd of by the Popes, *Urban III.* and *Clement III.* It is also affirm'd, That the Order of the *Carmelites* began to be established in the Year 1121, by certain Hermits of Mount *Carmel*, whom the Patriarch of *Antioch* got together to form a religious Society: They were Lay-men, who were wont to say the Office of the Virgin *Mary*, and were oblig'd to no other Vow but that of Obedience.

The Regular Canons were employ'd in administering the Sacraments, and in exercising the Functions of Curates, when they were authoriz'd to that purpose, by their Bishops: But some Prelates made a Scruple to admit them to such Employments, and the Regular Canons themselves were not very willing to be taken off from their solitary Life. At that Time there arose a kind of Contest between them and the Monks, about the Preeminence and Dignity of their Stations: The Order of Regular Canons was augmented by a new Congregation, of which St. *Norbert* was the Founder, A. D. 1120. They were call'd *Canonici Tunicati*, by reason of their Habit, whereas those who bore the Name of St. *Augustin* were stiled *Super pelliceati*.

*Regular Canons.*

With these Regular Canons may be joyn'd the Military Orders, which became very numerous in that Century, and were under the same Conduct and Rule: The most Ancient were those of St. *John of Jerusalem*, or the *Knights Hospitallers*, instituted in the beginning of the Century, to entertain the Pilgrims who were travelling to that City. The second, are the *Knights Templars*, who had their Institution in the Year 1118, and whose Office it was to provide for the Safety of the Pilgrims, by encountering those who had disturb'd them in their Journey. The Knights of the Teutonic Order, who profess'd to perform both these Employments, were established some Time after. Lastly, in Imitation of these Orders, those of St. *James*, and of *Calatrava*, were instituted in *Spain*, for the Pilgrimages of St. *James* in *Galicia*, and some others, in other Countries.

*Military Orders.*

## CHAP. I.

### The History of the different Revolutions in the Empire and Italy, during the Thirteenth Century.

*The Revolutions in the Empire and Italy, during the thirteenth Century.* THE Affairs of the Church in this Century are so interwoven with those of the Empire, that before we can enter upon Ecclesiastical Matters, we must lay down a Scheme of the State of *Germany* and *Italy*, of the principal Revolutions that have happen'd in them, and of the Scuffles that the Popes had with the Emperors, and the thirteenth Princes of *Italy*. This is what I design to do in this Chapter. The Emperor *Henry VI.* dying at *Messina* about the end of the Year 1197. or, as others will have it, at *Palermos*, at the beginning of 1198. left behind him a Son nam'd *Frederick*, of about seven Years of Age. Him by his last Will he made Heir and Successor to all his Estates, as well as the Empire, to which he himself had been chosen some Time before by the Princes of *Germany*. He desired the Pope to settle him in the Possession of them; and to engage him, order'd that he should receive from *Frederick*, for the Benefit of the Holy See, all those Estates that had belonged to the Princess *Matilda*, and some other Towns. In the mean while he constituted his Brother *Philip*, the Duke of *Suabia*, Regent of the Empire. *Constance* the Mother of *Frederick*, demanded of the Pope to have him crown'd King of *Sicily*, which was accordingly done; but as for the Empire, *Frederick* was not put into Possession of it: That being disputed by *Philip* Duke of *Suabia*, who was chosen by the major Part of the Electors, and crown'd at *Mentz* by the Bishop of *Tarentaise*; and also *Otho* Son of *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, was elected by the Archbishop of *Cologne*, and some other German Princes; to whom the Country of *Cologne*, the *Palatinate*, *Thuringen*, and *Livonia* submitted;

*The Revolutions in the Empire and Italy, during the thirteenth Century.* while all the rest of *Germany* were for *Philip*. The King of *France* stood for *Philip*, and *England* for *Otho*. Pope *Innocent III.* declared for *Otho*, confirm'd his Election, and rejected that of *Philip*, who nevertheless had the better of it in *Germany*, and by the Force of his Arms had brought many of those that had acknowledged *Otho* to submission. Upon this, in the Year 1201. the Pope sent his Legate Cardinal *Guy* Bishop of *Palestrina* into *Germany*, to countenance *Otho's* Party; who straight declared *Philip* no better than a Rebel, and commanded all the *Germans*, under pain of Excommunication, to acknowledge *Otho* for their Emperor. Still this did not put a stop to the Progress of *Philip's* Arms; who having drawn over *Adolphus* Archbishop of *Cologne* to his Side, got himself crown'd a second Time by the Hands of this Archbishop, in the Year 1204, at *Aix la Chappelle*, maugre all the Opposition of the Pope's Legate; and, understanding that *Conrade* Archbishop of *Mentz* was dead, he got the Vacancy supply'd by the Election of *Diepold*, or *Lupold* Bishop of *Worms*: But he was no sooner gone from thence, but that the greater Part of the Canons protested against the Freedom of the Election; and thereupon having put in an Appeal to the Holy See, they re-assembled themselves at *Bingen*, and elected *Sifroy* to the Archbishoprick of *Mentz*, whose Election was confirmed by the Pope, who likewise excommunicated *Lupold*, and the next Year by his Legate deposed *Adolphus* Archbishop of *Cologne*, and chose *Bruno* into his Place. In the Year 1206. *Otho* was besieged in *Cologne* by *Philip*, and not thinking himself in a Condition to sustain the Siege, retired with some Troops, accom-



accompanied by the new Archbishop *Bruno*; but being set upon by *Philip*, he was defeated, *Bruno* taken Prisoner, and *Cologne* forced to receive *Philip* for its Master. *Otho* secur'd himself in *Saxony*, and from thence pass'd into *England*. The Princes of *Germany*, being at length desirous to settle an entire Peace in the Empire, dispatch'd their Envoys in the Year 1027. to Pope *Innocent*, desiring him to acknowledge *Philip*, and apply himself to the reconciling of the two Pretenders to the Empire. The Pope agreed to the Proposition, but upon this Condition, that *Philip's* Daughter should be given in Marriage to *Richard* his Nephew. In Hopes to make this Design succeed, he sends three Legates into *Germany*, who were present at an Assembly held at *Northuse* upon the *Christmass-Holy-days*, where the two Kings concluded a Peace; *Otho* giving up the Empire to *Philip*, on Condition of marrying his Daughter, and being his Heir. *Adolphus* was in this Assembly absolved by the Legates, and *Bruno* set at Liberty by the Emperor. *Philip* did not enjoy the Peace long, for he was the next Year kill'd at *Bamberg*, by *Otho* Count Palatine of *Wizispach*, who was incens'd against him for engaging himself to give that Daughter to another, which he had before promised him in Marriage. *Philip* being dead, without any Consideration of the Right that *Frederick* King of *Sicily* had to the Imperial Crown, *Otho* was, by universal Consent of the Princes of *Germany*, chosen Emperor.

No sooner was *Otho* rais'd to this Dignity, but his old Adherents got the upper hand again, and routed those that had been for *Philip*. *Bruno* re-enter'd upon his Archbishoprick of *Cologne*, and *Adolphus* was depos'd; *Sifroy* took Possession of the Archbishoprick of *Mentz*, and drove out *Lupold*: Only *Conrade* Bishop of *Spire*, who had been *Philip's* Chancellor, retiring into a very strong Castle, would not make his Peace with *Otho*, nor pay him Allegiance, but upon Condition of continuing in his former Charge; which *Otho* was forced to allow him.

Pope *Innocent* having Notice of *Otho's* Election, sent his Legates into *Germany*, to invite him to *Rome*, there to receive the Imperial Crown from his Hands. His Legates were received in an Assembly held at *Wiresburg* in 1209. where they gave their Approbation of the Marriage that had been agreed upon between *Otho*, and the Daughter of *Philip*. The same Year, *Otho* took a Journey into *Italy*, and came to *Rome*, where he was received by Pope *Innocent* III. and crowned in *St. Peters*, the 4<sup>th</sup> of *October*. The Pope obliged him to take an Oath to defend the Patrimony of *St. Peter*; and the *Romans* demanding of him what was customary for Emperors to give in this Ceremony, there arose a Disturbance, in which the *Romans* coming to Blows with the *Germans*, there were many kill'd on both Sides; which made *Otho* remove instantly from *Rome*, and ravage all the Church-Lands, as well to revenge the Affront, as to mortify the Pope whom he began now to be jealous of. Upon this the Anger and Hatred of the Pope broke out against *Otho* to that Degree, that he threatened to excommunicate and depose him, if he did not cease those Hostilities: But *Otho* was so far from regarding it, that he took a Resolution to seize upon *Romagna*, and make himself Master of *Sicily* and *Apuleia*, which belong'd to *Frederick*, and whereof the Pope had had the Government ever since the Death of *Constantia* the Mother of that Prince. The Pope willing to put a Stop to such Designs as these, excommunicated the Emperor, and afterwards call'd a Council at *Rome*, wherein he declared the Empire void, and all the Subjects of it free from their Oath of Fidelity to *Otho*, forbidding them any more to acknowledge him for Emperor. He made this Sentence be published in *Germany* in the Year 1211. by *Sifroy* Archbishop of *Mentz*, who quickly repented of having done it; for the Count Palatine, the Duke of *Brabant*, and some other Princes of the Empire entered the Territories of his Archbishoprick with an Army, where they laid all waste, forcing him to retire for Safety into *Thuringen*. The Disturbances that the Publication of this Sentence had made in *Germany*, hastned *Otho's* Return Home. He call'd an Assembly at *Nuremberg*, about *Whitsuntide* the same Year; wherein he declared War against *Herman* Count of *Thuringen*, for protecting *Sifroy* Archbishop of *Mentz*, and for refusing any longer to acknowledge him Emperor. Straight he gathered his Troops, entered *Thuringen*, took two of the strongest Towns, and put all the Country to Fire and Sword. Being returned to *Northuse*, he celebrated his Marriage with the Daughter of *Philip*, who died within few Days after the Ceremony.

In the mean while, *Sifroy* Archbishop of *Mentz*, the King of *Hungary*, the Archbishop of *Treves*, and the Count of *Thuringen*, with some other Princes of the Empire, resolve to revive the old Election of *Frederick*, and to make him Emperor in the Stead of *Otho*. They brought their Resolution into Practice, and having made a solemn Election of him anew, they sent two Deputies to carry him the Decree of his Election, and to invite him to come and take Possession of the Empire. *Frederick* made no Scruples but what he thought necessary to satisfy himself of their Fidelity, and being assur'd of that, he parted for *Germany*. He took *Rome* in his Way, and there desired Pope *Innocent* to crown him, but was put off by him with an Excuse, that he would send a Cardinal into *Germany*

with him in the Quality of a Legate, to order the Princes of the Empire to relinquish *Otho*, and acknowledge him. *Frederick* went on his Journey, till he arrived at *Constance*; where a Number of the *German* Princes, especially those of *Suabia*, came to meet him with their Troops. *Otho* would fain have come and set upon him with his Army, but his Troops by little and little dropping away from him, he was forced to shift for himself. *Frederick*, on the contrary, was kindly received every where, and in a little Time made himself Master of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Aix la Chapelle*, where he was crown'd Emperor in the Year 1214. Afterward he enter'd into an Alliance with *Philip Augustus* King of *France*. *Otho* who on his Part was in League with *John* King of *England*, *Renaud* Earl of *Bologna*, and *Ferdinand* Earl of *Flanders*, having rais'd a numerous Army against the King of *France*, join'd Battle with him at *Pont de Bouvines* in *Flanders*, the 15<sup>th</sup> of *July*, in the Year 1214. King *Philip's* Person was there in great Danger, but the confederate Army was entirely routed; and *Otho*, after having lost his whole Army, forc'd to fly. He, with much ado, got into *Saxony*, where he died, some say in the Year 1216: others in 1218: never caring to meddle in State Affairs after this Defeat.

*Otho*, by his Death, left *Frederick* in peaceable Possession of the Empire. This Prince made himself be crown'd a second Time, by the Hands of *Sifroy* Archbishop of *Mentz*; and again a third Time by the Pope's Legate. At this last Coronation, he made a Vow to go to the Assistance of the Holy Land, and gave to the Holy See the Earldom of *Fondi*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. Upon this Pope *Innocent* wrote to the Princes of *Germany* in his Behalf, and engaged *Theodorick* Archbishop of *Treves*, to get that City to acknowledge him: So that in 1215. *Frederick* saw himself in a peaceable Possession of the whole Empire.

In the Year 1220. he was crown'd Emperor by *Honorius* Frederick III. the Successor of *Innocent*; and for an Acknowledgment, he gave to the Holy See some Lands in *Italy*, and engaged himself anew to go the Holy Voyage: But within a while after, he and the Pope fell out about two Earls of *Tuscany*, whom he had rob'd of their Lands, and who were fled to *Rome* for Relief: The City of *Bologna*, and some other Places in *Italy*, rising against him, he came to *Rome*, and broke entirely with the Pope, by attempting to turn those Bishops out of the Churches which the Pope had put in, and to put in some of his own; pretending it to be a Right of the Kings of *Sicily*, which Pope *Innocent* III. had encroach'd upon during his Minority. The Pope rebuk'd him soundly for his Boldness, and threatened him with Excommunication, if he did not let Things continue as they were. *Frederick* not minding to hearken to him, *Honorius* the Third darted the Thunderbolt of Excommunication upon him, declar'd him to have forfeited all his Kingdoms, and freed all his Subjects from the Oath and Allegiance they had sworn to him: Which was afterwards the Occasion of a Multitude of Misfortunes to the Church and Empire. This Sentence nevertheless did then little or no Execution, not any one thereupon revolting from *Frederick*: But, on the other Side, in an Assembly of the Princes of *Germany*, held at *Wiresburg* in the Year 1222. *Frederick* got his Son *Henry*, then but twelve Years old, chosen King of *Germany*, and crown'd at *Aix la Chapelle*. by *Engelbert* Archbishop of *Cologne*.

*Honorius* the Third died before he could push the Sentence *Frederick's* Home against *Frederick*; *Gregory* the IX. who in the Month of *April*, in the Year 1227. succeeded him, contented himself to warn *Frederick* of his Journey to the Holy Land, as he fear'd an Anathema. *Henry* King of *Germany* call'd a General Assembly of all the Princes of the Empire at *Aix la Chapelle*, at the Beginning of the Year 1227. where the Expedition for the Holy Land was resolv'd upon. Upon this, all that belong'd to the *Croisade*, repair'd to *Brines* ready to embark, where *Frederick*, who had engag'd himself to command them, made them wait a pretty while, pretending himself very ill. At last he makes Shift to come to them by *August*, and embarks to go into *Asia*, but he was no sooner there, but he was back again. The Pope having Notice of his Return, rubs up the old Sentence that his Predecessor had set out against him; yet with a Promise of Absolution, if he would undertake the Voyage to the Holy Land. *Frederick* hereupon published four Manifestos against the Popes and Cardinals: The first he address'd to all Kings; the second to the Cardinals; and the third to the People of *Rome*; in all which he complains of the Excommunication which the Pope had thrown at him: and a fourth is presented to all Princes, giving them Advice against Churchmen. For all this, not long after *Frederick* took a Resolution of going into *Syria*, and put it in Execution in *August* 1228. When he went, he sent Ambassadors to the Pope to demand the Absolution. But the Pope absolutely refus'd him, gave Order to the Knights *Templars*, and *Hospitalers*, to cross him in all his Designs, as a profest Enemy of the Church; and forbid all that were upon the same Expedition in *Lombardy* and *Apuleia* to join him. In the mean while, *Renaud* Son of the Duke of *Spoletto*, whom *Frederick* had left Regent of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, during his Absence, had entered into the Marquisate of *Ancona*, and the Valley of *Spoletto*; against whom the Pope rais'd his Troops on the other Side, and sent them

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them into *Apuleia*, under the Command of *John de Briennes* King of *Jerusalem*, who made himself Master of many Towns. The Revolutions in *Frederick* receiving this News in *Syria*, where he had succeeded the Empire fully taken some Towns from the Saracens, was obliged to and Italy, clap up a Treaty with the Sultan; the Conditions of which were advantageous enough to the Christians, viz. That the Sultan should deliver into their Hands the City and all the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, except the Temple and some Castles; and that there should be a Truce of ten Years between the Christians and Saracens. In pursuance of this Treaty, *Frederick* took Possession of *Jerusalem*, and made himself be crown'd King thereof in the Lent of the Year 1229. He gave Notice to the Pope, that he had made such a League with the Sultan: At which the Pope shewed no small Dissatisfaction, and accused *Frederick* of having treated with an Infidel, still stirring up his Subjects what he could against him. *Frederick* hearing of this, made a quick Return into *Apuleia*, where bringing in an Army from *Germany*, he recover'd all the Towns that were taken or had revolted from him, and made a Reprisal upon the Church, by taking the Duchy of *Spoletto*, the Marquisate of *Ancona*, and the City of *Benevento*. This Success did not make him so high, but that he was willing to sue for the Pope's Friendship: To gain which he dispatched the General of his Army, with the Archbishop of *Messina*, to the Pope, to desire his Absolution; which the Pope still refused to agree to, but upon Condition that he should pay Twenty six thousand Ounces of Gold to the Church of *Rome*, for the Damage he had done it; and should restore all the Lands that belonged to it. *Frederick's* Deputies being returned, he himself went to meet the Pope at *Anagni*, where he received his Absolution, was re-established in his Empire, and declared King of the two *Sicilies*, and of *Jerusalem*. The Pope and the Emperor seem'd to be very well reconcil'd upon the Occasion, they eat together, and one would have hoped here had been a firm Peace establish'd between them: yet 'twas not long before they broke again; for the *Romans* rebelling against the Pope, and *Frederick* coming to assist him with his Troops, there happen'd a Misunderstanding between them: The Pope accusing *Frederick* for underhand Dealing with his Enemies, and *Frederick* again reproaching the Pope, for secretly treating with the *Romans*, and telling them that it was without his Consent, that *Frederick* set upon them near *Viterbo*. Howsoever it was, *Frederick* left the Pope, retir'd to *Pisa*, and from thence pass'd into *Germany*; but the Pope drew good Part of his Soldiers from him, by promising those that would come into his Camp good Entertainment.

*Frederick* found himself crossed in *Germany*, by the Factions of the Princes, and suspecting his Son *Henry*, he deprived him of the Government, and sent him into *Sicily*, which very much displeas'd most of the Princes in *Germany*: But yet he made his Shift to keep *Germany* in Peace, and having gathered his Troops together, he returns to *Italy* in 1235, and sets upon those Towns of *Lombardy* which had entered into League against him; he takes *Verona* and *Vicenza*, and lays all the Country round waste. His Son *Henry* being discontented, enters himself into the League with the Towns of *Lombardy*, and had drawn over many of the *German* Princes to his Party, had not *Frederick* applied a ready Remedy, by getting the Pope's Letter, charging the Princes of *Germany*, not to take the Son's Part against the Father: And thereupon he arrested and deposed his Son, and banished him into *Apuleia*, where he ended his Life the following Year in a Prison. *Frederick* gets his second Son *Conrade* elected King of *Germany*, and brings *Vicenna*, and all *Austria*, which had hitherto opposed him, to an Acknowledgment of their Duty. While he was thus labouring to establish his Power in *Germany*, he did not forget his Pretensions to the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*; and thinking that they had been encroach'd upon, he wrote to Pope *Gregory* by the Archbishop of *Ravenna*, to do him Justice in that Matter. The Pope gave the Archbishop Commission in Quality of his Legate, to take Care of the Preservation of the Rights of *Frederick*, which is an evident Proof, that from the Year 1230. the Pope had not made an open Breach of his Agreement with

*The War of Frederick, till 1238.* But in this Year, their Differences began to grow very hot, because *Frederick* had made War upon those Cities of *Lombardy*, that would not acknowledge him.

The Pope sent the Cardinals to him, to make him desist from carrying on the War in *Italy*, but all in vain; for *Frederick* who was strongest, continued his Progresses, defeated those of *Milan* that opposed his Passage, took *Brescia*, and all the other Cities of *Lombardy*, except *Bologna* and *Parma*. The Pope seeing that Affairs went but ill with him, would have retired to *Rome*, but there *John Cincius*, a Senator of *Rome* that the Emperor had gained, procured the Gates to be shut against him; yet the Pope, by the Assistance of his Friends that were in Possession of the Capital, got into *Rome*, drove out *Cincius*, procured a Peace between the *Venetians* and *Genoese*, and taking Courage, made the States of *Italy* enter into a League against *Frederick*. He moreover exercised his Spiritual Arms against him, in publishing a Sentence of Excommunication against his Person, and in declaring all his Subjects dispensed with for the Oath of Fidelity to him: And in fine, to raise a powerful Enemy against *Frederick*, he sends his Nun-

cio's into *France*, to offer the Imperial Crown to Earl *Robert*, Brother of St. *Louis* King of *France*; but that Prince refused it, and by the Advice of the French Lords, sent back his Answer in these Words: "What strange Spirit, or what Boldness indeed is this in the Pope, that he should go about to rob of his Estates, and depose so great a Prince as *Frederick*, without either Proof or Acknowledgment of the Crimes of which he is accused; and who, did he deserve such Dealings, could not be lawfully deposed but by a General Council? For his Enemies (of whom 'tis evident the Pope is one of the Chief) ought not to be credited in those Things of which they accuse him. As for Us, We see no Reason hitherto to think him otherwise than innocent; he has dealt with us as a good Prince and Neighbour, and we have nothing to find Fault with either in his Fidelity or Religion, which is truly Catholick. Do not we know that he has made War for the Name of *JESUS CHRIST*, and has exposed himself both by Sea and Land for the Church? This is greater Religion than we can yet discover in the Pope, who, instead of aiding and defending him that fought God's Battles, did all he could to cross and destroy him. We do not desire to throw our selves into so evident a Danger as attacking a Prince so powerful as *Frederick*, who would be assisted by so many Kingdoms, and whom the Justice of his Cause alone is sufficient to uphold. We see very well how little the *Romans* care how lavish we are of our Blood, so we be but the Instruments to satisfy their Passions; and we cannot but foresee, if the Pope should happen to conquer by our Means, how he would trample all the Potentates of the Earth under his Feet, exalted with the Pride of having crush'd so great an Emperor as *Frederick*." He promised however to send his Deputies to *Frederick*, to know what his Sentiments were about Religion, assuring him that he was ready to persecute and destroy all those who had any evil Principles in that, tho' it were the Emperor or the Pope himself. Accordingly he sends his Deputies to the Emperor, who acquainted him with the Propositions that the Pope's Nuncios had made. The Emperor assured them that he was a Catholick, and thanked the Deputies of *France*, who satisfied him that their Prince had no Designs against any Christian Prince whatsoever, counting it sufficient to be Brother to the King of *France*, which in their Opinion was more glorious than Emperor; the one being a King born, the other receiving his Title only by Election.

The Emperor and the Pope accused one another mutually in their publick Manifestos. The Emperor complain'd that the Pope had broken the Peace by entering with Arms into *Sicily*, while he warred in the East; by opposing his Passage into *Italy*, by assisting the *Lombards* against him, and by having excommunicated him unjustly. The Pope, in Answer to these Reproaches, says, That he was obliged to employ both his spiritual and temporal Arms, for the Recovery of those Lands which *Frederick* detained from the Church, to which they belonged: That he had offered himself to mediate a Peace between the Emperor and the *Lombards*, and that the Emperor refused to hearken to it: That he had heaped a Multitude of Favours upon *Frederick*, and that that Prince, in Acknowledgment of them, had aimed at nothing less than the Destruction of the Liberty of the Churches; the robbing them of their Possessions, the stopping and hindring Crusades, and ruining the Authority of the Holy See. These Accusations on the one Side and the other, were follow'd by an intestine War; most of the Provinces and Cities in *Italy* being divided into two Parties, that of the *Gibelins*, which held with the Emperor and that of the *Guelphs* which was for the Pope. The Party of the *Gibelins*, being encouraged by the Presence of the Emperor and his Army, almost always had the upper Hand, so that the greatest Part of the Cities were brought under Obedience to the Emperor; and there had been good Reason to fear that he had taken *Rome* itself, where he kept secret Correspondence with the principal Citizens, had not the Pope made all the People of *Rome* take upon them the Cross for their Defence. The noble Resistance of these religious Soldiers, obliged *Frederick* to leave *Rome*, only laying all the Country about it waste; his Army dispersed themselves all over *Italy*, and where-ever they came made Havock of the Goods of the Church, of Monasteries and religious Orders. The Pope, to oppose this Torrent, published plenary Indulgences for all those that would undertake the Holy War against *Frederick*, and called a general Council at *Rome*, to make a more solemn Matter of his Deposition. *Frederick*, that he might put by this Thrust, and prevent the sitting of this Council, takes care to have all Passages by Sea and Land well guarded, for the stopping those Prelates that would come to it. The *Pisans* who were set to guard the Sea Coasts, having met with the *Genoese* Gallies, which were bringing a good Number of Cardinals, Bishops, and other Prelates to the Council, set upon them, and having taken them, brought all the Prelates to *Frederick*, who put them all in Prison. Much about the same Time, *Frederick* took a Castle of *Campania*, and in it many of the Pope's Relations, whom he caused all to be hanged. *Gregory* could not bear up under the Grief of so many dismal



Misfortunes, and so falling sick, died at *Rome* the 30th of September, in the Year 1241.

Pope *Celestine* the Fourth, who succeeded him, seemed very inclinable to a Peace; but living but eighteen Days, had not Time to make any Thing of it. After his Death the Holy See was vacant nineteen Months, because of the Imprisonment of the Cardinals; but *Frederick* having at last set them at Liberty, at the Request of *Baldwin* Emperor of *Constantinople*, they chose Cardinal *Sinibaud* a *Genoese*, Pope, who took the Name of *Innocent* the Fourth. This Pope, it was hoped, would conclude the Peace, having been a Friend of *Frederick's*, while he was Cardinal: And indeed he said as much at the Beginning of his Popedom, and made use therein of the Mediation of *Baldwin*. 'Twas agreed, that the Pope and *Frederick* should have a Meeting at *Castellane*; but the Pope, not willing to trust him, being afraid of being taken Prisoner, never came to the Place; or, if he did, made great Haste away again, took Ship at *Civita Vecchia*, and passed into *France*; where being kindly received by Order of King *St. Louis*, he seated himself at *Lyons*; and thither call'd a General Council, citing *Frederick* to make his Appearance.

This Council began about the End of the Month of June, in the Year 1245. *Baldwin* Emperor of *Constantinople*, assisted there in Person, with the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Antioch*, and the Archbishop of *Aquileia* or *Venice*, notwithstanding the Opposition of some, took his Place among the Patriarchs. The Kings of *France* and *England* sent thither their Deputies, so that what with Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and the Deputies of those that could not come themselves, there were present about a hundred and forty six. The Emperor *Frederick* did not appear himself, but sent *Thadens* of *Sessa*, with a joint Deputation, to act in his Name with the Bishop of *Straßburg*, *Hugh* General of the Teutonic Order, and *Peter des Vignes*. The Pope assembled the Prelates on the Monday after the Feast of *St. John Baptist*, to consider of the Things which should be proposed in Council. The Patriarch of *Constantinople* laid open the miserable Estate and Condition of the *Latins* in the East, and the great Danger that the City of *Constantinople* was in. To this the Pope said not a Word. Then another proposed the Canonizing of *St. Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; but the Pope put that off till another Time. Then *Thadens* propos'd an Accommodation with *Frederick*, declaring, That he was ready to make Peace, and be reconciled to the Pope: That he proposed to reunite all *Greece* to the Holy See, to oppose the Progress of the *Tartars* and *Saracens*, by carrying on a War against them at his own Charge; to restore to the Church of *Rome*, whatsoever he had taken from it, and to make the Pope full Satisfaction. To this the Pope made Answer, That there was no Reason to trust him that had often cajol'd them with as fair Promises as these, which he had broken, and that he did this only for the present to evade the Judgment of the Council; and moreover, that *Thadens* had no special Order to make any such Proposals. Then the Bishop of *Beritus* made a Discourse upon the apparent Danger that the Holy Land was in, and read a very mournful Letter from the Christian Lords that remained in *Palestine*, to desire some Supplies. These were the Preliminaries of the Council, whose first Session was upon *St. Peter's* Eve. After the Pope had sung the *Veni Creator*, wherein he was assisted by all present, and had made a Prayer for the Assistance of the Holy Spirit, he preached a Sermon, wherein he took for his Text those Words of the 94th Psalm, *In the Multitude of the Sorrows that I had in my Heart, thy Comforts have refreshed my Soul*. He told them that he had five Sorrows; the Cause of the first was the Irregularity of the Clergy and Laity; that of the second was the haughty Insolence of the *Saracens*; that of the third the Schism of the *Greeks*; that of the fourth the Cruelty of the *Tartars*; and lastly, that of the fifth, the Persecution of the Emperor *Frederick*. He enlarged upon every one of these Heads: First, he exclaimed against the Irregularities of the Clergy and common Christians. Secondly, he laid forth the Cruelties that the *Saracens* had exercised against the Faithful, when they took the Holy City, and the Sepulchre of our Lord. Thence he passed on to the Progress that the Emperor of the *Greek* Hereticks had made, in so much that the City of *Constantinople* it self was in Danger. Fourthly, he spoke of the Destruction that the *Tartars* had made in *Hungary*, where they had put every Thing to Fire and Sword. And, Fifthly, of the Persecution that he pretended *Frederick* had raised against the Church; of the Injuries that he had done his Predecessor Pope *Gregory*, and of those that he was every Day labouring to do him, while he boasted that 'twas not the Church, but the Persons of the Popes that he aimed at; which was absolutely false, seeing that during the Vacancy of the Holy See, he was so far from ceasing from Hostilities, that he took that Advantage of oppressing the Church and Clergy the more. About the end of his Discourse, he exhibited against *Frederick* a particular Charge of Heresy and Sacrilege, for having built a City upon Christian Ground, which he peopled with *Saracens*, only to curry Favour with the Sultan of *Babylon* and the *Saracen* Princes; for keeping *Saracen* Ladies for his Mistresses; and for having broke the Oath he had taken. To prove this last Accusation, he caused the Edict of *Frederick* which was called the *Golden Bull*, and other Declarations of

his to be read, wherein he promises Obedience and Allegiance to the Pope, acknowledges that the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Apulia* is a Dependence on the Holy See, and by which he had restored to the Church of *Rome* many Lands. This Discourse being finished, *Thadens* rose up, and answered to all the Pope had advanced against his Master, and in his turn accused the Pope of having done many Things very injurious to him; and produced some Letters of the Pope, which shewed that he had not been as good to his Promise as it became him; and as for the Accusation of Heresy, he reply'd, That that Prince if he were there, could easily justify himself in that, but that they might judge he was a true Catholic by this, that he would suffer no Usurers in his Kingdom; which was (says *Matthew Paris*) "A touch for the Court of *Rome*, where every one knows there is store of this sort of Cattle." He added; that if his Master was in any Confederacy with the Sultan, or any other *Saracen* Princes, or if he suffered the *Saracens* to settle in his Dominions, it was that he might make use of them in keeping under his rebellious Subjects, choosing rather to expose their Persons than those of Christians: And for the other Thing; that he had no *Saracen* Ladies for his Mistresses; that indeed he suffered some of them in his Court, but 'twas for the Diversion they gave him by their Conversation; but that he had sent them back again, and that he would have no more for the Future. After he had done, *Thadens* required Time to give his Master notice, and to desire him to come to the Council in Person: The Pope answered, that he could not in Wisdom allow any Delay, that he was afraid of some Plots which he had already narrowly escaped; that if the Emperor came, he must be gone; that he was in Danger of his Life; and that he did not much care for dying a Martyr, or being clap'd up in Prison. However the next Day, by the Intercession of the *English* and *French* Deputies, they gained five Days. *Thadens* having given his Master notice how Things went in that Council, that Prince saw plainly that the Pope was set upon it to condemn him, and therefore thought it would not be Wisdom in him to expose his Person in a Council that he knew were his Adversaries. When the News came to *Lyons* that *Frederick* would not come to Council, his Enemies made Triumph of it, and his Friends so much discontented, that they did not dare to favour his Interests openly; in so much that at the second Session of the Council, which was eight Days after the first, one *Apulian*, and two *Spanish* Bishops made very violent Discourses against him, particularly, for daring to stop and imprison the Cardinals and other Prelates, who were coming to assist at the Council call'd at *Rome* by Pope *Gregory*. *Thadens* with a great deal of Courage defended his Master, and affirmed that he could not have done otherwise, because that those Prelates were going to *Rome* to assist his Enemies in their Design to depose him. The Pope gave his Vote against the Emperor; and this Session was wholly spent in Disputes. Before it rose, *Thadens* demanded some longer Time, making them hope that *Frederick* himself would come. The Pope put off the next Session for eight Days, and then, being satisfied that the Emperor did not design to come, the third Session was upon the appointed Day. They then treated of some other Matters; as, of the Means of recovering the Holy Land, upon which the Pope order'd certain old Constitutions to be read; and likewise confirmed all those Privileges and Rights that Emperors and Princes had granted to the Holy See. The Deputies of the King of *England* made their Complaints of the excessive Taxes that the Court of *Rome* raised in *England*; and desired the Pope to take Order about his Legate *Martin*, who had taken upon him to dispose of the Benefices of that Kingdom to the *Italians*, to the great prejudice of their Patrons; and had tried a great many new Devices which were very chargeable both to the Church and State. He would not give them an Answer to this out of hand; but put it off till another Time, that he might be more at leisure for *Frederick's* Business. At last *Thadens* seeing that the Condemnation of the Emperor was resolved upon, appeal'd in the Name of this Prince to another Pope; and a more General Council; alledging that there were many Bishops and Deputies that were not come to the Council. The Pope made answer, that the Council was general enough, that all the World was invited to it, and that the Bishops and Princes that were absent, were such as depended upon *Frederick*, whom he would not permit to come to the Council, and that consequently there was no regard to be had to the Appeal of *Thadens*; so as upon the Account of it to forbear proceeding against the Emperor. After he had made a Speech, wherein he enlarged upon the Friendship that had formerly been between that Prince and him, and upon his rare Qualities, he pronounced Sentence against him, by which he deprived him of his Empire, of all his Estates, and all his Dignities. This he afterwards put into Form, and made it be publicly read in the Council. The Substance of it was, that ever since his first being raised to the Sovereign Dignity of Pope, his chief Business had been to re-establish the Peace of *Christendom*: that upon this Design he had sent some Cardinals to *Frederick*, who was the Author and Occasion of the War, and who had been excommunicated by his Predecessor Pope *Gregory*, with Proposals of an Accommodation; and that he had by them remonstrated to him, that for this he must begin with the setting all those Prelates, and Ecclesiastics,

The Revolution in the Empire and Italy, during the thirteenth Century.



fiatrics, and other Persons at liberty, which he had taken in the Gallies of *Genoa*; that at the same Time he had assured him of his readiness to treat with him about a Peace, and to hearken to any Proposals which he would please to make for the Satisfaction of the Holy See in those Things for which he had been excommunicated; and that he had fairly offered to make Reparation in case the Holy See had done him any Injury; that if he would stand it out that he had done no Injury to the Church, he would call an Assembly of the Kings, Prelates, and Ecclesiastical and Secular Princes to some free and safe Place, and willingly stand to their Determination: And that if it should be the Judgment of the Council that the Church had in any Thing injured him, he was as ready to repeal any Thing that had been so acted against him, as he was to receive Satisfaction in case the Council should determine on the other side: That *Frederick* would not at first hearken to any Propositions; that at last he had sent the Earl of *Toulouse*, *Peter de Vignes*, and *Toussens* of *Seffia*, to make Articles of Obedience and Submission, and had promised with an Oath to make the Church Satisfaction; but that having so often fail'd of his Word, and now continuing his Violences, he found himself forced to punish him for his Faults. Particularly, he accused him of three principal Crimes: Namely, of Perjury, because he had often sacredly sworn to reunite the Church and Empire, and had as often broken his Oath: Of Sacrilege, for arresting those Prelates that were coming to the Council: Of Heresy, because he had laid aside that Fealty which he owed the Holy See, had slighted its Authority, had invaded its Possessions, had stopt its regular Elections, had rob'd the Churches, and persecuted the Ecclesiasticks and Religious Orders; all which justly render'd him suspected of Heresy, as well as his League with the *Saracens*, whom he made use of against the Christians, and his other many Irregularities. As a just Consequence of these Crimes and Disorders, he declared this Prince, who by his Sins had made himself unfit to reign, despoil'd of all his Honour and Dignity; of which he is by this Sentence deprived, and all his Subjects discharged from the Obligation of the Oath of Fidelity which they had taken to him, and forbidden under pain of Excommunication, *ex facto*, to acknowledge him for their Emperor and King: And finally, those whose Business it was to elect an Emperor, were order'd to choose him a Successor, leaving it to the Pope to take care for the Kingdom of *Sicily*. This Sentence was read to the Astonishment of all that were present, and was published and sent about on all sides.

*Frederick* in his Defence, wrote a Letter to the King of *France* and other Princes of *Europe*, wherein, having first acknowledged the spiritual Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, he denies his Power to extend to the disposing of the Empire, and the punishing of Kings and Princes, by depriving them of their Temporalities; alledging, that tho' he have the Privilege of consecrating Emperors, yet he has no more right to depose them, than other Bishops have those Kings, whom it is the Custom for them to anoint. But supposing he had that Authority, which he has not, yet that he could not make use of it against whom he pleased, as he had done in his Procedure against the Emperor, without due Form of Law. For that he had no Accuser, no lawful Summons to appear, nor Charge against him; nor did they make a just and fair Information, nor only declared that the Things were notorious, which they were not; that there were very few in the Council which had deposed any Thing against him, namely one Bishop of *Apuleia*, whose Brothers and Nephew he had hanged for Treason, and two *Sicilian* Bishops, who were too far off to have good Information of what had passed in *Italy*: That had the Pope proceeded against him in due Form, and had he been allowed to have his Accusers and Witnesses, yet he could not have cast him, because he was not present, nor lawfully summoned; and had by his Deputies given such good Reasons for his absence, that no one could interpret it to have been out of Pride and Contumacy; and that had he been present, he could not have been condemn'd by a peremptory Sentence; nay, more than all, had the whole Procedure been according to Law and Justice, yet the Sentence was not justifiable, because it was founded on Facts notoriously false, and because the Punishment inflicted exceeded as well the Power of him that gave the Sentence (which reaches no further than spiritual Things) as the demerit of the Crimes laid to his Charge. About the end of the Letter, he gave the Kings Notice how it was their common Interest to disallow this Sentence; that they were in danger of being served at the same rate; that the Pope had begun with him, but would end with them if they did not side with him for the Support of their Authority. He wrote in particular to the King of *France*, making him Umpire of his Differences with the Pope, and referring himself to his Judgment, and that of his Peers. The King of *France* sensibly touched with these Reasons, offers Proposals of Accommodation to the Pope, assuring him that *Frederick* was ready to give him due Satisfaction, and would spend the rest of his Days in waiting against the Infidel in the Holy Land. The Pope did but laugh at it, and replied, That he had often promised as much, and never perform'd any thing. The King of *France* was oblig'd to the Pope that he ought to forgive sixty, or seventy Times, seven Times; and therefore counselled and in-

treated him in the Name of a great number of Holy Soldiers that were in a readiness to go for the Holy Land, for the good of the Catholick Church, and the benefit of Religion, in imitation of JESUS CHRIST, who submitted himself even to the Death of the Cross, to accept of that humble Proposition that he made him on the Emperor's part: But the Pope still refusing to hearken, *St. Louis* went away very much disturbed, says *Matthew Paris*, that he could not find that Humility in the Servant of the Servants of God, which he himself was Master of. Many other Princes cry'd out against this Sentence of the Pope, maintaining that 'twas not in his Power to raise and put down Kings at his Pleasure; and the greatest part of the Electors and Princes of *Germany* always received *Frederick* for their lawful Emperor. Only a few Malecontents that had been gained by the Pope's Agents, elected *Henry Landgrave of Touringen* King of *Germany*, who made no great Advances, but was killed before *Ulme* in the Year 1247. *William* Earl of *Holland* was chosen in his stead, and having taken *Aix la Chapelle*, was there crown'd in 1248. All this while *Frederick* with no small Success was carrying on the War against the *Guelphs* in *Italy*; but his Son *Enrico*, who was his Lieutenant General, being taken by the *Bolognians*, and put into Prison, abated his Heat, and retired into *Apuleia*, where he ended his Days in 1250. leaving his Son *Conrade* Heir to his Estates. The Pope confirmed *William* in the Empire, excommunicated *Conrade*, and sent his Legates into *Sicily* to hinder that Kingdom from receiving any other Sovereign than the Holy See.

*Conrade*, whose Affairs went but ill in *Germany*, did nevertheless raise an Army, and pass'd into *Italy* to secure the Estates his Father had left him: And after having spent some Time in *Lombardy*, he went into *Apuleia*, where his natural Brother *Manfred* governed with the Title of Viceroy; but with the Design of making himself Sovereign. *Conrade* was received and acknowledged by all the Cities of *Sicily* and *Apuleia*, except that of *Naples*, which he laid Siege to, and took at the end of eight Months. But *William* in the mean while making great Progress in *Germany*, *Conrade* was forced to return in the Year 1251. and took the City of *Ratisbone* with the help of *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*; but understanding that *William* was in his march to set upon him with a numerous Army, he betook himself back again into *Apuleia*, where he died, not without suspicion of being poisoned by his Brother *Manfred*, the 22d of May, in 1254. leaving his Son *Conradine* Heir to *Sicily*. *Manfred*, who did not care for parting with *Sicily*, pretended a desire of being friends with the Pope, and thereupon invites him to come to *Sicily*. Accordingly the Pope comes with an Army to make himself acknowledged Sovereign of that Kingdom; but *Manfred* quickly picks a Quarrel with him, and routs part of his Army; which so seized upon *Innocent's* Spirits, that he died at *Naples* the 7th of December, 1254. *Alexander* the 4th, who succeeded him, did not lay down his Predecessor's Design upon *Sicily*: But he had no better Fortune; *Manfred* defeated his Troops, and made himself Master of *Apuleia* and *Sicily*. The Pope seeing he was not able to maintain this War, gave the Kingdom to *Edmund* Son of the King of *England*, and dispensed with the Vow of that King to go for the Holy Land, on Condition he would make War upon *Manfred*, against whom he also appointed a Crusade.

While *Manfred* was strengthening himself in the Kingdom of *Sicily*, *Eccelin*, who took the part of *Frederick's* Heirs, had made himself Master of *Lombardy*; and the Pope to drive him from thence, had published a Crusade against him too at *Venice*. The greatest part of *Germany* had acknowledged *William* for their Sovereign, and as he was preparing to take a Journey into *Italy*, there to receive the Imperial Crown, he was forced to march against the *Friezlanders* who had entered into *Holland*; but going against them, he fell into a Fen that was frozen, and was there killed by an Ambuscade of his Enemies, in December 1256. After his Death the German Princes were divided about the Election of an Emperor, some of them declaring for *Richard* Brother to the King of *England*, and the others for *Alphonso* King of *Castile*. The former was elected at *Frankfort* on the Octave of the Epiphany, in the Year 1257. by *Conrade* Archbishop of *Cologne* (who was also Proxy for *Gerard* Archbishop of *Mentz*) by *Lewis* Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*; the other in *Lent* by *Arnold* Archbishop of *Treves* as Proxy for the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and many other Princes. Thus did the German Princes basely sell the Honour of their Nation, and their own Votes to Strangers, who for many Years together disputed the Empire without ever agreeing the Matter. All which Time *Lombardy* was the Seat of the War between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*; of the former of which *Albert*, of the latter *Eccelin* was the Head. The latter was wounded, and taken Prisoner in 1260. and died of his Wounds, after having for four and thirty Years been Master of the most considerable Cities in *Lombardy*. His Death set *Italy* at rest, which was not long after broken by the War between the *Venesians* and *Genouefe*.



*Richard and Alphonfus* were elected Emperors, but got nothing by it save the bare Title. *Alphonfus* never set Foot in Germany; and *Richard* being come to *Frankfort*, after having spent all that he was worth, was forced to return to *England*. In their absence *Ottogar* King of *Bohemia* extended his Dominions in *Germany*, so that in a short Time he was become one of the most powerful Princes in *Europe*. In *Italy*, *Urban* the 4th, who succeeded *Alexander*, had published a Crusade against *Manfred*, and all that sided with him in *Apulia* or *Lombardy*, and stirred up some *French* Lords to come into *Italy*. *Manfred* on his part entered with his Troops into the Estate of the Church, and to strengthen himself against the Pope, entered into an Alliance with *James* the 3d, King of *Aragon*, by marrying his Daughter *Constantia* to *Peter* the King's eldest Son. The Pope on his side seeing that *Edmund* could not prosecute the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, by reason of the Troubles that were in *England*, invested *Charles* Earl of *Anjou* Brother of *St. Louis* therewith, who came to *Rome* in 1265. and was there crown'd King of *Sicily* on the 28th of *June*, by *Clement* the 4th, *Urban*'s Successor, who also made him Senator of that City. He was followed with an Army by Sea and Land; and giving Battle to *Manfred* on the 26th of *February* the following Year near *Be-*

Charles Earl of Anjou de- feats Manfred, and takes him- self upon Sicily.

Conradin a Prince of the Kingdom of Sicily with Charles; he is de- feated and executed.

The Elec- tion of Ro- dolphus to the Em- pire, and his Actions

*nevento*, he gained an absolute and bloody Victory over his Troops, *Manfred* himself being killed upon the spot. After his Death the Kingdom of *Sicily* submitted to the Conqueror; but *Conradin*, whose right this Kingdom was, wrote a Letter to the Princes of *Europe*, wherein he laid open the Justice of his Pretensions, and implored their Assistance for its Recovery. He got together an Army composed for the most part of Volunteers, with which, by the Advice of *Henry* Brother of *Alphonfus*, he made a Descent into *Tuscany*, where he surprized and cut in Pieces those Forces which *Charles*, whom the Pope had constituted Vicar of the Empire in that Country, had left there; and at the same Time *Conradin*, a Son of one of the Emperor *Frederick*'s Bastards, who was come from *Antioch*, drew off all *Sicily* from their Obedience, except *Messina* and *Palermo*, while *Conradin* by the Assistance of the *Gibelines*, made himself Master of all *Tuscany* and *Romagna*, and entered in Triumph into *Rome*, where he was proclaimed Emperor by the People. But being entered into *Campania* with a Design to go into *Sicily*, *Charles* met him at the Lake of *Fu-*

*cin*, called the Lake of *Celano*, where he gave him Battle on the 25th of *August*, 1268. in which *Charles* got the Day. *Conradin*, *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*, and *Henry* of *Castile* be- took themselves to flight; but happening to be known in the Way, were brought back again to the Conqueror, who put them into Prison, and gave them their Trial the next Year. *Conradin* and *Frederick* were put to Death, and *Henry* of *Castile* confined to Prison. Just about the same Time too *Conradin* was taken by some of *Charles*'s Party, who hanged him up; and a short Time after *Entius*, the only one remaining of the Princes of *Suabia*, died in his Prison of *Bologna*. Thus unhappily perished the whole Race of the Emperor *Frederick*. The House of *Austria* quickly succeeded that of *Suabia* in Glory and Power; for *Richard* being dead, and *Alphonfus* having no Friends left him in *Germany*, the Electors assembled themselves in *October* 1273. at *Frankfort*, according to the Counsel of Pope *Gregory* X. and there elected *Rodolphus* Earl of *Hapsburg*, without any regard had to the Remonstrances of the Deputies of *Alphonfus*, or the Solicitations of those of *Ottogar* King of *Bohemia*, who thought the Empire had been assured to him (tho' some Historians say that he refused it) *Rodolphus* was crowned the same Year at *Aix la Chapelle*, and the next was confirmed by the Pope in the Council at *Lyons*, and acknowledged in an Assembly at *Nuremberg*, by all the Princes of *Germany*, except *Ottogar* King of *Bohemia*, who refused to be there. *Rodolphus* declared him a Rebel, and required him to deliver up *Austria*, and many other Provinces which he pretended belonged to the Empire. *Ottogar* refusing to deliver them, *Rodolphus* declares War against him, and lays Siege to *Vienna* in 1276. *Ottogar* came with an Army to its Assistance, and the King of *Hungary* to that of *Rodolphus*; but yet they did not come to a Battle, the Princes of *Germany* interposing their Authority to make up these Differences.

It was agreed, that King *Ottogar* should content himself with *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, and should restore *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Cariziola*, and the other Provinces to *Rodolphus*, for the performance of which he should take his Oath; and to the King of *Hungary* those Cities which he had taken from him, as well as the Hostages and Treasures that he had of his. This Peace did not last long, for the King of *Bohemia*, not caring faithfully to perform these Articles, and being very angry that he should be thus forced to submit to *Rodolphus*, provides a new Army, and comes to set upon the Emperor, but he lost the Battle and his own Life. *Rodolphus* took *Moravia*, from *Wenceslaus* the Son of *Ottogar*, about eight Years old, leaving him *Bohemia*, under the Tuition of his Uncle *Otto*, Marquis of *Brandenburg*. He gave *Austria* to his eldest Son *Albert*, whose Posterity took the Name of *Austria*, as more illustrious than that of *Hapsburg*.

The Establishment of *Rodolphus* lessen'd *Charles* the King of *Sicily*'s Authority in *Italy*. Pope *Nicholas* III. took from him the Vicariate of *Tuscany*, and the Quality of Senator of *Rome*; and in Recompence received of *Rodolphus*, *Romagna*, and the Lieutenantcy of *Ravenna*, which he gave to the Holy See, leaving all the other States of *Italy* in a sort of Liberty dependant upon the Empire. But it would not content the Pope that he had deprived *Charles* of his Authority in the upper *Italy*; he had a design to get the Kingdom of *Sicily* from him too; and about this, deals with *Peter* King of *Aragon*, as Heir of the House of *Suabia* by his Mother *Constantia* the Daughter of *Manfred*. This gave occasion to the Conspiracy that was laid by *John*, Lord of the Island of *Crocida*, whom *Charles* had robb'd of his Possessions, against this Prince, and all the *French* that were in *Sicily*, which did not break out till after the Death of *Nicholas*, when the *Sicilians* massacred all the *French* in the Kingdom, on Easter Sunday 1282. *Charles* coming to revenge this cruel Action, the King of *Aragon* enters into *Sicily* with his Army, and amuses *Charles* with a Truce. His Admiral *Soria* lays Siege to *Naples* in the Year 1284. and, having defeated *Charles*, his Troops, takes his Son *Charles* the lame Prisoner, and sends him into *Aragon*. *Charles* had enough to do to keep *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and not being able long to survive the Misfortunes, died at *Foggia* in *Apulia* the 7th of *January*, 1285. leaving his Son *Charles* the lame his Heir, who got out of Prison in 1287. but on Condition that he should renounce all Pretences to *Sicily*. Yet he was no sooner got out but he made himself be crowned at *Rome* King of *Sicily*, and *Apulia*, on the 28th of *May*, 1289. *Alphonfus* dying some Time after, *Charles* made up the Matter with *Danzig*, his Successor, the latter renouncing his Pretensions to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, on Condition that *Charles* of *Valois* should lay down his to *Aragon*. Yet for all this, *Charles* the lame could not enjoy *Sicily* in Peace, for *Frederick* the younger Brother of *Danzig*, to whom *Alphonfus*, by his Will had left this Kingdom, got himself crowned King by the *Sicilians*, so that *Charles* was never in Possession of any but the Continent; the Kingdom of *Sicily* as it is called, being from that Time divided into two; one beyond the *Pharos* of *Messina*, which is the Island of *Sicily*; the other on this side of that Tower, call'd the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The Emperor *Rodolphus* ended his Days at *Germsheim* near *Spire*, the last Day of *September*, 1291. having reigned eighteen Years. He laid the Foundation of the prodigious Greatness of the House of *Austria*; but he laid down as it were the Empire of *Italy*, by neglecting to go thither, as well as by selling his Power over many Cities of *Tuscany*. *Adolphus* Earl of *Nassau* was chosen into his Place the 6th of *January*, 1292. and crowned at *Frankfort*. He peaceably enjoyed the Empire for some Years; but the *German* Lords being discontented that he had not allow'd them a Share in a Sum of Money that the King of *England* had given for help against *France*, and seeing that he had not Authority nor Strength sufficient to maintain the Peace of *Germany*, deposed him in 1298. and in his stead elected *Albert* Duke of *Austria*, Son of the Emperor *Rodolphus*. *Adolphus* defended his Right, but the Fortune of War quickly decided the Case in favour of *Albert*; *Adolphus* being defeated and kill'd in the first Engagement near *Worms*, in the Month of *July*. After his Death *Albert* was elected anew, and crowned at *Aix la Chapelle*, and remain'd in peaceable Possession of the Empire of *Germany*.

Charles spoiled of his Authority by the Pope.

Sicily re- bels against Charles.

The Sici- lian Ves- pers.

Charles his defeat and death.

The divi- sion of the Kingdom of Sicily.

The Reign of Adol- phus.

The depo- sition of Adolphus. Election of Albert Duke of Austria.

## C H A P. II.

### The Life, Letters, and other Writings of Pope Innocent the Third.

**I**NNOCENT the Third, before he was raised to the Pontifical Dignity, went by the Name of *Lotharius*. He was born at *Avogno*, being the Son of *Thrasimond*, of the Family of the Earls of *Signi*, and of *Claricia* a Roman Lady. He studied at *Rome*, *Paris*, and *Bologna*; and being upon his Return to *Rome*, was ordained Subdeacon by *Gregory* VIII. and when he was but 29 Years old, was made Chief Deacon, by the Title of *S. Sergius* and *S. Bacchus*, by *Clement* III. His Learning and Merit made him be uni-

versally chosen by the Cardinals, on the very Day of *Celestin* III's Death, which happened on the 8th of *January*, 1198. The Life, Letters, and other Writings of Pope Innocent III. an Oath of Allegiance from them, he made an Order, forbid- ding all Officers in the Court of *Rome*, to take any Fee or Gra- tuit.



fiatlicks, and other Persons at liberty, which he had taken in the Gallies of *Genoa*; that at the same Time he had assured him of his readiness to treat with him about a Peace, and to hearken to any Proposals which he would please to make for the Satisfaction of the Holy See in those Things for which he had been excommunicated; and that he had fairly offered to make Reparation in case the Holy See had done him any Injury; that if he would stand it out that he had done no Injury to the Church, he would call an Assembly of the Kings, Prelates, and Ecclesiastical and Secular Princes to some free and safe Place, and willingly stand to their Determination: And that if it should be the Judgment of the Council that the Church had in any Thing injured him, he was as ready to repeal any Thing that had been so acted against him, as he was to receive Satisfaction in case the Council should determine on the other side: That *Frederick* would not at first hearken to any Propositions; that at last he had sent the Earl of *Tholouse*, *Peter de Vignes*, and *Teddans* of *Sessa*, to make Articles of Obedience and Submission, and had promised with an Oath to make the Church Satisfaction; but that having so often fail'd of his Word, and now continuing his Violences, he found himself forced to punish him for his Faults. Particularly, he accused him of three principal Crimes: Namely, of Perjury, because he had often sacredly sworn to reunite the Church and Empire, and had as often broken his Oath: Of Sacrilege, for arresting those Prelates that were coming to the Council: Of Heresy, because he had laid aside that Fealty which he owed the Holy See, had slighted its Authority, had invaded its Possessions, had stop't its regular Elections, had rob'd the Churches, and persecuted the Ecclesiasticks and Religious Orders; all which justly render'd him suspected of Heresy, as well as his League with the *Saracens*, whom he made use of against the Christians, and his other many Irregularities. As a just Consequence of these Crimes and Disorders, he declared this Prince, who by his Sins had made himself unfit to reign, despoil'd of all his Honour and Dignity; of which he is by this Sentence deprived, and all his Subjects discharged from the Obligation of the Oath of Fidelity which they had taken to him, and forbidden under pain of Excommunication, *excommunicatus*, to acknowledge him for their Emperor and King: And finally, those whose Business it was to elect an Emperor, were order'd to choose him a Successor, leaving it to the Pope to take care for the Kingdom of *Sicily*. This Sentence was read to the Astonishment of all that were present, and was published and sent about on all sides.

*Frederick* in his Defence, wrote a Letter to the King of *France* and other Princes of *Europe*, wherein, having first acknowledged the spiritual Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, he denies his Power to extend to the disposing of the Empire, and the punishing of Kings and Princes, by depriving them of their Temporalities; alledging, that tho' he have the Privilege of consecrating Emperors, yet he has no more right to depose them, than other Bishops have those Kings, whom it is the Custom for them to anoint. But supposing he had that Authority, which he has not, yet that he could not make use of it against whom he pleased, as he had done in his Procedure against the Emperor, without due Form of Law. For that he had no Accuser, no lawful Summons to appear, nor Charge against him; nor did they make a just and fair Information, but only declared that the Things were notorious, which they were not; that there were very few in the Council which had deposed any Thing against him, namely one Bishop of *Apuleia*, whose Brothers and Nephew he had hanged for Treason, and two *Spanish* Bishops, who were too far off to have good Information of what had passed in *Italy*: That had the Pope proceeded against him in due Form, and had he been allowed to have his Accusers and Witnesses, yet he could not have cast him, because he was not present, nor lawfully summoned; and had by his Deputies given such good Reasons for his absence, that no one could interpret it to have been out of Pride and Contumacy; and that had he been present, he could not have been condemn'd by a peremptory Sentence; nay, more than all, had the whole Procedure been according to Law and Justice, yet the Sentence was not justifiable, because it was founded on Facts notoriously false, and because the Punishment inflicted exceeded as well the Power of him that gave Sentence (which reaches no farther than spiritual Things) as the demerit of the Crimes laid to his Charge. About the end of the Letter, he gave the Kings Notice how it was their common Interest to disallow this Sentence; that they were in danger of being served at the same rate; that the Pope had begun with him, but would end with them if they did not side with him for the Support of their Authority. He wrote in particular to the King of *France*, making him Umpire of his Differences with the Pope, and referring himself to his Judgment, and that of his Peers. The King of *France* sensibly touched with these Letters, offers Proposals of Accommodation to the Pope, assuring him that *Frederick* was ready to give him due Satisfaction, and would spend the rest of his Days in warring against the Infidels in the Holy Land. The Pope did but laugh at it, and replied, That he had often promised as much, and more, but never performed any thing. The King of *France* remonstrated to the Pope that he ought to forgive sixty, or seventy Times seven Times; and therefore counselled and in-

treated him in the Name of a great number of Holy Soldiers that were in a readiness to go for the Holy Land, for the good of the Catholic Church, and the benefit of Religion, in imitation of JESUS CHRIST, who submitted himself even to the Death of the Cross, to accept of that humble Proposition that he made him on the Emperor's part: But the Pope still refusing to hearken, *St. Louis* went away very much disturbed, says *Matthew Paris*, that he could not find that Humility in the Servant of the Servants of God, which he himself was Master of. Many other Princes cryed out against this Sentence of the Pope, maintaining that 'twas not in his Power to raise and put down Kings at his Pleasure; and the greatest part of the Electors and Princes of *Germany* always received *Frederick* for their lawful Emperor. Only a few Malecontents that had been gained by the Pope's Agents, elected *Henry Landgrave of Touringen* King of *Germany*, who made no great Advances, but was killed before *Ulme* in the Year 1247. *William* Earl of *Holland* was chosen in his stead, and having taken *Aix la Chapelle*, was there crown'd in 1248. All this while *Frederick* with no small Success was carrying on the War against the *Guelphs* in *Italy*; but his Son *Enrico*, who was his Lieutenant General, being taken by the *Bolognians*, and put into Prison, abated his Heat, and retired into *Apuleia*, where he ended his Days in 1250, leaving his Son *Conrad* Heir to his Estates. The Pope confirmed *William* in the Empire, excommunicated *Conrad*, and sent his Legates into *Sicily* to hinder that Kingdom from receiving any other Sovereign than the Holy See.

*Conrad*, whose Affairs went but ill in *Germany*, did nevertheless raise an Army, and pass into *Italy* to secure the States his Father had left him: And after having spent some Time in *Lombardy*, he went into *Apuleia*, where his natural Brother *Manfred* governed with the Title of Viceroy; but with the Design of making himself Sovereign. *Conrad* was received and acknowledged by all the Cities of *Sicily* and *Apuleia*, except that of *Naples*, which he laid Siege to, and took at the end of eight Months. But *William* in the mean while making great Progress in *Germany*, *Conrad* was forced to return in the Year 1251, and took the City of *Ravennae* with the help of *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*; but understanding that *William* was in his march to set upon him with a numerous Army, he betook himself back again into *Apuleia*, where he died, not without suspicion of being poisoned by his Brother *Manfred*, the 22d of *May*, in 1254, leaving his Son *Conrad* Heir to *Sicily*. *Manfred*, who did not care for parting with *Sicily*, pretended a desire of being friends with the Pope, and thereupon invites him to come to *Sicily*. Accordingly the Pope comes with an Army to make himself acknowledged Sovereign of that Kingdom; but *Manfred* quickly picks a Quarrel with him, and routs part of his Army; which so seized upon *Innocent's* Spirits, that he died at *Naples* the 7th of *December*, 1254. *Alexander* the 4th, who succeeded him, did not lay down his Predecessor's Design upon *Sicily*: But he had no better Fortune; *Manfred* defeated his Troops, and made himself Master of *Apuleia* and *Sicily*. The Pope seeing he was not able to maintain this War, gave the Kingdom to *Edmund* Son of the King of *England*, and dispensed with the Vow of that King to go for the Holy Land, on Condition he would make War upon *Manfred*, against whom he also appointed a Crusade.

While *Manfred* was strengthening himself in the Kingdom of *Sicily*, *Ecelin*, who took the part of *Frederick's* Heirs, had made himself Master of *Lombardy*; and the Pope to drive him from thence, had published a Crusade against him too at *Venice*. The greatest part of *Germany* had acknowledged *William* for their Sovereign, and as he was preparing to take a Journey into *Italy*, there to receive the Imperial Crown, he was forced to march against the *Friezlanders* who had entered into *Holland*; but going against them, he fell into a Fen that was frozen, and was there killed by an Ambuscade of his Enemies, in *December* 1256. After his Death the German Princes were divided about the Election of an Emperor, some of them declaring for *Richard* Brother to the King of *England*, and the others for *Alphonse* King of *Castile*. The former was elected at *Francfort* on the Octave of the Epiphany, in the Year 1257, by *Conrad* Archbishop of *Cologne* (who was also Proxy for *Gerard* Archbishop of *Mentz*) by *Lewis* Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*; the other in *Lent* by *Arnold* Archbishop of *Treves* as Proxy for the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, and many other Princes. Thus did the German Princes basely sell the Honour of their Nation, and their own Votes to Strangers, who for many Years together disputed the Empire without ever agreeing the Matter. All which Time *Lombardy* was the Seat of the War between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*; of the former of which *Albert*, of the latter *Ecelin* was the Head. The latter was wounded, and taken Prisoner in 1260, and died of his Wounds, after having for four and thirty Years been Master of the most considerable Cities in *Lombardy*. His Death set *Italy* at rest, which was not long after broken by the War between the *Venetians* and *Genouefe*.



*The Revolutions in Germany; and Richard being come to Francfort, after having spent all that he was worth, was forced to return to England. In their absence Ottogar King of Bohemia extended his Dominions in Germany, so that in a short Time he was become one of the most powerful Princes in Europe. In Italy, Urban the 4th, who succeeded Alexander, had published a Crusade against Manfred, and all that sided with him in Apuleia or Lombardy, and stirred up some French Lords to come into Italy. Manfred on his part entered with his Troops into the Estate of the Church, and to strengthen himself against the Pope, entered into an Alliance with James the 3d, King of Arragon, by marrying his Daughter Constantia to Peter the King's eldest Son. The Pope on his side seeing that Edmund could not prosecute the Conquest of the Kingdom of Sicily, by reason of the Troubles that were in England, invested Charles Earl of Anjou Brother of St. Louis therewith, who came to Rome in 1265, and was there crowned King of Sicily on the 28th of June, by Clement the 4th, Urban's Successor, who also made him Senator of that City. He was followed with an Army by Sea and Land; and giving Battle to Manfred on the 26th of February the following Year near Benevento, he gained an absolute and bloody Victory over his Troops, Manfred himself being killed upon the spot. After his Death the Kingdom of Sicily submitted to the Conqueror; but Conradin, whose right this Kingdom was, wrote a Letter to the Princes of Europe, wherein he laid open the Justice of his Pretensions, and implored their Assistance for its Recovery. He got together an Army composed for the most part of Volunteers, with which, by the Advice of Henry Brother of Alphonfus, he made a Descent into Tuscany, where he surprized and cut in Pieces those Forces which Charles, whom the Pope had constituted Vicar of the Empire in that Country, had left there; and at the same Time Conrad, a Son of one of the Emperor Frederick's Bastards, who was come from Antioch, drew off all Sicily from their Obedience, except Messina and Palermo, while Conradin by the Assistance of the Ghibelines, made himself Master of all Tuscany and Romagna, and entered in Triumph into Rome, where he was proclaimed Emperor by the People. But being entered into Campania with a Design to go into Sicily, Charles met him at the Lake of Fucine, called the Lake of Celano, where he gave him Battle on the 25th of August, 1268. in which Charles got the Day. Conradin, Frederick Duke of Austria, and Henry of Castile betook themselves to flight; but happening to be known in the Way, were brought back again to the Conqueror, who put them into Prison, and gave them their Trial the next Year. Conradin and Frederick were put to Death, and Henry of Castile confined to Prison. Just about the same Time too Conrad was taken by some of Charles's Party, who hanged him up; and a short Time after Enzo, the only one remaining of the Princes of Suabia, died in his Prison of Bologna. Thus unhappily perished the whole Race of the Emperor Frederick.*

*Charles Earl of Anjou deposes Manfred, and seizes himself upon Sicily.*

*Conradin disputes the Kingdom of Sicily with Charles; he is deposed and executed.*

*The Election of Rodolphus to the Empire, and his Actions*

The House of Austria quickly succeeded that of Suabia in Glory and Power; for Richard being dead, and Alphonfus having no Friends left him in Germany, the Electors assembled themselves in October 1273. at Francfort. according to the Counsel of Pope Gregory X. and there elected Rodolphus Earl of Hapsburg, without any regard had to the Remonstrances of the Deputies of Alphonfus, or the Solicitations of those of Ottogar King of Bohemia, who thought the Empire had been assured to him (tho' some Historians say that he refused it) Rodolphus was crowned the same Year at Aix la Chapelle, and the next was confirmed by the Pope in the Council at Lyons, and acknowledged in an Assembly at Nuremberg, by all the Princes of Germany, except Ottogar King of Bohemia, who refused to be there. Rodolphus declared him a Rebel, and required him to deliver up Austria, and many other Provinces which he pretended belonged to the Empire. Ottogar refusing to deliver them, Rodolphus declares War against him, and lays Siege to Vienna in 1276. Ottogar came with an Army to its Assistance, and the King of Hungary to that of Rodolphus; but yet they did not come to a Battle, the Princes of Germany interposing their Authority to make up these Differences.

*The Revolutions in the Empire and Italy, during the thirteenth Century.*

It was agreed, that King Ottogar should content himself with Bohemia and Moravia, and should restore Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the other Provinces to Rodolphus, for the performance of which he should take his Oath; and to the King of Hungary those Cities which he had taken from him, as well as the Hostages and Treasures that he had of his. This Peace did not last long, for the King of Bohemia, not caring faithfully to perform these Articles, and being very angry that he should be thus forced to submit to Rodolphus, provides a new Army, and comes to set upon the Emperor, but he lost the Battle and his own Life. Rodolphus took Moravia, from Wenceslaus the Son of Ottogar, about eight Years old, leaving him Bohemia, under the Tuition of his Uncle Otto, Marquis of Brandenburg. He gave Austria to his eldest Son Albert, whose Posterity took the Name of Austria, as more illustrious than that of Hapsburg.

The Establishment of Rodolphus lessened Charles the King of Sicily's Authority in Italy. Pope Nicholas III. took from him the Vicariate of Tuscany, and the Quality of Senator of Rome; and in Recompence received of Rodolphus, Romagna, and the Lieutenantancy of Ravenna, which he gave to the Holy See, leaving all the other States of Italy in a sort of Liberty dependant upon the Empire. But it would not content the Pope that he had deprived Charles of his Authority in the upper Italy; he had a design to get the Kingdom of Sicily from him too; and about this, deals with Peter King of Arragon, as Heir of the House of Suabia by his Mother Constantia the Daughter of Manfred. This gave occasion to the Conspiracy that was laid by John, Lord of the Island of Crocida, whom Charles had robb'd of his Possessions, against this Prince, and all the French that were in Sicily, which did not break out till after the Death of Nicholas, when the Sicilians massacred all the French in the Kingdom, on Easter Sunday 1282. Charles coming to revenge this cruel Action, the King of Arragon enters into Sicily with his Army, and amuses Charles with a Truce. His Admiral Soria lays Siege to Naples in the Year 1284. and, having defeated Charles, his Troops, takes his Son Charles the lame Prisoner, and sends him into Arragon. Charles had enough to do to keep Apuleia and Calabria, and not being able long to survive the Misfortunes, died at Foggia in Apuleia the 7th of January, 1285. leaving his Son Charles the lame his Heir, who got out of Prison in 1287. but on Condition that he should renounce all Pretences to Sicily. Yet he was no sooner got out but he made himself be crowned at Rome King of Sicily and Apuleia, on the 28th of May, 1289. Alphonfus dying some Time after, Charles made up the Matter with Dangianus his Successor, the latter renouncing his Pretensions to the Kingdom of Sicily, on Condition that Charles of Valois should lay down his to Arragon. Yet for all this, Charles the lame could not enjoy Sicily in Peace, for Frederick the younger Brother of Dangianus, to whom Alphonfus, by his Will, had left this Kingdom, got himself crowned King by the Sicilians, so that Charles was never in Possession of any but the Continent; the Kingdom of Sicily as it is called, being from that Time divided into two; one beyond the Pharos of Messina, which is the Island of Sicily; the other on this side of that Tower, call'd the Kingdom of Naples.

The Emperor Rodolphus ended his Days at Germelheim near Spire, the last Day of September. 1291. having reigned eighteen Years. He laid the Foundation of the prodigious Greatness of the House of Austria; but he laid down as it were the Empire of Italy, by neglecting to go thither, as well as by selling his Power over many Cities of Tuscany. Adolphus Earl of Nassau was chosen into his Place the 6th of January. 1292. and crowned at Francfort. He peaceably enjoyed the Empire for some Years; but the German Lords being discontented that he had not allow'd them a Share in a Sum of Money that the King of England had given for help against France, and seeing that he had not Authority nor Strength sufficient to maintain the Peace of Germany, deposed him in 1298. and in his stead elected Albert Duke of Austria, Son of the Emperor Rodolphus. Adolphus defended his Right; but the Fortune of War quickly decided the Case in favour of Albert; Adolphus being defeated and kill'd in the first Engagement near Worms, in the Month of July. After his Death Albert was elected anew, and crowned at Aix la Chapelle, and remain'd in peaceable Possession of the Empire of Germany.

## CHAP. II.

### The Life, Letters, and other Writings of Pope Innocent the Third.

*The Life, Letters, and other Writings of Pope Innocent III.*

INNOCENT the Third, before he was raised to the Pontifical Dignity, went by the Name of Lotharius. He was born at Anagni, being the Son of Thrasimond, of the Family of the Earls of Signi, and of Claricia a Roman Lady. He studied at Rome, Paris, and Bologna; and being upon his Return to Rome, was ordained Subdeacon by Gregory VIII. and when he was but 29 Years old; was made Chief Deacon, by the Title of St. Sergius and St. Bacchus, by Clement III. His Learning and Merit made him be unanim-

ously chosen by the Cardinals, on the very Day of Celestin III's Death, which happened on the 8th of January, 1198. The Life, although he was then but very young, and no more than Deacon. He was consecrated Priest the 21st of February the same Year, and raised to the Pontifical Throne on the Sunday next after the Feast of the Chair of St. Peter at Antioch. After having satisfied the People by the ordinary Largesses, and received an Oath of Allegiance from them, he made an Order, forbidding all Officers in the Court of Rome, to take any Fee or Gratuity.



tuity for what should be done at *Rome*, except the Rights that were due to those who drew up and writ the Bulls, on which he laid a very moderate Impost. Having remedied this Abuse, he applied himself wholly to decide in Cases that should be brought before him. Thrice a Week he had a publick Confistory, where he in Person gave Judgment in all principal Causes, leaving the meaner ones to his Commissaries. This quick Dispatch brought him a Multitude of Causes from all Parts of the World; so that an Author that lived in his Time, remarks, that he in his Popedom decided more and more weighty Affairs, than had ever been decided in thrice the Time in the Church of *Rome*. This was the Occasion of his writing such a vast Number of Letters, of which there is a Collection divided into nineteen Books according to the Years of his Pontificate. The two first were published in the last Century, by Cardinal *Sirlett*, printed at *Rome* in 1543. and reprinted at *Cologne* in 1575. and at *Venice* in 1578. Monsieur *Besquet* found four others, viz. the thirteenth, and the three following Books at *Tolouze* in the Library of the College of *Foix*, and printed them in 1635. Monsieur *Baluze* has since published the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, with Part of the fifth, and a Collection of the Letters that concern the Empire, and caused them to be printed at *Paris* in 1682. with some other Books that had been out before. The third, and the following Books to the tenth, were found in Manuscript in the Vatican Library. The three last are wholly lost. Because these Letters contain many Historical Facts and Points of Discipline, which may show us what the Ecclesiastical Polity of the Church of *Rome* was in the Time of *Innocent*, by which the Popes have ever since taken their Measures, I thought it might be worth while to make an Extract (at least of Part) of them, by particularizing the Subject of each Letter.

The first then is a Circular Letter about his Election, certifying all the Faithful, how that after the Death of *P. Celestine* his Predecessor, his Funeral being over, he was chosen Pope by the Cardinals; and recommending himself to all their Prayers, that God would give him Grace and Strength to bear that heavy Burden of the Papal Chair. This Letter is full of Expressions of Humility. The 2<sup>d</sup>. and 3<sup>d</sup>. are nothing but this same Letter directed, with some few Alterations, to the King of *France*, and to the Abbots, Priors, and other Religious of that Kingdom.

There is an Expression in the second which is no small Honour to the King of *France*. — 'In Consideration, says he, that the Kingdom of *France* has always remain'd in Unity with the Church, we address the First-fruits of our Letters to you, that are the first and eldest Son of the Church of *Rome*.'

He writ also a particular Letter to the Patriarch of *Jerusalem* upon the same Subject, in which he tells him what a fervent Desire he has to recover the Holy Land, and deliver the City of *Jerusalem*. This is the eleventh Letter of the first Book.

In the fourth Letter of the same Book he writes to the Bishop of *Paris*, to put him in Mind of exhorting King *Philip* to take the Queen his Consort again, and to use her kindly.

In the fifth he forbids the Archbishop of *Strigonia* to perform that Vow he had made of going to *Jerusalem*, unless the Kingdom of *Hungary* should be in Peace. In the next Letter he intrusts him with the Reform of a Monastery.

In the seventh he reprimands the Abbot of *St. Martin* of *Hungary*, for being in a Conspiracy with the Lord of that Country against the King, contrary to the Injunction of Pope *Celestine*.

In the eighth he entrusts the Bishop of *Ferrara* with the Care of the Temporal and Spiritual Affairs of the Abby of *Nonantula*, with Authority to punish the Abbot.

The ninth is a Permission to the King of *Hungary* to remove a Monastery from one Place to another.

In the tenth he advises one of the Sons of the King of *Hungary* to make a Voyage to the Holy Land, to acquit himself of a Vow which his Father had made, and which he had obliged himself to perform.

The thirteenth is a moral Exhortation to the Princes of *Germany*, inviting them to take up Arms against the Infidels.

In the fourteenth he appoints the Dean Elect, and *Nicholas de Levennes* Canon of *Cumbray*, Commissioners to give Judgment in a Difference about a Church that was between the Abby of *Prom*, and that of *Premontre*: But because about the End of the Commission he had added these Words, *quantum de jure poteritis*, after these, *probationes presentis partis recipere*; and consequently the Commissioners seemed to have Power to prepare Things for a Hearing without observing this Clause, the Pope explains himself in the 62<sup>d</sup>. Letter, and declares that this Clause respects as well the Preparation for, as the Judgment of the Cause.

The fifteenth, which is written to two Cardinal Legates, is against an Agreement entred into without his Knowledge by a Prior, and the Prelates and Consuls of the Cities of *Tuscany*, which he pretends is a Demesne of the Holy See.

In the sixteenth, written to the Chapter of *St. Anastasia*, having first establish'd this for a Maxim, that all important Causes are to be carried to *Rome*; he declar'd the Election of a Bishop, which this Chapter was forced to by the Secular Power,

to be null, and order'd the Canons to proceed to the choosing another, who more desired to do Good, than to enjoy the Dignity, *qui non minus prodesse desiderit. Et noverit quam precesse*. He writ two Letters at the same Time, to the same Purpose, one to the Archbishops of *Capua*, *Reggio*, and *Palermos*, the other to the Emperors, to procure a free Election. These make the 17<sup>th</sup>. and 18<sup>th</sup>.

In the nineteenth, addressed to the Bishop of *Paris*, he declares, That a Priest who by the Advice of his Physicians has been gelt for prevention of the Leprosy, is not thereby render'd incapable of discharging his ministerial Office.

By the twentieth, he commissions the Bishop of *Troyes*, and the Abbot of *S. Loup* to absolve a Priest that had been accused of Murder, if he could clear himself Canonically, and his Accuser did not appear.

In the twenty first, he orders the Archbishop and Archdeacon of *Trani* to inform against the Bishop of *Vesti*, for not having observed an Agreement which he made with his Church, for the Restitution of many things that he had taken from it.

In the two and twentieth, he gives leave to the Archbishop of *Milan* to ordain those Deacons and Priests who had receiv'd the Clericature of the Pope, because of the Necessity he found himself in of having Priests.

The twenty third is an Oath of Fidelity taken by *Peter* the Prefect of *Rome*, and by two other Officers to Pope *Innocent III*.

In the twenty fourth, he orders the Bishops of *Spire*, *Straßburg*, and *Wormes*, to command a German Lord to set the Archbishop of *Salerno*, whom he kept Prisoner, at Liberty; and if he would not, to suspend the Diocese wherein he was detained.

In the five and twentieth, he orders the Bishop of *Sutri*, and the Abbot of *St. Anastasius*, to absolve *Philip* Duke of *Sua-bia*, provided he set the Archbishop of *Salerno* at Liberty.

In the twenty sixth, which is superscribed to the same Persons, he orders them to charge the German Princes to set all the *Sicilians* at Liberty, that they had Prisoners, and upon their Refusal to excommunicate them, and interdict their Estates.

In the seven and twentieth, he recommends the Assistance of his Legates, which he had sent into the Exerchate, to the Archbishop of *Ravenna*, and his Suffragans.

In the twenty eighth, he desires the Archbishop of *Sens*, and the Bishop of *Meaux*, to comfort the Countess of *Champagne*, about the Death of her Son, and to make use of Ecclesiastical Censures, for the Prevention of any one's doing her any Injury.

The twenty ninth is to the Bishop of *Ferentino*, and contains a Decision of the following Case. A Man had promised another by Oath to marry his Daughter; and there was nothing to hinder the Performance of it, but the Daughter's Unwillingness to comply: Two or three Years after, another Man espoused her, *per verba de presenti*. The Pope's Judgment is, That the second Contract ought to stand, if it were certainly made *per verba de presenti*, but if it was entered into like the other, *per verba de futuro*, then the former should take place.

The thirtieth he writes to the Chapter of *Straßburg*, to certify them, that for the Preservation of the Peace of their Chapter, the Provost of *St. Thomas*, (in consequence of the Grant that he had made him of it by his Legate the Cardinal of *St. Cecilia*) had given up into his Hands the Right that he claimed to one of their Prebends, and had thereby put an End to the Suit that was between them and that Provost.

In the one and thirtieth, written to the Archbishop of *Tarragon*, and the Sacrist of *Wie*, he entrusts them with the Judgment of a Difference about the Election of an Abbot of *St. Bennet* of *Bage*.

The thirty second is an Act by which he confirms the Settlement that the Archbishop of *Colooza*, had made of some Churches upon the Provost of that Church.

The thirty third is addressed to two Canons of *Pisa*, ordering them to take care that a certain Man's Goods which he had mortgaged for a Sum of Money, should be restored him, he paying the Principal of that Sum, for which his Estate was mortgaged.

In the thirty fourth, he warns the Sovereign Magistrate, and the Counsellors of *Viterbo*, not to go on in that Treaty which they and those of *Pisa* had begun to make with the Governors of *Tuscany*, without the Consent of the Holy See. He gives Order in the following Letter to his Legates to interdict the *Pisans*, if they did not obey this Command.

In the six and thirtieth, he gives Judgment that a Priest, who at the Point of Death, has received a Monachal Habit from the Hands of a simple Monk, and has thereupon been carried into a Monastery, but afterwards upon his Recovery has quitted the Habit, and left the Monastery with the Leave of the Abbot, is not afterwards thereby obliged to lead a Monastical Life.

The seven and thirtieth is the Decision of a Suit that was between the Archbishop of *Milan*, and the Monastery of *St. Donatus* of *Scozula*.

In the thirty eighth, he confirms the Excommunication of *Marcovald* by his Legates, for having seized upon the Goods of the Church; and forbids all his Subjects to obey him, freeing them



Pope In-  
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them all from any Oath of Allegiance that they might have taken to him.

The thirty ninth is a Decree, ordering the Bishop of *Lodi* to settle a Clerk, named *James*, in the Prebend of the Church of *Novara*, which had been given him by his Predecessor, except it could be proved that the two Persons who were in Possession of the vacant Prebends were chosen before his Predecessor forbade the choosing any other but *James*. The next Letter is but the same over again, in respect of the other that had been chosen by the Holy See for the other Prebend.

By the forty first and forty second, he puts a Monastery, that depended before immediately upon the Holy See, under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Luni*.

In the forty third, he gives order to the Archbishop of *Gnesz* and his Suffragans, to make use of their Ecclesiastical Censures upon the Princes of *Poland* that troubled the Duke of that Country.

In the forty fourth, he gives the Bishop of *Worms* notice, to take care of the Celebration of the Feast of *S. Paul's* Conversion in his Diocese.

The forty fifth, is the Confirmation of a Privilege granted by the Bishop of *Chartres* to the Curates of the Deanry of *Espernon*, and to the other Archdeaconries and Deanries in his Diocese.

In the six and fortieth, addressed to the Archpriest and Canons of *Perusa*, he confirms the Rules they had made for the Government of their Church; which were, that there should be eight Regular Canons and professed Monks in their Chapter, two other Clerks, Subdeacons or Acolites: That among the Canons there should be three Offices, an Archpriest, an Ordinary, and a Chamberlain: That the Archpriest should be the Chief, and should have the care of the Society: That the Ordinary should be entrusted with the care of the Cloister of the Divine Office, and of the Reading, and should be President in the absence of the Archpriest: And that it should be the Chamberlain's Business to take care of the temporal Affairs: For the Election of an Archpriest three Persons should be chosen out of their Canons, who should take the Votes of all the others: That the Ordinary and the Chamberlain should be appointed by the Archpriest, but with the Consent of the Society; and many other Rules doth this Letter contain, for the Settlement of this House.

The forty seventh, is a Letter written to the Pope, by the Consuls and Inhabitants of the Castle of *Monte-Bello*, whereby they give themselves up to the Church of *Rome*.

In the forty eighth, to the Bishop of *Marsi*, he decides the following Case. A Man married a Woman with whom he had before been carnally acquainted; and after that, married another, of whom he had had Children: The first Woman demands either that he may live with her, or else she may have leave to marry another. The Pope's Answer is, that if this Man married the former *per verba de presenti*, he then ought to return her; but if *per verba de futuro*, they must then both have a Penance enjoined them, and the Woman be at liberty to marry whom she would.

In the forty ninth, to the Abbot and Religious of the Monastery of *S. Prosper* of *Riom*, he declares null the Alienation of the Possessions of this Monastery by *Guy*, a former Abbot thereof.

By the fiftieth, he suspended the Patriarch of *Antioch* from the Power he had of ordaining Bishops, because he had, without permission from the Holy See, translated him that had been chosen Bishop of *Apamea* to *Tripoli*, and made him Bishop of that City. In the next he suspends this Bishop too.

The fifty second, fifty third, and fifty fourth are writ about a Church newly built at *Compeign*, which they would have under the Bishop of *Soissons*. He writes to him to dedicate it, and that he is willing it should belong to him, so the Bishop of *Arras* would but consent. And to him too he writes to bring him to agree to it.

The fifty fifth, is a Confirmation of the Judgment of his Predecessor against the Canons of *Limoges*, for abusing and driving out a Priest that the Bishop of *Perigueux* would have made a Canon of that Church: whereby he ordered the Archbishop of *Bourges* to excommunicate the Canons, and interdict their Church till they gave the Bishop Satisfaction. The Archbishop executed the Orders of Pope *Celestin* the third. *Innocent* in this Letter confirms what his Predecessor had done, and orders the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* to carry on the procedure against the Canons.

In the fifty sixth, he settled the Right of Metropolitan of all the Bishopricks in the Isle of *Corfica*, upon the Archbishop of *Pisa*, and grants him the Primacy of the Provinces of *Sardinia*.

The fifty seventh, is to forbid giving any Fiefs or Benefices to those that were concerned in the Murder of the Bishop of *Vicenza*.

By the fifty eighth, he took off the Sentence of Excommunication, that the Legate of his Predecessor had pronounced against the Bishop of *Zamora* in *Spain*.

The fifty ninth, is written to the Deans of the Churches of *St. Mary* and *St. Peter* of *Laon*, and to the Chancellor of the Church of that City, about the Presentation to a Benefice disputed between the Archdeacon, who had presented a young

Man not twenty, and another who had provided a Priest. *Innocent* decides in favour of the last, if the thing was so as it was represented:

In the sixtieth, he commits to the Bishop of *Luques* and two other Persons, the Decision of a Difference between the Bishop of *Orense* in *Spain*, and the Abbot of *Cella-Nova*, about the pretended Exemption of this Abbot.

In the sixty first, to the Archbishop of *Sens* he revokes the Privilege granted by his Predecessor, to the Bishop of *Chartres*, which deprived that Archbishop of the Power of absolving those whom this Bishop had excommunicated; till their Cause should be examined by the Abbots of *St. Colombus*, and *St. Germain des Prez*.

In the sixty second, he determin'd, that Women may come into the Church in a short Time after their Lying-in; but yet, if they think fit to stay away out of Respect, their Devotion is not to be condemned.

In the sixty fourth, he makes null all the Presentations to Benefices by the Secular Power in the Archbishoprick of *Aversa*. And in the next Letter he does the same for the Archbishoprick of *Salerna*, in all those Presentations that had been so made while that Archbishop was kept Prisoner.

In the sixty sixth, he gives leave to the Monks of *Gualdo*, to change their Confinement for Liberty.

By the sixty seventh, he commits the Reform of the Abbey of *St. Maixant* to the Bishop of *Poitiers*, and orders him to do Justice to the Prior of *Azay*.

In the sixty eighth, he order'd the Bishop of *Lodi* not to have any regard to those forged Letters, by which he had hindered the Election of a Bishop by the Chapter of *Novara*.

In the sixty ninth, he discharged the Bishop of *Troces* from a Vow which he had made of going to the Holy Land, upon Condition that he should send some religious Person thither, who for the Relief of the Country should carry with him the Sum which he would have spent in his Voyage. In this Letter he mentions a Letter of Pope *Alexander* his Predecessor, which says, that the Vow of going to the Holy Land may be exchanged.

In the seventieth, he commissions the Bishop of *Liege*, the Abbot of *St. Tron*, and the Provost of *Utrecht*, to inform against the Archbishop of *Treves*, with Power to suspend him, if they should find him guilty of the Crimes whereof he stood accused by the Dean of his Church.

By the seventy first, he entrusted the Bishop of *Zamora* in joint Commission with an Abbot and a Prior, to put in execution the Decree of his Predecessor Pope *Lucius* the 3d, which constituted the Archdeacon of *Troischaux* Bishop of *Leon*, notwithstanding a contrary Decree of his Legate published some Time after.

The seventy second, is written to the Bishop of *Alisa*, to excommunicate those that pretended to make him answer before Secular Judges.

The seventy third, is an Order to the Grand Master, and the Brothers Hospitallers of *St. John* of *Jerusalem*, to restore to the Church of *Tripoli* the Church of *Nepin*, and all its Dependencies, according as it had been ordered by the Holy See.

By the seventy fourth, he permitted the Bishop of *Anagni*, with the Consent of his Chapter, to mortgage the Church Lands, for to purchase a Castle which was for his Conveniency.

The seventy fifth, is a solemn Decree for confirming the Election of *Ademar* to the Bishoprick of *Poitiers*, which there had been a Suit about at the Pope's Tribunal. After the Death of *William* Bishop of *Poitiers*, the Chapter agreed to refer the Election of a Bishop to six of the Canons: These having let six Months slip without any Election, the Agreement was renewed in the Presence of the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, and *Ademar* was chosen. The Election was confirmed by that Archbishop; but on the other side, the Dean, the Subdean, and some Canons opposed it, pleading that the Time of Agreement was expired; that 'twas true it had been renewed, but upon Condition that the Election should be the same Day; that the Electors had put it off to another Day, and had done it privately, without making the Chapter acquainted, contrary to the Appeal which the Dean had made to the Holy See. Upon these Grounds they proceeded to another Election, and named the Bishop of *Nantes*. Some of those that had made the former Election, seeing that the Earl of *Poitiers* did not much like it, came over to them. The rest stood to their Election, answering that *Ademar* was chosen the very Day of the Renewal of the Agreement, and that the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* notified it to the Chapter, which agreed to it; that they dared not make it publick, because of the Earl of *Poitiers*, which was the Occasion of the Electors securing themselves in some safe place before they ventured to publish what they had done in the City: And as for the rest, that the Consent of that Prince was not at all necessary for the Validity of the Election. The Pope having heard the Attornies of both Parties in a publick Consistory, gave Judgment in favour of *Ademar*, though the King of *England* was against him.

In the seventy sixth, he declared, that tho' his Predecessors had consider'd the Ordination of the Clergy that had no Titles, as nothing, yet he being willing to act with more Lenity towards them, meant that those, or the Successors of those who



*Pope Innocent's Letters.* had ordained them, should provide for their Subsistence till they had Benefices: And this he enjoins the Bishop of *Zamora* in particular, in the Case of a poor Clerk whom his Predecessor had ordained Subdeacon, without any Title, either to a Benefice or Estate.

By the seventy seventh, he advised the Dean of *Astorga* to content himself with the Privileges and Rights that his Predecessors had enjoyed, without overloading the Chapter.

In the seventy eighth, he ordered the Archbishop of *Magdeburg* to expel him that had been thrust into the Bishoprick of *Prague* by the Secular Power, and to give the Chapter the Liberty of choosing one according to form.

In the seventy ninth, he commanded the Archbishop of *Auch* to hinder all Ecclesiasticks obtaining Benefices by means of the Laicks. He ordered him also in the eightieth, eighty first, and eighty second, to make all the rambling Monks to return to their Monasteries; to take care for the Punishment of Hereticks; and to oppose Pluralities either of Livings or Abbeys.

In the eighty fourth, he condemned the Dealings of two Parsons who would have changed Livings; the one of which put a trick upon the other, by making him resign his Living to a Kinsman of his, and then refusing to give him his own. The Pope ordered his Living to be restor'd him.

In the eighty fifth, he wrote to the Archbishop of *Milan* to excommunicate his Advocate called *Passeguerre*, for having spoken disdainfully of a Decree he had made, if he did not give Surety to make Satisfaction within a Fortnight.

The eighty sixth, is an order to the Archbishop of *Sens*, to put the Curates of the Bishoprick of *Chartres* in Possession of that Privilege of Exemption that their Bishop had granted them, and which had been confirmed to them by the 45th Letter.

In the next, he ordered him to take care to provide for those who had been presented to Benefices in that Diocese, and whom the Bishop had put by without any Reason.

In the eighty eighth, he vindicated himself from a Reproach that the Magistrates of *Tuscany* cast upon him, for intending to deliver up the City of *Affisi* to the Duke of *Spoletto*. He says, that he was so far from that, that he had excommunicated the Duke, and had not given him Absolution but upon Condition that he should deliver up the Country which he was in Possession of, which he had in part performed by restoring the Cities of *Foligni* and *Terni*, and he had done the same by the Castle of *Affisi*, had not the Citizens of that City, and those of *Perusia* opposed it: As for the rest, the Reason he did not like that Treaty which they had made with his Legates, was only because there seemed to be some Things in it which were not for the Honour of the Church.

The eighty ninth, is an Act of a Grant made to one *Peter*, of a Prebend of *St. Hillary* of *Poitiers*, which had belonged to his Uncle.

In the ninetieth, he adjudged a Prebend of the Church of *Antwerp* to him that the Chapter had provided, against one that his Predecessor had given a Canon's place to for his Subsistence; because this last had conceal'd his having any more Benefices sufficient for his Maintenance.

In the ninety first, he gave leave to the Bishop of *Alisa* to hire an Estate to help forward the Payment of some Debts that he had contracted by the repairing of his Church.

The ninety second, is against the incestuous Marriage of the King of *Castile's* Daughter with the King of *Leon*. He charges Cardinal *Rainier* to excommunicate them if they did not part. He orders him also to excommunicate the King of *Navarre* if he had broken that Treaty which he had made with the King of *Castile*, and to keep all the Kings and Princes of *Spain* in peace. The following Letter is to the same Purpose.

In the ninety fourth, he recommends it to the Archbishop of *Aix* to assist the Commissaries of the Holy See, in their Proceedings against the Hereticks of *Provence*, and the *Vaudois*, *Catares*, *Patarins*, and others. This same Letter is likewise directed to the Archbishops of *Narbonne*, *Auch*, *Vienne*, *Arles*, *Embrun*, *Tarragon* and *Lyons*, and their Suffragans, and to all the Princes, Barons, Earls, and in general to all the People of those Provinces.

In the ninety fifth, he exhorted all the Ecclesiasticks to favour the Brothers of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit founded at *Montpellier*: And in the ninety seventh, he confirms the Privileges of that Hospital.

In the ninety sixth, he ordered the Archbishop of *Trani*, and the Bishop of *Bitonto* to take care of the Restitution of those Things that had been taken from the Monastery of *Pont de Brinde*, by excommunicating those that were in Possession of them, till they should restore them.

In the ninety eighth, he gave Judgment that the Canons newly created in the Chapter of *Ferrara* ought to have part of the Additions to the Revenues of that Chapter.

In the ninety ninth, he puts the King of *Portugal* in mind of paying that Acknowledgment, which his Father *Alphonfus* had engaged himself to pay to the Holy See every Year, after having received the Title of King, and informs him that he has given order to his Legate to force him, if he would not do it willingly.

In the hundredth, he order'd the Chaplains of *St. John* of

*Perficeto*, to pay their Archpriest the Right of Procuration, which he should give the Bishop of *Bolign* for his Visit.

In the hundred and first, he ordered the Archbishop of *Vienne* to put him that had been named by the Abbot of *Chaise-Dieu*, in Possession of the Abbey of *Faverni*, if he found that Abbot's Right was well grounded.

In the hundred and second, he answered the Chapter of *Spoletto*, that the Marriage of a Man with a Concubine which he kept while his Wife was alive, is valid, except it could be proved that one of them had a Hand in her Death.

The hundred and third, is in favour of a Man who had a Canonry of the Church of *Laon* resigned him, but had been opposed in it by another that the Holy See had provided, and cast after a great deal of Charges, in a Suit at *Rome* under Pope *Celestin*. The Pope willing to deal favourably with him, ordered that he should be acknowledged and considered as a Canon by the Chapter of *Laon*, and should enter upon the first Canon's place vacant in that Church, notwithstanding a Decree of the Holy See to the contrary. This is the Subject of this Letter written to the Archbishop of *Sens*, and the Bishop and Chapter of *Laon*.

In the hundred and fourth, he determines that a Man who has enter'd into any Order when he was very Young, and afterwards has changed it, because of his Weakness, for one less rigid and severe, and has in this last received all Orders, may without scruple perform the Functions incumbent on those Orders, remaining a Monk in the latter Monastery.

In the hundred and fifth, and the hundred and sixth, he declared to the Archbishop of *Monreal* in *Sicily*, that he is obliged to redeem all the Estates of his Church which he had alienated to no good purpose, and forbids him to alienate them any more.

In the hundred and seventh, he determined that Beneficiaries are obliged to reside in the Church where their Benefices lie.

In the hundred and eighth, he confirmed a Treaty made between *Walter* Archbishop of *Rouen*, and *Richard* King of *England*, by the Consent of the Chapter and Bishops of the Province of *Normandy*, by which the Archbishop of *Rouen* was to give *Andely* to the King, except the Churches, Prebends, Fiefs, and the Land of *Fresne*: And the King in lieu was to give him all the Mills which he had at *Rouen*, the Towns of *Diepe*, and *Boteille*, with the Land of *Louviers*, and the Forest of *Aliermont*.

In the hundred and ninth, to the Bishops of *Arras*, *Tournay*, *Terouane* and *Cambray*, he laid open the whole Suit that had been about the Election of a Provost into the Church of *Seclin* in *Flanders*. The Countess of *Flanders* who claimed the Patronage of that Church had named a Provost for it: The Canons being unwilling to receive him, she appealed to the Holy See; notwithstanding which Appeal the Canons had chosen *John* of *Bethune* for their Provost, who had obtained a Rescript from the Predecessor of *Innocent*, ordering the Bishop and Provost of *Soissons* to maintain the Election, and excommunicate the Countess if she should oppose it. In Pursuance of this, the Commissaries had excommunicated the Countess, and their Judgment had been likewise seconded by other Commissaries: But at last the Case being brought before *Innocent*, he declar'd, That the Rescript in favour of *John* of *Bethune* had been obtained by a Trick, that the Countess had been unjustly excommunicated; and therefore he revoked all that had been acted by the Commissaries. This is the Substance of this Letter and the next to the Archbishop of *Rheims*.

In the hundred and eleventh, he forbid the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to build a Chappel that might any way be a Prejudice to his Cathedral.

In the hundred and twelfth, he declared it meritorious to reform Women from their lewdnesses, and to marry them.

By the three following, he ordered that the Monastery of *Baume* should be subject to that of *Cluny*.

In the hundred and sixteenth, written to the Canons and Provost of *St. Juvenca* of *Pavia*, he order'd them to entertain the Canon, to whom his Predecessor had given a Mandate to be admitted into their Chapter.

In the hundred and seventeenth, to the Archbishop of *Bourges*, he declar'd, That the Pope alone has Authority to permit Bishops to change one See for another.

By the hundred and eighteenth, he entrusted the Bishop, the Chanter, and a Canon of the Church of *Paris*, with the Execution of a Mandate which his Predecessor had given to *Bernard* of *Lisle*, for a Canonship of *Tournay*, in which he had been invested by the Dean of *Paris*.

In the hundred and nineteenth, he gave Commission to the Bishop of *Lamego*, to a Monk that had before been Bishop of that City, and to a Prior, to be Judges in a Difference between the Archbishop of *Brague*, and the Canons of *St. Martin* of *Castre* about Immunity.

In the hundred and twentieth, he ordered the Archbishop of *Milan* to confer the Dignity of Chancellor of his Church on *Henry*, Subdeacon of the Church of *Rome*.

The Three next were written to procure the Restitution of those Things to the Cardinal of *Sancta Maria*, which had been taken from him by *Hubert* the Son of *Palavicin*. He ordered that

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that unless within a Fortnight they gave Satisfaction for the Damage done to that Cardinal, the Churches of *Placentia* and *Parma* should be deprived of their Bishopricks, and subjected to the Archbishop of *Ravenna*.

In the hundred twenty fourth, he gives leave to the Bishop of *Oviedo* to make a Monastery of a House of Regular Canons.

In the hundred twenty fifth, he gave Permission to take off the Censure that had been published against the Kingdom of *Leon*, and to absolve the King; but not before he had restored the Bishop of *Leon*, and made him Reparation for the Injury he had done him.

In the hundred twenty and sixth, to the Archbishop of *Tarragon*, he said, That having heard that his Church was too full, by reason of the Benefices that had been given to a great many Persons both within and without his Diocess, he would have him for the next seven Years let alone the filling of Vacancies, that by this Means it might be eased.

The hundred and twenty seventh, is a Confirmation of a Mandate granted by his Predecessor for a Canonry of the Church of *Cambray*.

The two next have nothing in them worth taking Notice of.

The hundred and thirtieth, is the Confirmation of a Treaty between the King of *France* and Earl of *Flanders*.

In the hundred and thirty first, to the Abbots of *Cîteaux*, and of *Clurvaux*, he forbade the Archbishop of *Rouen* to act in any thing against *Philip* King of *France*, to the Prejudice of that Appeal which he had put into the Holy See; and he trusts these two Abbots to see the Order executed.

In the hundred thirty second, he granted the Bishop of *Tortona* the Power of forcing the Monks of his Diocess to observe the Interdict which he had published.

In the hundred and thirty third, he gave Order that the Parishioners of *St. Achindunus* at *Constantinople*, dependent upon the Archbishop of *Grado*, should pay their Tithes to this Archbishop, tho' they had been used to pay them heretofore to the Bishops his Suffragans.

In the hundred and thirty fourth, he answer'd the Abbot and the Religious of *Belleville*, that they might build Oratories wheresoever they had Religious sufficient to celebrate Divine Office, provided still that they first have leave of the Bishop of the Place. By the next Letter he freed them from that excessive Duty of Procuration which they owed the Religious of *St. Irenæus*.

The hundred and thirty sixth, is an Approbation of the Statutes of the Abbey of *St. Waast of Arras*.

In the hundred and thirty seventh, he confirms the Customs and Privileges of the Abbey of *Vezelai*, and grants it some new ones, particularly that of singing *Gloria in excelsis* on the Day of the Translation of *St. Mary Magdalene* in *Lent*.

In the hundred thirty and eighth, he revok'd a Privilege granted to a certain Chapter, that their Church should never be interdicted upon the Account of any Injury done by the Lords of the place to the neighbour Churches, because they had abused this Grant.

In the hundred and fortieth, he confirmed the Decree of the General Council of *Lateran* for settling the number of Domesticks, that Prelates might take with them when they went a visiting.

In the hundred and forty first, he gave his Approbation of the Agreement which the Abbot and Religious of *Vezelai* had made with the Earl of *Nevers*. He writes in the next to the Archbishop of *Sens*, to the Bishops of *Autun*, *Langres*, *Auxerre* and *Nevers*, to take care that this Agreement be observed by the Count of *Nevers* and his Successors.

In the hundred forty and third, he determined that a Clerk who had bragged of his having abused a Woman, ought to be turned out of his Living, and that the Husband of the Woman should take her again.

In the hundred forty fourth, he enjoins one who had been elected Bishop, to whom his Predecessor had given leave to be for some Time absent from his Diocess for the studying of the Holy Scriptures, and who had abused this Allowance, so as to apply himself to the Study of the Civil Law; he enjoins him, I say, to return to his Diocess, and to take with him one well versed in the Holy Scripture to instruct him.

In the hundred forty fifth, he gave order to execute a Mandate which his Predecessor had given his Secretary for a Canonry of *Poitiers*.

The hundred forty and sixth, is about the Reform of the Monastery of *Cadum* in *Poitou*. In the following, he order'd that the Abbot of this Monastery should be upheld against the Abbots that had been forcibly put in by the Monks.

The three following concern the Privileges of the Abbey of *Vezelai*.

In the hundred fifty and first, he allows him that had been chosen Bishop of *Cambray*, to give up his Right, and would have the Chapter to proceed to a new Election; and if they could not agree upon a Man, then that the Archbishop of *Rheims*, to whom this Letter is written, should provide one.

In the hundred fifty and second, he gives leave to that Archbishop to erect the Abbey of *Monzon* into a Bishoprick, or to build a Cathedral in the place, according to a Grant made him by his Predecessor; provided all the while that the Monks be not driven out of their Monastery.

By the next Letter, he gives him leave as long as he lives, to appoint the Bishops of this new Bishoprick.

In the hundred fifty fourth, he confirm'd the Judgment which Cardinal *William* Archbishop of *Rheims*, had given in favour of the Chancellor of the Church of *Tournay*.

The next five Letters, are written in favour of the Chapter of the Church of *Tournay*, to hinder the Alienation of their Estate, and about the Division to be made thereof between them.

The four following, are in favour of the Church of *St. Waast of Arras*.

In the hundred and sixty fourth, he commissions the Archbishop of *Grado* to give Judgment in a Difference between the Archdeacon of *Trevisi* and the Clergy of that Church.

The hundred and sixty fifth, is addressed to all the Prelates and Christian Lords, to exhort them to assist his Legates *Rainer* and *Guy*, and to employ their spiritual and temporal Authority against the Heretics which they should find.

In the hundred and sixty sixth, he gave leave to the Abbot of *St. Waast of Arras*, to send back the Regular Canons to a Church they had been of before, although they had been settled there since the Monks.

In the hundred and sixty seventh, he order'd that all those that had a Hand in the Murder of a certain Bishop, should come to *Rome* for Absolution, except they were in Danger of their Lives, or could not come thither in Person.

In the hundred and sixty eighth and ninth, he cited the Archbishop of *Tours* to *Rome* before the Feast of *St. Michael*, for the Decision of a Difference between him and the Bishop of *Dol*.

In the hundred and seventieth, he entrusted the Archbishop of *Tarentaise*, the Bishop of *Aosta*, and the Abbot of *Bonne-mont*, to prepare things for a hearing between the Bishop of *Lausanna* and his Chapter, who accused him of having robbed and wasted the Goods of the Church. The three hundred and thirty fourth is upon the same Subject.

The hundred and seventy first, is a Letter of Advice to *Philip Augustus* King of *France*, earnestly exhorting him to take his Wife again, and to put away her that he had married.

In the hundred and seventy second, he appointed the Archbishop of *Rheims* to take care of the Preservation of the Rights of the Abbey of *St. Germain des Prez*; which he confirms in the next Letter, as he doth those of the Abbey of *St. Dennis*, in the hundred and seventy fourth, and fifth.

In the hundred and seventy sixth, he recommends himself to the Prayers of the Religious of *Cîteaux* and other Societies.

By the hundred and seventy seventh, he ordered the Bishop of *Armagh*, to allow the Bishop of *Robogh*, who had resigned his Bishoprick to another to retire, and the other to whom he had resigned it to remain in it, provided the Canons of that Church would choose him.

In the hundred and seventy eighth, he approved of the Judgment that the Cardinal of *St. Mary* had given in a Suit between two private Men, about a Canonship in the Church of *Pavia*.

The hundred and seventy ninth, is a Confirmation of the Election of an Abbot of *St. Dennis*.

In the hundred and eightieth, he gave leave to the Bishop of *Agrigento* to remove the Monasteries in his Diocess, which stood too much exposed, into Places more secure, and to recover the Possessions of his Church which had been alienated.

In the hundred and eighty first, he gave leave to the Abbot and Religious of *St. Germain of Auxerre*, in case the Bishop of *Auxerre* who was at fallings out with them, should deny, or purposely to their Prejudice defer giving them holy Chrism for the Dedication of their Altars and Churches, or consecrating their Abbots, and ordaining their Monks gratis, to apply themselves to any other Bishop whom they pleased: And likewise forbids this Bishop to require any thing for the Absolution of those belonging to this Abbey that he had excommunicated. By the hundred and eighty fourth, he determined, that if this Bishop excommunicated them unjustly, his Excommunication shall be null: And by the hundred and eighty fifth, he allows them to apply to the Archbishop of *Sens* for Protection from the Injustice and Violences of their Bishop.

In the hundred and eighty second, he appointed the Time for the Trial of the Suit between the Bishop of *Langres* and his Chapter, to be at *Michaelmas*.

In the hundred and eighty third, he nominated the Bishops of *Arras* and *Sens* to take care of the Privileges of the Abbey of *St. Dennis*.

By the hundred and eighty sixth, he appointed the Bishop and Dean of *Mafcon*, Judges in the Difference between the Bishop of *Autun* and the Monastery of *Baume*.

By the hundred and eighty seventh, he order'd the Chapter of *Milan* to let the Bishop of *Tortona* still enjoy the Canonry which he had in their Church before he was Bishop.

In the hundred eighty and eighth, he wrote to the Archbishop of *Sens* to oblige the Bishop of *Autun* to observe the Sentence which the Cardinal, Bishop of *Ostia*, had given in the case between this Bishop of *Autun* and the Abbot of *Flavigny*.

In the hundred and eighty ninth, he confirm'd the Election of *Hugues* to the Abbey of *Vezelai*, and advises him to discharge his Duty.

In the hundred and ninetieth, he wrote to the Archbishop and Archdeacon of *Sens*, not to turn out of his Living a



~ Clergyman that had by chance killed a Child, as he was shooting an Arrow at a Tree, and had had Absolution for his Fault from the former Archbishop, who had absolved him, and permitted him still to keep his Benefice.

~ In the hundred and ninety first, he empower'd the Bishop of *Troyes*, to oblige the Clergy of his Diocese that had Pluralities to leave them, and to force those whom he should have Occasion for in higher Orders, to receive Ordination.

In the hundred and ninety second, to the Archbishop of *Sens*, and the Bishop of *Troyes*, he dissannuls a new Order made by the Canons of *Troyes*; which was, That the Canons who had been already made, should receive their Incomes whether present or absent, whereas those that should be made for the Time to come, should not receive them but only when they were present.

In the hundred and ninety third, he confirmed an Agreement made between the Bishop of *Troyes*, and the Order of *Premontre*.

By the hundred ninety fourth and fifth, he ordered the Bishop of *Xaintes*, to depose the Prior of a Society of Regular Canons, for having wasted the Estate of the Monastery, and overthrown their Government.

By the hundred and ninety fourth, written to the Abbot and Religious of *Premontre*, he confirmed a Grant made them by his Predecessors, of taking in, and turning out whom they pleased of their Order, without so much as submitting to the Letters of the Pope, for the taking in those again whom they had cast out.

The next is a Confirmation of a Statute of the Chapter General of the Order of *Premontre*, forbidding all the Abbots of their Order, to wear a Mitre and Gloves like a Bishop. In the hundred and ninety eighth too, he confirms another of the Statutes of their Chapter, by which they had order'd that they should not be obliged to receive any Nuns into their Order. In the two hundredth, he gives them Protection from any Trouble that might be given them under the Pretence of the Right of Procuration. By the two hundred and second, and the two hundred and third, he order'd that the Canons of this Order should be subject to their respective Abbots and Superiors, and those to the Abbot and Chapter General of *Premontre*, before which they should appear at the times appointed by their Orders. Lastly, he recommends in the two hundred and fourth, the Privileges and Rights of this Order, to the Care of all the Prelates in *Christendom*.

In the hundred and ninety ninth, he ordered the Archdeacon of *Luon*, to restore to *Hugues* the Abbot of *Peirrepoint*, the Horse which he had exacted of him on the Day of his Promotion to that Dignity.

In the two hundred and first, he wrote to the Bishop and Dean, and Archdeacon of *Soissons*, about an Oath which the Religious of the Abby of *St. Eloy* of *Noyon*, had made before they chose an Abbot, that he who should be chosen should have it in his Power to dispose of only three Obediences, and that he should not appeal to the Holy See, or to the Pope's Legate. *Innocent* determined, that they ought to have a Penance laid upon them for this Oath, and that there should be no Obligation upon any one to observe it.

In the two hundred and fifth, he reprimands the Bishop of *Sens*, for giving half a Prebend to a Man that had a Mandate of the Pope's, contrary to an Order of the Council of *Tours*, which forbids the dividing of Prebends. He ordered him to give this Man the first Canon's Place that should be vacant in his Church, on pain of being deprived of the conferring of them, till he had provided him one; and forbids the Canons to receive any other.

The two hundred and sixth Letter to the King of *England*, is a Mystical Moral upon the Stones of four Rings, which he had sent him.

In the two hundred and seventh, he gave leave to the Bishop of *Lizieux*, to reduce all the Pensions upon the Churches in his Diocese, which were contrary to the Decree of the Council of *Lateran*.

In the two hundred and eighth, to the same Bishop, after having taken Notice, that he ought not to admit of those Appeals which were made only to evade Judgment, he granted him Power of fixing a competent Time to those of his Diocese, who had appealed to the Holy See, to prosecute their Appeal, which if they failed to do in that Time, Judgment should be executed on them.

The two hundred and ninth is against a Dean of *Rouen*, and a Chaplain who had abused a Priest, and done other Violences. He order'd the Archdeacons of *Bayeux*, and *Constance*, to suspend them *ab officio & beneficio*, and to excommunicate them till such Time as they should make Satisfaction.

In the two hundred and tenth, he order'd the Bishop of *Evreux*, and the Archdeacon of *Lizieux*, to inform about a Design of a certain Lord, that had many Benefices in his Gift, of founding in his own Land, a collegiate Church of regular Canons, which should enjoy the Incomes of the Churches of which they were Patrons.

In the two hundred and eleventh, he wrote to the King of *Navarre*, to restore certain Castles to the King of *England*.

If he should refuse, he threatned to proceed against him with Ecclesiastical Censures.

In the two hundred and twelfth, to the Prior and Religious of *Bourguet*, he declared it not to be in the Power of their Abbot, to alienate or mortgage the Estate of their Monastery, unless with the Consent of the greatest and wisest Part of their Society.

In the two hundred and thirteenth, he order'd that the Knights should pay the Tenth of the Lands that had been given them, to the Church to which they belonged.

In the two hundred and fourteenth, he entrusted the Archbishop of *Bourges*, the Abbot of *St. Cisar* of *Angouleme*, and the Dean of *Periguenx*, with the Regulation of a Difference between the Bishop of *Angouleme* and his Chapter, about the Number of Canons in that Church.

In the two hundred and fifteenth, he gave Judgment in a Contest, about a Prebend of a Church, in favour of him to whom this Letter is written.

In the two hundred and sixteenth, he gives leave to the Abbot of *Beza*, to send some of his Religious into the Obediences of *Cluny*, and to take some of the Religious of *Cluny* into his Monastery, for the Re-establishment of it, after its being very much damaged by Fire.

In the two hundred and seventeenth, he determined, that the Merchants ought to pay to the Bishop of *Bergues*, the usual Tithes.

In the two hundred and eighteenth, he ordered the Payment of the yearly Penny, for every Family, which the Earl of *Countnes* had obliged himself to make all his Subjects pay, as an Alms to the Holy See; and because the new Bishop of that Country had been the Occasion of stopping the Payment of that Duty, he empowered the Bishops of *Kirchual* and *Rosse*, to force him to it by Ecclesiastical Punishments.

By the two hundred and nineteenth, he declared null the Grant which his Predecessor had made of a Church to a Canon of *Maseon*, not knowing that he had been excommunicated by his Chapter.

The two hundred and twentieth is written against a certain Chaplain, that used to require Money for the Burial of the Dead, and the Benediction of Marriages, and would pretend some Hinderance or other, if they would not pay him.

By the two hundred twenty first, he committed to the Bishop of *Lisbon* and two Priors, the Judgment of a Case between the Bishop of *Coimbra*, and the Templers.

In the two hundred and twenty second, he sent back to the Abbot, and two Monks of the Abby of *Alcobacius* in *Portugal*, the Examination of the Difference which was between the Bishop of *Coimbra*, and the Monastery of the Religious of the Holy Cross of *Arganil*, about an Exemption they pretended to, under Covert of a Privilege which they had by a Trick gained of Pope *Clement*, by feigning that the Mother-church was not the Cathedral Church, but the Church of *Rome*. His Determination is, that if this were all they went upon, they must e'en be subject to the Jurisdiction of that Bishop.

The five following are likewise written to maintain the Privileges of the Bishop of *Coimbra*.

The two hundred and twenty eighth is written to the Archbishop of *Rouen*, forbidding him to absolve those Persons which his Suffragans had excommunicated; and ordering him to send them back to their Bishop, and then if he should refuse to absolve them, giving him Leave to do it, first taking Security of the Accused upon Oath, and upon Condition of full Satisfaction being made to the Bishop, if he do not find that the Man was unjustly excommunicated.

In the two hundred and twenty ninth, he granted the Bishop of *Lizieux*, the Privilege of not appearing before the Bishop of *Rouen*, as Judge Delegate, in case he suspected him, unless his Letters of Commission should have this particularly in them.

The two hundred and thirtieth is to the King of *England*, wherein he gave him an Account of what he had done as to the Restitution of that Money which the *Germans* had exacted of him, for his Ransom; and of what he had done against the King of *Navarre*, to make him restore those Castles which belonged to him. Lastly, he makes a Relation of the Complaints and Differences between the Kings of *France* and *England*, and protests that it was not his Design to declare for either Side, but to do all he could to make Peace between them.

In the two hundred and thirty first, he ordered the Archbishop of *Bourges*, to inform against the Bishop of *Angouleme*, accused by his Chapter, of wasting the Estate of his Church, and a great many other Irregularities.

In the two hundred and thirty second, to the Abbot and Religious of *Cherlieu*, he decided, That one of their Monks, who was gone over into the Order of the black Monks, and had there taken the Order of Priesthood, could perform the Offices of his Order.

In the two hundred and thirty third, he determined moreover, that the Canons may be Witnesses in the Civil Causes of their Church, and that Credit ought to be given to their Testimony.



*Pope Innocent's Letters.* In the two hundred and thirty fourth, he commissions the Bishop of *Autun*, and the Abbots of *Uigny*, and of *St. Margaret*, to reform the Monastery of *St. John of Autun*.

The two hundred and thirty fifth is written to the Archbishop of *Rheims*, and to the other Archbishops and Bishops of the Kingdom of *France*, against the forging of the Pope's Bulls; and to prevent it for the Time to come, he order'd that the Bulls should be received either from the Hands of the Pope, or of them who are commissioned by him to deliver them. And for the remedying what was past, he would have a Provincial Council called, and all that pretended to have any Letters from the Pope, ordered to produce them, that they might be compared with the true ones: And if they were found to be forged ones, those who forged them should be punished; the Laicks with Excommunication, and the Clergy by being suspended *ab officio & beneficio*. Lastly, he ordered that it should be published, That all those who to their Knowledge had any of these forged Letters, should be bound to produce them within a Fortnight, under Pain of Excommunication, not to be taken off by the Pope himself, except at the Point of Death.

In the two hundred and thirty sixth, he wrote to the Archbishop of *Magdeburg*, to force the Duke of *Suabia* to restore that Money to the King of *England*, which the Emperor *Henry* had exacted from him for his Ransom. The two hundred and fifty second is to the Duke of *Austria*, upon the same Subject.

In the two hundred and thirty seventh, he empowered the Bishop of *Tarentaise*, to absolve those Incendiaries that could not come to *Rome* within three Years, by reason of their Sickness, or Hinderance by their Enemies.

In the two hundred and thirty eighth, he settled upon the Bishop of *Neytrach* or *Berzenza*, all the Possessions that he might have, and exempts all the Lands of his Church, which he kept in his own Hands, from all Sorts of Tithes.

In the two hundred and thirty ninth, he determined that the Bishop of *Oviedo*, was not obliged to restore the Fruits of a Piece of Land which belonged to the Bishop of *Zamora*, until he had paid what was owed him, that he might be in a Condition to pay his Debts.

By the two hundred and fortieth, and forty first, he revok'd that Privilege which he had granted the Bishop of *Lizeux*, of not answering, if he did not please, before the Archbishop of *Rouen*; but he ordered that this Archbishop should never proceed against him, till after having thrice admonished him; and that whensoever he appealed *à futuro gravamine*, the Archbishop should have no Power to attempt any thing farther, either against him or his Church.

In the two hundred and forty third, he gave leave to the Prior of *Locheier*, to keep the Estate of his Church in his own Hands, paying the Chapter the Rents which the Farmers used to pay them.

In the two hundred and forty fourth, to the Bishop and Chapter of *Angouleme*, he determined, That the non-resident Canons should have no Power to oppose any Orders made by the Chapter in their Absence.

In the two hundred and forty fifth, to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Worcester*, and to the Abbot of *Tewksbury*, he order'd, That the Monks be re-established in the Church of *Coventry*, who had been turned out by the Bishop of *Chester*, under Pretence of a Brief gained by a Trick from his Predecessor.

By the two hundred and forty sixth, he commissioned the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, and the Abbots of *St. Cibar* of *Angouleme*, and of *Nantenil*, to be Judges in a Difference between the Bishop of *Angouleme*, and the Archdeacon of *Mairiac*.

In the two hundred and forty seventh, he committed to the Bishop of *Nevers*, the Examination of a Difference between the Bishop of *Autun*, and the Abbot of *Bussiere*, about the Goods of an Archpriest, who had desired to be made a Monk in this Abby, and had let them enjoy his Goods while he lived, of which the Bishop of *Autun* stript them when he was dead, pretending, that when this Archpriest offered himself to the Monastery, he was not well in his Senses; but, as he answered the Monks who asked him, Will you be a Monk? Yes; I will; so he answered another, who asked him, Will you be an Ass? Yes, I will. The Pope order'd, That if the Bishop could prove, that the Archpriest was beside himself at the Time he made this Donation, then the Monastery should be condemned to restore his Estate and the Use of it; but if he could not prove that, they belonged to the Monastery.

In the two hundred and forty eighth, he entrusted the Abbot of *St. Eucher*, the Dean, and a Canon of *Treves*, with the Judgment of a Suit about a Prebend of *St. Mary Magdalene* of *Verdun*.

In the two hundred and forty ninth, he order'd Cardinal *Rainier*, to oblige the Kings of *Portugal* and *Castile*, to observe the Conditions of Peace which they had agreed upon.

The six next Letters have nothing worth notice in them.

In the two hundred and fifty sixth, he determined, That the Acts of Judges are not authentick, unless they are authorized by the Witnesses.

*Pope Innocent's Letters.* In the two hundred and fifty seventh, he confirmed some Rules made by the Magistrates of *Benevento*, about the Dues of Officers of Justice.

By the two hundred and fifty eighth, he order'd the Execution of a Mandate granted by Pope *Celestine*, for a Canonship of *Benevento*.

In the two hundred and fifty ninth, he order'd the Archbishop and Chapter of *Rouen*, to proceed according to the Resolution of the greatest and wisest Part of the Chapter, that every Canon should contribute out of his Revenue, towards the repairing of the Church.

In the two hundred and sixtieth, written to the same Archbishop, he exhorts him not to yield to the Agreement which the Kings of *France* and *England* had made together, by which they resolved to appoint four Ecclesiasticks, to examine whether the Judgments he had given, or should give, ought to be executed by them against their Subjects; and in case they should not give Judgment, that they ought to force them, by seizing on their Estates, to revoke their Judgment.

In the two hundred and sixty first, he wrote to the Bishop of *Winchester*, to punish the Simoniacs in his Diocese, notwithstanding their Appeal to the Holy See.

In the two hundred and sixty second, to the Bishop and Chapter of *Vesca*, he order'd them to turn a certain Clergyman out of his Living, for having forged Letters, by which he got his Living again, after having lost it.

In the two hundred and sixty third, he gave leave to the Bishop of *Amiens*, to put what Canons he pleased into a House which he had given the Abbot of *St. Martin* of the *Twins* to place his Canons in, if the Abbot should neglect to do it, after being put in Mind by the Bishop.

In the two hundred and sixty fourth, to the Archbishop of *Rouen*, he determined, That a Person who hath the Patronage of a Living, cannot present himself to it, however fit he be for the Place.

In the two following to the same Person, he declar'd, That all the Diocesans, as well Ecclesiasticks as Laicks, are obliged to submit to the Sentences of Interdiction, published by the Bishop.

In the two hundred and sixty seventh, written to the Bishop, Archdeacon, and Sacrist of *Maguelone*, about a Difference between this Bishop and the Provost of his Church, concerning a Person nominated to the Archdeaconship of this Diocese, after having related the Reasons urged on one Side and the other, he declared, That following the Footsteps of his Predecessors, who were of Opinion, that the Judgments of the See of *Rome* might be altered when it was found there had been a Trick, he revoked the Donation of this Archdeaconship made by the Bishop, although approved of by his Predecessor Pope *Alexander*; and ordered the Chapter to proceed to a new Election. By the five hundred forty and first, he settled the Archdeaconship upon him who had had it conferred upon him by the Archbishop of *Arles*.

In the two hundred and sixty eighth, he recommended the Protection of the Monastery of *St. Victor* of *Marseilles*, to the Archbishops of *Arles*, *Aix*, and *Embrun*, and to the Bishops their Suffragans.

In the two hundred and sixty ninth, he order'd the Bishop of *Varadin*, to come to *Rome*, to receive the Absolution of the Excommunication which he had incurred.

In the two hundred and seventieth, he gave leave to the King of *Hungary*, to keep back an Earl, and some other Holy Soldiers, to the Number of twenty, whom he had need of to keep himself firm in his Kingdom.

In the two hundred and seventy first, he exhorted an *Hungarian* Lord to be loyal to his King.

In the two hundred and seventy second, he confirmed a Judgment given by his Legate Cardinal *Gregory*, in favour of the Bishop of *Transilvania*.

By the two hundred and seventy third, he entrusted the Archbishop of *Arles* with the Reform of the Monastery of *Lerins*, with Leave to put in some of the Monks of *Citeaux*, if he did not find any of that Order there.

In the two hundred and seventy fourth, he gave leave to this Archbishop, to put some of the Monks of *Citeaux* into an Island, in the stead of the Canons which were there, but had not Subsistence.

In the two hundred and seventy fifth, he order'd the Archbishop and Archdeacon of *Narbonne*, to nullify all that the Abbot of *St. Saviour* of *Lodeve* had done against the Monks of his Monastery, and other Persons, to the Prejudice of their Appeal put into the Holy See.

In the two hundred and seventy sixth, he gave leave to the Canons of *St. John* of *Besancon*, to settle another House with the Consent of their Bishop.

By the two hundred and seventy seventh, he discharged the Archbishop of *Besancon*, from the Accusation which his Canons had laid against him, they not caring to prosecute it; and he forbids them for the future to propose any thing against their Archbishop: But in the mean while, he sets the Bishop of *Chalons*, and the Abbot of *la Fortè*, to inform him of the Conduct of this Archbishop.



By the two hundred and seventy eighth, he commissioned the Abbots of *Cîteaux* and *de Toul*, to proceed against the Treasurer of *Besançon*, to oblige him to Residence, because, says he, it is agreeable to Reason and Equity, that he who has the Honour and the Profit, should bear the Charge of it, and that the Ecclesiastical Dignities were established for this End, that those who enjoyed them should do Service to the L O R D.

In the two hundred and seventy ninth, he complained to the Archbishop of *Milan*, of his saying that he had been deceived in the Meaning of Letters from the Holy See, for Want of Attention to what they contained, and order'd him for the future to take care of the Execution of those that should be directed to him or his Diocesans, except they had been gotten by suppressing and hiding the Truth, or by telling a Falshood.

The two hundred and eightieth, is a Confirmation granted to the Chapter of *Colocza*, to receive the Tithes of certain Villages.

In the two hundred and eighty first, he committed the Reform of the Monastery of *St. Stephen*, to the Archbishop of *Colocza*.

In the two hundred and eighty second, to the Patriarch of *Grado*, he ordered the Execution of a Treaty made between the Church of *St. Saviour*, and that of *St. Bartholomew* of *Venice*.

In the two hundred and eighty third, he determined; That the Church of *St. Proculus* should be totally subject to the Monastery of *St. Zeno* of *Verona*, and that the Archpriest and Clergy of that Church should be subject to the Abbot of *St. Zeno*, and should receive the Holy Chrism from his Hands: He leaves them to take Care of all that belonged to the Church of *St. Proculus*, the Chappels and Offices which depended on it, and the Privilege of choosing the Archpriest.

The two hundred and eighty fourth is a Confirmation of the Institution of the Order of Regular Canons of the Abby of *St. Offizus* of *Chuc*, and of its Privileges.

In the two hundred and eighty fifth, he order'd that the Bishop of *Segovia* should have the Privilege of putting Canons into his Church, with the Consent of the greatest and wisest Part of the Chapter, notwithstanding the Opposition of some of the Canons.

The two hundred and eighty sixth is a Confirmation of the Privileges of the Abby of *St. Germain* of *Auxerre*.

In the two hundred and eighty seventh, to the Bishop of *Pampeluna*, he empower'd this Bishop to celebrate, or cause to be celebrated during the General Interdict, the Divine Office in a low Voice, the Doors of the Church being shut, without ringing the Bells, upon Condition that he should not assist any of those that were interdicted or excommunicated.

By the two hundred and eighty eighth, he gave Commission to the Bishop of *Riez*, to give the Dean of *St. Quintin*, who was in *Lemoorly*, Notice to appear before the Archbishop of *Rheims*, and the Bishop of *Arras*, whom he had appointed Judges in the Difference between the Dean and his Chapter, jointly with any other whom the Dean should please to name. The following Letter is the Commission to the Archbishop of *Rheims*, and the Bishop of *Arras*.

In the two hundred and ninetieth, he confirm'd the Election of *Sifroy*, to the Provostship of *Augsbuurg*.

By the two hundred and ninety first, he commissioned the Archbishop of *Bourges*, to inform against the Abbot of *Esterpe*.

In the two hundred and ninety second, he gave leave to the Bishop of *Aquino*, to retake the Possessions which had been alienated from his Church. In the two hundred and ninety fourth, he gave the Bishop of *Malta* the same Permission.

In the two hundred and ninety third, he confirm'd the Order which the Bishop of *Vatiz* in *Hungary* had made to oblige the Curates of his Diocess to come to his Synod.

By the two hundred ninety fifth, he commissioned the Archbishop of *Trani*, and the Archdeacon of *Brindesi*, to be Judges in a Difference between two private Men, about the Chantryship of *Utranto*.

In the two hundred and ninety sixth, he confirmed the Power of the Canons of *St. Peter* of *Rome*, over divers other Churches.

In the two hundred ninety seventh, he determined, That a Man who had been distracted, and was thereupon turned out of his Canonship, and made a Monk of, and being now come again to his Senses, had protested against this Dealing, should be put off a while, and re-established in his Living.

In the two hundred and ninety eighth, to the Archdeacon of *Milan*, he declar'd, that Hereticks cannot be chosen into Livings, nor have any Right to choose.

In the two hundred and ninety ninth, he entrusted the Bishop of *Nevers*, and the Abbots of *Vezelai*, and *Maizereis*, with the Judgment of a Difference between two Competitors to the Abby of *Flavigny*.

By the three hundredth, to the Archbishop of *Magdeburg*, and his Suffragans, he order'd them to make use of Ecclesiastical Censures, to make the Estates of the Holy Soldiers, which had been taken from them while they were in the Holy Land, be restored them.

In the three hundred and first, he commits to the Bishop of *Lizieux*, and the Abbot of *Valricher*, the Cause of the Abbot of *Conches*.

In the three hundred and second, he exhorted the Bishop of *Syracuse*, and the Bishops of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Tiscany*, to preach the Crusade, and earnestly exhort all their Diocesans to go to the Holy Land.

In the three hundred and third, he advised the Religious of *St. Saviour* of *Telesa*, to proceed to the Election of a new Abbot, their Abby being vacant by the voluntary Resignation of the former.

The three hundred and fourth is a Mandate directed to the Bishop of *Limoges*, and the Canons; for a Prebend of their Chapter.

In the three hundred and fifth, he declar'd that the Judgment of the greatest and wisest Part of the Chapter ought to carry it.

In the three hundred and seventh, he decided this Case, that a Man who wanted his left Hand, and had been chosen Abbot, without its being known that he was so maimed, ought to be turned out, as not being capable upon that account, to receive Holy Orders.

In the three hundred and eighth, he wrote to the Archbishop of *Lyons*, about the Absolution of his Archdeacon.

The three hundred and ninth is written to the Bishop of *Padua*, against those Canons that lived more like Laicks than Ecclesiasticks, who wore the Habit of Laicks, and made no Scruple of living publicly with Concubines; he order'd the Bishop to take care of them, to oblige them to live honestly, to wear a Clergyman's Habit, and to part with their Concubines, to eat in common, and never to lie out of their Cloister.

In the three hundred and tenth, he wrote to the Archbishop of *Montreal* in *Sicily*, that the Holy See always kept the Absolution of those that abused the Clergy in its own Hands, to the end, that if the Honour and Respect which was due to Ecclesiasticks, could not keep Men within their Duty, at least the Pains and Trouble of a Voyage to *Rome*, might restrain them: That the Church of *Rome* did sometimes abate of this Rigour, by an especial Dispensation, where 'twas reasonable: That in this it did not seek its own private Advantage, but aimed at the Preservation of the Privileges of the Clergy, and the Salvation of those that failed in that Point. Upon these Grounds he gave Power to this Archbishop, for three Years, to absolve such of his Diocess who were guilty of this Crime, as either for Age or Infirmary, were not in a Condition to come to *Rome*.

In the three hundred and eleventh, he confirmed the Orders which had been made by the Bishop of *Rennes*, commissioned by the Legate of the Holy See, in regard to the Duty of the Abbot of *Bourguet*, and his Manner of living, namely, that he should be obliged to eat in the Hall, and sleep in the Dorter, except he had some allowable Excuse to assist in the Office, to take the Advice of his Chapter, in Affairs relating to the House, &c. He appointed in the next Letter the Bishop and Dean of *Rennes*, to see these Orders executed.

In the three hundred and thirteenth, he determined, That a Laick who had the Tithes in his Hands, might give them to a Monastery, with the Consent of the Bishop of the Diocess, without having need of taking that of his Clergy too.

In the three hundred and fourteenth, he confirmed a Judgment given between two Priests of *Trevisi*, by a Cardinal whom he had commissioned for that purpose, in a Suit which they had about a Benefice.

In the three hundred and fifteenth, he order'd the Archbishop of *Milan*, to give a Canon's Place in his Church to *Bonacussius*, a Clergyman of that City, who had been sent on the Part of this Archbishop to the Pope, and had gained a Mandate about a Benefice in that Church.

In the three hundred and sixteenth, he confirmed the Privileges of the Archbishop of *Montreal*. The 317th is an Account of a long Case between the Abbot of *Pegaw*, and the Bishop of *Mersburg*. This Abbot being accused of many Crimes, was called on by the Bishop to answer, who passed Sentence upon him for Non-appearance, which was confirmed by the Legate of the Holy See. To avoid the Consequences of this Sentence, and without telling a Word of what had passed, he obtained a Grant from Pope *Celestine*, which exempted him from the Jurisdiction of this Bishop. Returning into *Germany*, and there shewing his Grant, he was cited to the Court of the Emperor, who had an Account of it. From thence he appealed to the Holy See, and got Commissaries named. In the mean time, the Archbishop of *Magdeburg* having interdicted, and having a mind to turn him out of his Abby too, he was forced to put himself into the Hands of this Archbishop, who gave an arbitrary Sentence. The Abbot not being pleased with this, made his Complaints to *Rome*, and had Commissaries appointed, not very favourable to the Bishop of *Mersburg*: They made their Information: It is carried to *Rome*, the Affair is sent back again from thence to other Commissaries, and at last made up by an Agreement between the Parties. Notwithstanding this, the



*Pope Innocent's Letters.* the Abbot still applied himself to *Rome*, and got two of the prime Judges appointed Commissaries; the one of them gave his Information, and the Bishop appeal'd from it. The Pope gave them Commissaries, and upon their Report of the Case, doth by this Letter confirm the decisive Sentence of the Archbishop of *Magdeburg*, except what regarded the Validity of the Privilege. He revokes whatsoever is contrary to that, and order'd that the Monastery should remain free, and exempt from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop, till such Time as the Matter could be fully tried. By the following Letter, he appoints Commissaries upon the Place to inform of the Matter.

In the three hundred and nineteenth, he appointed the Archbishop, the Dean, and the Chanter of *Lyons* to judge in a Case between two Archdeacons of *Challon*. He there determin'd, That a Man who hath been excommunicated for two Causes, and hath been absolved upon the score only of one, remains still excommunicated.

In the three hundred and twentieth, he warn'd the Clergy of *Islande* to take some Order about the Disorders which reigned in their Country. The three hundred and twenty first, is written upon the same Subject, and in the same Terms, to the People of that Island.

In the three hundred and twenty second, to the Archbishop of *Otranto*, he determin'd, That the Son of a Woman who pass'd for the Concubine, and was afterwards declared the lawful Wife of a Man, is Legitimate.

In the three hundred and twenty third, he declar'd, That a Deacon who had been deprived of his Benefice by an Abbot, who was afterwards out of revenge, without his knowledge, killed by his Kindred, and who out of Sorrow for this Accident turn'd Monk, and forbore executing the Functions of his Order for two Years, might not only execute them, but be also rais'd to the Priesthood, if there was no other Bar, but his suspected Innocence.

In the three hundred and twenty fourth, he wrote to the Bishop of *Arras* and the Dean of *Cambray*, to put the King of *France* in mind of paying the Duke of *Lorraine* his Wife's Portion.

By the three hundred and twenty fifth, he determin'd, That a Girl who was not eight Years old, could neither contract Marriage, nor make any Promise that could oblige.

In the three hundred and twenty sixth, he gave leave to the Bishop of *Faence* to remove to the Bishoprick of *Pavia*, to which he had been elected. There are very pretty Things in this Letter about the Spiritual Marriage of a Bishop with the Church his Spouse. What is said in Scripture about the Indissolubility of the carnal Marriage, he presumes may be as well applied to the Spiritual. He adds, that it should seem then as if it were not in the Power of the Pope to break the spiritual Marriage of a Bishop with his Church: And yet Custom, which is the Interpreter of the Laws, and the Holy Canons always gave full Power to the Holy See, to which alone belong the placing, the deposing and translating of Bishops: wherein he saith the Popes do not exercise human Authority, but that of Jesus Christ, whose Vicars they are. He takes notice that the Church of *Pavia* ought not to have elected, but have ask'd for him. Lastly, he declared, That he consents to this Translation only for the good which will thence accrue to the Church of *Pavia*.

In the three hundred and twenty seventh, he confirm'd the Decree made by the Bishop and Chapter of *Orense* in *Spain*, to admit of but six and twenty Canons.

In the three hundred and twenty eighth, he recommended the Bishop of *St. George* to the Monks of *Monte-Cassino* that they might entertain him, and supply him with whatsoever was necessary during his abode in their Monastery.

In the three hundred and twenty ninth, he commissioned the Archbishop of *Cagliari*, and two other Bishops of *Sardinia*, to sit Judges in a Difference which was between the Bishop of *Uristagni* and his Chapter.

In the three hundred and thirtieth, he gave in charge to the Bishop of *Limoges* to reprehend and correct the Clergy of his Diocess.

The three hundred and thirty first, is an Approbation of the Order of *Premontre*, and a Confirmation of its Customs and Privileges.

In the three hundred and thirty second, he entrusted the Dean of *Lisbon* and two Priors to examine the Privilege granted by the Bishop of *Conimbra* to his Chapter.

In the three hundred and thirty third, he determined, That a deaf and dumb Person may marry.

In the three hundred thirty fifth, he suspended the Bishop of *Hildesheim*, for removing to the Bishoprick of *Wirtzburg* without the leave of the Holy See, and deprived the Canons of *Wirtzburg* of the Power of Election for this Time, for having chosen him.

The three hundred and thirty sixth, is a circular Letter, exhorting all Princes and People to take up Arms for the Defence of the Holy Land against the *Saracens*.

The three hundred and thirty seventh, is a Mandate granted to a Clerk for a Canon's Place in the Church of *Trevisi*.

In the three hundred and thirty eighth, written to the Archbishop of *Sens*, he declar'd, That in case the Dean and Chap-

ter of *Sens* had with an Oath fixed the Number of Canons before the Pope granted his Mandate to the Clerk, then the Mandate should be null: And that all the Clerk had to do, was to make them come to *Rome*, to maintain their pretended Right; because, says he, as we expect to be punctually obeyed when we command any Thing, so we would not command any Thing which is unjust.

The three hundred and thirty ninth is a Mandate granted to a Clergyman, for an Archdeaconship vacant in the Church of *Ivrea*.

In the three hundred and fortieth, he exempts the Chapter of *St. Domin's-Burg*, from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Parma*.

In the three hundred and forty first, to the Bishop of *Otranto*, he advis'd him to put the Religious of *Citeaux*, into a Chappel, and into a Monastery, in Compliance with the Desire of the Earl the Founder of the Chappel, and Patron of the Monastery.

The three hundred and forty second is a Confirmation of a Privilege of Exemption granted to the Church of *St. Nicholas du Mont*, near *Narni*.

In the three hundred and forty third, he exhorted the Bishop of *Lydda*, to continue his Care and Preaching in *Sicily*, to promote the raising of an Army for the Recovery of the Holy Land. By the next, he gave him Power to absolve those excommunicated, whose Cases belonged only to the Holy See to remit, on Condition that they would go in Person to the Holy Land.

In the three hundred and forty fifth, address'd to the Prelates of *France*, he recommended to them the Legate whom he had sent into that Kingdom, to make Peace between the King of *France* and the King of *England*, and to gain them to assist against the *Saracens*.

In the three hundred and forty sixth, he gave Power to his Legate, to summon such *English* Prelates as he thought necessary to procure the Peace. By the following, he order'd him to proceed by Way of Interdict against the Kingdom of *France*, if King *Philip* did not take his Wife again within a Month. He exhorted this Prince to make and conclude the Peace with the King of *England*, in the three hundred and forty eighth Letter.

In the three hundred and forty ninth, written to the Archbishop and Canons of *Milan*, he discover'd a Forgery which had been practis'd in a Bull, by taking the Seal from another Letter, and fastning it to this forged one. He order'd the Punishment of him who was suspected of it, and at the same Time takes Notice of the different Ways that the Letters of the Pope might be forged. The first, is to fasten a false Bull to them. The second, is to tear the Bull from another Letter, and fasten it to a false one, by putting another Thread through it. The third, is to cut one of the Sides of the Thread of the Bull, and to fasten it to another Letter, by joyning the Thread together again with Flax of the same Colour. The fourth, is to slit the Load in two, and take out of it one Side of the Thread, and afterwards to join it together again. The fifth, is to raze out the Writing of the Letters, and change them as we please. The sixth, is to carry false Letters, and to mingle them rightly among the others, and so get the Bull fastned to them. This last Sort is the hardest to be found out, and cannot be discovered but by the Stile, or by the Hand, or by the Parchment; whereas the others might be found out only by Inspection.

In the three hundred and fiftieth, he declared, That all Believers might appeal to the Holy See, and that no one ought to act against them in Prejudice to that Appeal, or to proceed against those who would appeal. And in the following he says, That no one can proceed against a Person who is gone to *Rome*; for this is as it were an Appeal *in facto*, and ought to be more considered than a verbal one.

By the three hundred and fifty second, he order'd the Bishop of *Ariano*, to inform about the Election of an Abbot of *Benevento*, that he might know whether it was fit to confirm it or no.

In the three hundred and fifty third, he exhorted the Emperor of *Constantinople*, to aid the Holy Land against the *Saracens*, and to labour for the Union of the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches. In the next Letter, he gave the same Exhortation to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*.

In the three hundred and fifty fifth, he exhorted the Kings of *France* and *England* to Peace, and to furnish out Troops for the Assistance of the Holy Land.

In the three hundred fifty sixth, he order'd the Magistrates, the People, and the great Lords of the Duchy of *Spoletto*, to obey his Legate, as being Subjects of the Holy See; to which the Duke of *Spoletto* had given up his Estates. This same Letter is also written to many other Cities of *Italy*.

In the three hundred and fifty seventh, he wrote to the King of *England*, about a Chappel which the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had newly built, and had a mind to put Canons into, and make his ordinary Residence at: The Pope is earnestly against this Establishment, and exhorted the King of *England* not to promote it.